OUTLINES
OF THE
HISTORY OF DOGMA

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BY

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NEW YORK
FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
LONDON AND TORONTO
1893
Printed in the United States

PREFACE.

THE English translation of my "Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte" has been made, in accordance with my expressed wish, by my former pupil and esteemed friend, Mr. Edwin Knox Mitchell. It is my pleasant duty to express to him here my heartiest thanks.

English and American theological literature possess excellent works, but they are not rich in products within the realm of the History of Dogma. I may therefore perhaps hope that my "Grundriss" will supply a want. I shall be most happy, if I can with this book do my English and American friends and fellow-workers some service—a small return for the rich benefit which I have reaped from their labors. In reality, however, there no longer exists any distinction between German and English theological science. The exchange is now so brisk that scientific theologians of all evangelical lands form already one Concilium.

ADOLF HARNACK.

WILMERSDORF NEAR BERLIN,
March 17th, 1892.

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OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMA.

PROLEGOMENA TO THE DISCIPLINE.

I.—Idea and Aim of the History of Dogma.

Religion.

1. **Religion** is a practical affair with mankind, since it has to do with our highest happiness and with those *faculties* which pertain to a holy life. But in every religion these faculties are closely connected with some definite *faith* or with some definite *cult*, which are referred back to Divine *Revelation.* Christianity is that religion in which the impulse and power to a blessed and holy life is bound up with faith in God as the Father of Jesus Christ. So far as this God is believed to be the omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, the Christian religion includes a particular *knowledge* of God, of the world and of the purpose of created things; so far, however, as this religion teaches that God can be truly known only in Jesus Christ, it is inseparable from historical knowledge.

Articles of Faith.

2. The inclination to formulate the content of religion in *Articles of Faith* is as natural to Christianity as the effort to *verify* these articles with reference to science and to history. On the other

hand the universal and supernatural character of the Christian religion imposes upon its adherents the duty of finding a statement of it which will not be impaired by our wavering knowledge of nature and history; and, indeed, which will be able to maintain itself before every possible theory of nature or of history. The problem which thus arises permits, indeed, of no absolute solution, since all knowledge is relative; and yet religion essays to bring her absolute truth into the sphere of relative knowledge and to reduce it to statement there. But history teaches, and every thinking Christian testifies, that the problem does not come to its solution; even on that account the *progressive efforts* which have been made to solve it are of value.

Problem Insoluble.

Attempts at Solution.

3. The most thorough-going attempt at solution hitherto is that which the Catholic Church made, and which the churches of the Reformation (with more or less restrictions) have continued to make, viz.: Accepting a collection of Christian and Pre-Christian writings and oral traditions as of Divine origin, to deduce from them a system of doctrine, arranged in scientific form for apologetic purposes, which should have as its content the knowledge of God and of the world and of the means of salvation; then to proclaim this complex system (*of dogma*) as the *compendium* of Christianity, to demand of every mature member of the Church a faithful acceptance of it, and at the same time to maintain that the same is a necessary preparation for the blessed-

ness promised by the religion. With this augmentation the Christian brotherhood, whose character as "Catholic Church" is essentially indicated under this conception of Christianity, took a definite and, as was supposed, incontestable attitude toward the science of nature and of history, expressed its religious faith in God and Christ, and yet gave (inasmuch as it required of all its members an acceptance of these articles of faith) to the thinking part of the community a system which is capable of a wider and indeed boundless development. *Thus arose dogmatic Christianity.*

Aim of History of Dogma

4. The aim of the *history of dogma* is, (1) To explain the *origin* of this dogmatic Christianity, and, (2) To describe its *development*.

Rise of Dogma.

5. The *history of the rise* of dogmatic Christianity would seem to close when a well-formulated system of belief had been established by scientific means, and had been made the "*articulus constitutivus ecclesiæ*," and as such had been imposed upon the entire Church. This took place in the transition from the 3d to the 4th century when the Logos-Christology was established. The *development* of dogma is *in abstracto* without limit, but *in concreto* it has come to an end. For, (a) the *Greek* Church maintains that its system of dogma has been complete since the end of the "Image Controversy"; (b) the *Roman Catholic* Church leaves the possibility of the formulating of new dogmas open, but in the Tridentine Council and still more in the Vatican

Development of Dogma.

Greek Church.

Roman Church.

Evangelical Churches.

History of Protestant Doctrine Excluded.

has it in fact on political grounds rounded out its dogma as a legal system which above all demands obedience and only secondarily conscious faith; the Roman Catholic Church has consequently abandoned the original motive of dogmatic Christianity and has placed a wholly new motive in its stead, retaining the mere semblance of the old; (c) The *Evangelical* churches have, on the one hand, accepted a greater part of the formulated doctrines of dogmatic Christianity and seek to ground them, like the Catholic Church, in the Holy Scriptures. But, on the other hand, they took a different view of the authority of the Holy Scriptures, they put aside tradition as a source in matters of belief, they questioned the significance of the empirical Church as regards the dogma, and above all they tried to put forward a formulation of the Christian religion, which goes directly back to the "*true understanding of the Word of God.*" Thus in principle the ancient dogmatic conception of Christianity was set aside, while however in certain matters no fixed attitude was taken toward the same and reactions began at once and still continue. Therefore is it announced that the history of Protestant doctrine will be excluded from the history of dogma, and within the former will be indicated only the position of the Reformers and of the churches of the Reformation, out of which the later complicated development grew. Hence the history of dogma can be treated as relatively a completed discipline.

Dogmas not Exposition of Christian Revelation.

6. The claim of the Church that the dogmas are simply the exposition of the Christian revelation, because deduced from the Holy Scriptures, is not confirmed by historical investigation. On the contrary, it becomes clear that dogmatic Christianity (the dogmas) in its conception and in its construction was *the work of the Hellenic spirit upon the Gospel soil.* The intellectual medium by which in early times men sought to make the Gospel comprehensible and to establish it securely, became inseparably blended with the content of the same. Thus arose the dogma, in whose formation, to be sure, other factors (the words of Sacred Scripture, requirements of the cult, and of the organization, political and social environment, the impulse to push things to their logical consequences, blind custom, etc.) played a part, yet so that the desire and effort to formulate the main principles of the Christian redemption, and to explain and develop them, secured the upper hand, at least in the earlier times.

Theology Constructed the Dogma.

7. Just as the formulating of the dogma proved to be an illusion, so far as the same was to be the *pure* exposition of the Gospel, so also does historical investigation destroy the other illusion of the Church, viz.: that the dogma, always having been the same therein, have simply been explained, and that ecclesiastical theology has never had any other aim than to explain the unchanging dogma and to refute the heretical teaching pressing in from without. The formulating of the dogma indicates rather that the

ology constructed the dogma, but that the Church must ever conceal the labor of the theologians, which thus places them in an unfortunate plight. In each favorable case the result of their labor has been declared to be a *reproduction* and they themselves have been robbed of their best service; as a rule in the progress of history they fell under the condemnation of the dogmatic scheme, whose foundation they themselves had laid, and so entire generations of theologians, as well as the chief leaders thereof, have, in the further development of dogma, been afterwards marked and declared to be heretics or held in suspicion. Dogma has ever in the progress of history devoured its own progenitors.

Augustine, Luther. 8. Although dogmatic Christianity has never, in the process of its development, lost its original style and character as a work of the spirit of perishing antiquity upon Gospel soil (*style of the Greek apologists and of Origin*), yet it experienced first through Augustine and later through Luther a deeper and more thorough transformation. Both of these men, the latter more than the former, championed a new and more *evangelical* conception of Christianity, guided chiefly by Paulinism; Augustine however hardly attempted a revision of the traditional dogma, rather did he co-ordinate the old and the new; Luther, indeed, attempted it, but did not carry it through. The Christian quality of the dogma gained through the influence of each, and the old traditional system of dogma was relaxed somewhat—this was so much the case in Protestantism that one does well, as remarked above, no longer to consider the symbolical teaching of the Protestant churches as wholly a recasting of the old dogma.

Periods in History of Dogma.

9. An understanding of the dogmatico-historic process cannot be secured by isolating the special doctrines and considering them separately (Special History of Dogma) after that the epochs have been previously characterized (General History of Dogma). It is much better to consider the "general" and the "special" in each period and to treat the periods separately, and as much as possible to prove the special doctrines to be the outcome of the fundamental ideas and motives. It is not possible, however, to make more than four principal divisions, viz.: I. The Origin of Dogma. II. a. The Development of Dogma in accordance with the principles of its original conception (Oriental Development from Arianism to the Image-Controversy). II. b. The Occidental Development of Dogma under the influence of Augustine's Christianity and the Roman papal politics. II. c. The Three-fold Issuing of Dogma (in the churches of the Reformation—in Tridentine Catholicism—and in the criticism of the rationalistic age, *i.e.*, of Socinianism).

Value of Study.

10. The history of dogma, in that it sets forth the process of the origin and development of the dogma, offers the very best means and methods of freeing the Church from dogmatic Christianity, and of hastening the inevitable process of emancipation, which

began with Augustine. But the history of dogma testifies also to the *unity* and continuity of the Christian faith in the progress of its history, in so far as it proves that certain fundamental ideas of the Gospel have never been lost and have defied all attacks.

II.—History of the History of Dogma.

Mosheim, etc.

The narrative of the History of Dogma begins first in the 18th century with Mosheim, Walch, Ernesti, Lessing, and Semler, since Catholicism in general is not fitted for a critical handling of the subject, although learned works have been written by individual Catholic theologians (Baronius Bellarmin, Petavius, Thomassin, Kuhn, Schwane, Bach, etc.), and since the Protestant churches remained until the 18th century under the ban of confessionalism, although important contributions were made in the time of the Reformation (Luther, Ökolampad, Melanchthon, Flacius, Hyperius, Chemnitz) to the critical treatment of the History of Dogma, based in part upon the labors of the critically disposed humanists (L. Valla; Erasmus, etc.). But without the learned material, which, on the one hand, the Benedictine and other Orders had gathered together, and, on the other, the Protestant Casaubonus, Vossius, Pearson, Dalläus, Spanheim, Grabe, Basnage, etc., and without the grand impulse which pietism gave (Gottfried Arnold), the work of the 18th century would

Baronius, etc.

Luther, etc.

Erasmus, etc.

Benedictine, etc.

Gottfried Arnold.

have been inconsiderable. Rationalism robbed the history of dogma of its ecclesiastical interest and gave it over to a critical treatment in which its darkness was lighted up in part by the lamp of common understanding and in part by the torch of general historical contemplation (first History of Dogma by Lange, 1796, previous works by Semler, Rössler, Löffler, etc., then the History of Dogma by Münscher, Handb. 4 Bdd. 1797 f., an excellent Lehrbuch, 1. Aufl. 1811, 3. Aufl. 1832, Münter 2 Bdd. 1802 f, Stäudlin 1800 and 1822, Augusti 1805 and 1835, Gieseler, edited by Redepenning 2 Bdd. 1855). The valuable handbooks of Baumgarten-Crusius 1832, *i.e.* 1840 and 1846, and of Meier 1840, *i.e.* 1854, mark the transition to a class of works in which an inner understanding of the process of the History of Dogma has been won, for which Lessing had already striven, and for which Herder, Schleiermacher and the Romanticists on the one side, and Hegel and Schelling on the other, had prepared the way. Epoch-making were the writings of F. Chr. Baur (Lehrb. 1847, *i.e.* 1867, Vorles. 3. Thl. 1865 f.), in which the dogmatico-historic process, conceived to be sure in a one-sided way, was, so to speak, lived over again (cf. also Strauss, Glaubenslehre 2 Bdd. 1840 f. Marheineke 1849). From the Schleiermacher point of view, is Neander (2. Thl. 1857) and Hagenbach (1840, *i.e.* 1867). Dorner (History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, 1839 *i.e.* 1845–53) attempted to unite Hegel

Lange.

Münscher.

Baumgarten-Crusius.

Lessing, Herder, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Schelling.

Baur.

Neander.

Dorner.

Nitzsch.

and Schleiermacher. From the Lutheran Confessional standpoint Kliefoth (Einl. in d. D. G. 1839), Thomasius (2 Bdd. 1874 f. and 1887 edited by Bonwetsch 1 Bd.), Schmid (1859 *i.e.* 1887 ed. by Hauck) and, with reservations, Kahnis (The Faith of the Church, 1864). A marked advance is indicated in the History of Dogma by Nitzsch (1 Bd. 1870). For a correct understanding especially of the origin of dogma the labors of Rothe, Ritschl, Renan, Overbeck, v. Engelhardt, Weizsäcker and Réville are valuable.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMA.

III.—INTRODUCTORY.

Gospel is Jesus Christ.

1. The gospel appeared in the "fulness of time." And the *Gospel* is *Jesus Christ*. In these sentences the announcement is made that the Gospel is the climax of an universal development and yet that it has its power in a personal Life. Jesus Christ "destroyed not," but "fulfilled." He witnessed a new life before God and in God, but within the confines of Judaism, and upon the soil of the Old Testament whose hidden treasures he uncovered. It can be shown, that everything that is "lofty and spiritual" in the Psalms and Prophets, and everything that had been gained through the development of Grecian ethics, is reaffirmed in the plain and simple Gospel; but it obtained its power there, because it became

life and deed in a *Person*, whose greatness consists also in this, that he did not remould his earthly environment, nor encounter any subsequent rebuff,—in other words, that he did not become entangled in his times.

Confederated Congregations.

2. Two generations later there existed, to be sure, no united and homogeneous *Church*, but there were scattered throughout the wide Roman empire confederated congregations of Christian believers (churches) who, for the most part, were Gentile-born and condemned the Jewish nation and religion as apostate; they appropriated the Old Testament as theirs by right and considered themselves a "new nation", and yet as the "ancient creation of God", while in all departments of life and thought certain sacred *forms* were gradually being put forward. The existence of these confederated Gentile Christian communities is the preliminary condition to the rise of dogmatic Christianity.

Freeing of Gospel from Jewish Church.

The organization of these churches began, indeed, in the apostolic times and their peculiar constitution is negatively indicated by the freeing of the Gospel from the Jewish church. While in Islamism the Arabic nation remained for centuries the main trunk of the new religion, it is an astonishing fact in the history of the Gospel, that it soon left its native soil and went forth into the wide world and realized its universal character, not through the transformation of the Jewish religion, but by developing into a world-religion *upon Græco-Roman soil. The Gos-*

Gospel World-Religion.

pel became a world-religion in that, having a message for all mankind, it preached it to Greek and barbarian, and accordingly attached itself to the spiritual and political life of the world-wide Roman empire.

Classical Epoch of Gospel History.

Paul's Mission.

3. Since the Gospel in its original form was Jewish and was preached only to the Jews, there lay in this transition, which was brought about, in part gradually and without disturbance, and in part through a severe crisis, consequences of the most stringent kind. From the standpoint of the history of the Church and of dogma, the brief history of the Gospel within the bounds of Palestinian Judaism is accordingly a paleontological epoch. And yet this remains the *classical epoch*, not only on account of the Founder and of the original testimony, but quite as much because a *Jewish* Christian (Paul) recognized the Gospel as the power of God, which was able to save both Jew and Greek, and because he designedly severed the Gospel from the Jewish national religion and proclaimed the Christ as the *end* of the Law. Then other Jewish Christians, personal disciples of Jesus, indeed, followed him in all this (see also the 4th Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews).

No Chasm Between Earlier Epoch and Succeeding Period.

Yet there is in reality no chasm between the older brief epoch and the succeeding period, so far as the Gospel is in itself universalistic, and this character very soon became manifest. But the means by which Paul and his sympathizers set forth the universal character of the Gospel (proving that the Old Testament religion had been fulfilled and done away with) was little understood, and, *vice versa*, the manner and means by which the Gentile Christians came to an acceptance of the Gospel, can only in part be attributed to the preaching of Paul. So far as we now possess in the New Testament *substantial* writings in which the Gospel is so thoroughly thought out that it is prized as the *supplanter* of the Old Testament religion, and writings which at the same time are not deeply touched with the Greek spirit, does this literature differ radically from all that follows.

Gentile Church did not Comprehend Paul's Problem.

4. The growing Gentile Church, notwithstanding Paul's significant relation toward it, did not comprehend, nor really experience the crisis, out of which the Pauline conception of the Gospel arose. In the Jewish propaganda, within which the Old Testament had long since become liberalized and spiritualized, the Gentile Church, entering and gradually subjecting the same to itself, seldom felt the problem of the reconciliation of the Old Testament with the Gospel, since by means of the allegorical method the propaganda had freed themselves from the letter of the law, but had not entirely overcome its spirit; indeed they had simply cast off their national character. Moved by the hostile power of the Jews and later also of the Gentiles and by the consciousness of inherent strength to organize a "people" for itself, the Church as a matter of course

took on the form of the thought and life of the world in which it lived, casting aside everything polytheistic, immoral and vulgar. Thus arose the new organizations, which with all their newness bore testimony to their kinship with the original Palestinian churches, in so far as, (1) the Old Testament was likewise recognized as a primitive revelation, and in so far as, (2) the strong spiritual monotheism, (3) the outlines of the proclamation concerning Jesus Christ, (4) the consciousness of a direct and living fellowship with God through the gift of the Spirit, (5) the expectation of the approaching end of the world, and the earnest conviction of the personal responsibility and accountability of each individual soul were all likewise maintained. To these is to be added finally, that the earliest Jewish-Christian proclamation, yes, the Gospel itself, bears the stamp of the spiritual epochs, out of which it arose,—of the Hellenic age, in which the nations exchanged their wares and religions were transformed, and the idea of the worth and accountability of every soul became widespread; so that the Hellenism which soon pressed so mightily into the Church was not absolutely strange and new.

Gentile Churches Retained Many Palestinian Characteristics.

History of Dogma has to do with Gentile Church Only.

5. The history of dogma has to do with the Gentile Church only—the history of theology begins, it is true, with Paul—, but in order to understand historically the basis of the formation of doctrine in the Gentile Church, it must take into consideration, as already stated, the following as antecedent condi-

Presuppositions.

tions: (1) *The Gospel of Jesus Christ*, (2) *The general and simultaneous proclamation of Jesus Christ in the first generation of believers*, (3) *The current understanding and exposition of the Old Testament and the Jewish anticipations of the future and their speculations*, (4) *The religious conceptions and the religious philosophy of the Hellenistic Jews*, (5) *The religious attitude of the Greeks and Romans during the first two centuries, and the current Græco-Roman philosophy of religion.*

IV.—THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO HIS OWN TESTIMONY.

Gospel is Good News of Kingdom of God.

The Gospel is the good news of the *reign* of the Almighty and Holy God, the Father and Judge of the world and of each individual soul. In this reign, which makes men citizens of the heavenly kingdom and gives them to realize their citizenship in the approaching eon, the *life* of every man who gives himself to God is secure, even if he should immediately lose the world and his earthly life; while those who seek to win the world and to keep their life fall into the hands of the Judge, who condemns them to hell. This reign of God, in that it rises above all ceremonies and statutes, places men under a *law*, which is old and yet new, viz.: Whole-hearted *love* to God and to one's neighbor. In this love, wherever it controls the thoughts in their deepest springs, that *better justice* is exemplified which corresponds

Love to God and Man.

to the *perfection* of God. The way to secure this righteousness is by a *change of heart*, *i.e.* by self-denial and humility before God and a heart-felt trust in him. In such humility and trust in God the soul realizes its own unworthiness. The Gospel, however, calls even sinners, who are so disposed, unto the kingdom of God, in that it assures them satisfaction with his justice, *i.e.*, guarantees them *the forgiveness of the sins* which have hitherto separated them from God. In the three-fold form, however, in which the Gospel is set forth, (God's sovereignty, higher justice [law of love] and forgiveness of sin) it is inseparably connected with Jesus Christ. For in the proclamation of the Gospel, Jesus Christ everywhere called men unto himself. In him is the Gospel *word* and *deed;* it is his meat and drink and, therefore, is it become his personal life, and into *this life* he would draw all men. He is *the Son*, who knows the Father. Men should see in him how kind the Lord is; in him they may experience the power and sovereignty of God over the world and be comforted in this trust; him, the meek and gentle-hearted One, should they follow; and inasmuch as he, the holy and pure One, calls sinners unto himself, they should be fully assured that God through him forgives sin.

God's Sovereignty, Law of Love, Forgiveness of Sin.

Gospel Word and Deed in Jesus.

This close connection of his *Gospel* with his *person*, Jesus by no means made prominent in *words*, but left his disciples to experience it. He called himself the Son of Man and led them on to the con-

Jesus Messiah.

Redeemer, Judge.

Gospel Frees from all Legality.

fession that he was their Master and Messiah. Thereby he gave to his lasting significance for them and for his people a comprehensible expression, and at the close of his life, in an hour of great solemnity, he said to them that his death also like his life was an imperishable service which he rendered to the "many" for the forgiveness of sins. By this he raised himself above the plane of all others, although they may already be his brethren; he claimed for himself an unique significance as the *Redeemer* and as the *Judge;* for he interpreted his death, like all his suffering, as a triumph, as the transition to *his glory*, and he proved his power by actually awakening in his disciples the conviction that he still lives and is Lord over the dead and the living. The religion of the Gospel rests upon this faith in Jesus Christ, *i.e.* looking upon him, that historical Person, the believer is convinced that *God* rules heaven and earth, and that God, the Judge, is also Father and Redeemer. The religion of the Gospel is the religion which frees men from all legality, which, however, at the same time lays upon them the highest moral obligations—the simplest and the severest—and lays bare the contradiction in which every man finds himself as regards them. But it brings *redemption* out of such necessities, in that it leads men to the gracious God, leaves them in his hands, and draws their life into union with the inexhaustible and blessed life of Jesus Christ, who has overcome the world and called sinners to himself.

V.—THE GENERAL PROCLAMATION CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST IN THE FIRST GENERATION OF HIS ADHERENTS.

Jesus Risen Lord.

1. Men had learned to know Jesus Christ and had found him to be the Messiah. In the first two generations following him everything was said about him which men were in any way able to say. Inasmuch as they knew him to be the Risen One, they exalted him as the Lord of the world and of history, sitting at the right hand of God, as the Way, the Truth and the Life, as the Prince of Life and the living Power of a new existence, as the Conqueror of death and the King of a coming new kingdom. Although strong individual feeling, special experience, Scriptural learning and a fantastic tendency gave from the beginning a form to the confession of him, yet common characteristics of the proclamation can be definitely pointed out.

Way, Truth, Life.

King.

Content of Disciples' Belief.

2. The content of the disciples' belief and the general proclamation of it on the ground of the certainty of the resurrection of Jesus, can be set forth as follows: Jesus is the Messiah promised by the prophets —he will come again and establish a visible kingdom,—they who believe on him and surrender themselves entirely to this belief, may feel assured of the grace of God and of a share in his future glory. A new community of Christian believers thus organized itself within the Jewish nation. And this new community believed itself to be *the true Israel* of the

New Church, True Israel.

Messianic times and lived, accordingly, in all their thoughts and feelings in the future. Thus could all the Jewish apocalyptic expectations retain their power for the time of the second coming of Christ. For the fulfilment of these hopes the new community possessed a guarantee in the sacrificial death of Christ, as also in the manifold manifestations of the Spirit, which were visible upon the members upon their entrance into the brother-hood (from the beginning this introduction seems to have been accompanied by baptism) and in their gathering together. The possession of the Spirit was an assurance to each individual that he was not only a "disciple" but also a "called saint," and, as such, a priest and king of God. Faith in the God of Israel became faith in God the *Father;* added to this was faith in Jesus, the Christ and Son of God, and the witness of the gift of the Holy Spirit, *i.e.* of the Spirit of God and Christ. In the strength of this faith men lived in the fear of the Judge and in trust in God, who had already begun the redemption of his own people. The proclamation concerning Jesus, the Christ, rested first of all entirely upon the Old Testament, yet it had its starting-point in the exaltation of Jesus through his resurrection from the dead. To prove that the entire Old Testament pointed toward him, and that his person, his work, his fate were the actual and verbal fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies, was the chief interest of believers, in so far as they did not give themselves entirely to ex-

Possession of Spirit, Assurance of Discipleship.

Preaching Based Entirely on Old Testament.

Speculation Began in Apostolic Ages.

pectations of the future. This reference did not serve at once to make clear the meaning and worth of the Messianic work—this it did not seem to need—but rather to establish the Messiah-ship of Jesus. However, the Old Testament, as it was then understood, gave occasion, through the fixing of the person and dignity of Christ, for widening the scope of the thought of Israel's perfected theocracy. And, in addition, faith in the exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God caused men to think of the beginning of his existence in harmony therewith. Then the fact of the successful Gentile conversion threw a new light upon the scope of his work, *i.e.* upon its significance for all mankind. And finally the personal claims of Jesus led men to reflect on his peculiar relation to God, the Father. On these four points speculation began already in the apostolic age and it went on to formulate new statements concerning the person and dignity of Christ. In proclaiming Jesus to be the Christ men ceased thereby to proclaim the Gospel, because the τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς was to be included as a matter of course and so did not especially engage the thoughts. That this must be for the future a questionable digression is plain enough; for since everything depends upon the appropriation of the Person of Jesus, it is not possible for a personal life to be appropriated through *opinions* about the Person, but only through the record of the *concrete Personality.*

Assurance of Forgiveness and Righteousness Before God.

3. Upon the basis of the plain words of Jesus and in the consciousness of the possession of the Spirit men were ~~already~~ assured of a *present possession* of the forgiveness of sin, of righteousness before God, of the full knowledge of the Divine Will and of the call into the future kingdom. In the acquiring of these blessings, surely not a few realized the consequences of the first coming of the Messiah, *i.e.* his work, and they referred especially the forgiveness of sin to the death of Christ, and eternal life to his resurrection. But no theories touching the relation of the blessings of the Gospel to the history of Christ were propounded; Paul was the first to develop a theology upon the basis of the death and resurrection of Christ and to bring it into relations with the Old Testament religion.

Paul's Theology Opposed to Legalistic Righteousness.

4. This theology was constructed in opposition to the legalistic righteousness of the pharisees, *i.e.*, to the official religion of the Old Testament. While its form was thereby somewhat conditioned, its power rested in the certainty of the new life of the Spirit, which the Risen One offered, who through his death overcame the world of the flesh and of sin. With the thought that righteousness comes through faith in God who raised Jesus from the dead and fulfilled the Law by the legal way of the crucifixion of the Christ upon the cross, Paul wrenched the Gospel from its native soil and gave it at the same time through his Christological speculation and his carrying out of the contrast of flesh and spirit, a charac-

teristic stamp which was comprehensible to the Greeks, although they were illy prepared to accept his special manner of reconciling it with the Law. Through Paul, who was the first theologian, the question of the Law (in theory and practice) and the principles of missionary activity accordingly became the absorbing themes in the Christian communities. While he proclaimed freedom from the Law and baptized the heathen, forbidding them to become Jews, others now for the first time consciously made the righteousness of Christian believers dependent upon the punctilious observance of the Law and rejected Paul as an apostle and as a Christian. Yet the chief disciples of Jesus were convinced, perhaps not a little influenced by the success of Paul, and conceded to the heathen the right to become Christians without first becoming Jews. This well attested fact is the strongest evidence that Christ had awakened among his personal disciples a faith in himself, which was dearer to them than all the traditions of the fathers. Yet there were among those who accepted the Pauline mission various opinions as to the attitude which one should take toward heathen Christians in ordinary life and intercourse. These opinions held out for a long time.

Heathen Not Obliged to Become Jews.

Transformation of Christianity Occurred Apart from Paul.

As surely as Paul had fought his fight for the *whole* of Christendom, so sure also is it that the transformation of the original form of Christianity into its universal form took place *outside* of his activity (proof: the Church at Rome). The Judaism of the diaspora was long since surrounded by a retinue of half-bred Grecian brethren, for whom the particular and national forms of the Old Testament religion were hardly existent (see VII.). And, farther, this Judaism itself had begun to transform for the Jews the old religion into a universal and spiritual religion without casting aside its forms, which were rather considered significant symbols (mysteries). The Gospel, being received into these circles, completed simply and almost suddenly the process of spiritualizing the old religion, and it stripped off the old forms as shells, replacing them at once in part by new forms (*e.g.*, circumcision is circumcision of the heart, likewise also baptism; the Sabbath is the glorious kingdom of Christ, etc.). The outward withdrawal from the synagogue is also here a clear proof of the power and self-consciousness of the new religion. The same developed itself rapidly in consequence of the hatred of the Jews, who adhered to the old faith. Paul exerted an influence, and the destruction of Jerusalem cleared up entirely the obscurities which still remained.

VI.—THE CURRENT EXPOSITION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE JEWISH FUTURE HOPE, IN THEIR BEARING ON THE EARLIEST FORMULATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE.

Old School-Exegesis Retained by Church.

1. Although the method of the pedant, the casuistic handling of the Law and the extortion of the

deepest meaning of the prophecies, had been in principle done away with by Jesus Christ, the old school-exegesis still remained active in the Christian churches, and especially the unhistorical local-method in the exposition of the Old Testament, as well as the allegoristic and the Haggada; for a sacred text—and as such the Old Testament was considered—ever invites men in the exposition of it to disregard its historical conditions and interpret it according to the needs of the time. Especially wherever the proofs of the fulfilment prophecy, *i.e.*, of the Messiah-ship of Jesus was concerned, the received point of view exercised its influence, as well upon the exposition of the Old Testament as upon the conception of the person, fate and deeds of Jesus. It gave, under the strong impression of the history of Jesus, to many Old Testament passages a foreign sense and enriched, on the other hand, the life of Jesus with new facts, throwing the emphasis upon details, which were often unreal and seldom of prime importance.

Jewish Apocalyptic Literature Retained.

2. The Jewish apocalyptic literature, as it flourished after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was not forbidden within the circles of the first believers of the Gospel, but rather was it retained and read as an explanation of the prophecies of Jesus and, as it were, cultivated. Although the content of the same appeared modified and the uncertainty regarding the person of the Messiah who was to appear in judgment was done away with, the earthly sensuous

hopes were by no means wholly repressed. Confused pictures filled the fancy, threatened to obscure the plain and earnest description of the judgment which every individual soul is sure of, and drove many friends of the Gospel into a restless turmoil and into a detestation of the state. Consequently the reproduction of the eschatological discourses of Jesus became indefinite; even things wholly foreign were mingled therewith, and the true aim of the Christian life and hope began to waver.

Mythological and Poetical Ideas Legitimized.

3. Through the apocalyptic literature, the artificial exegesis and the Haggada, a mass of mythological and poetical ideas crowded into the Christian communities and were legitimized. The most important for the succeeding times were the speculations in regard to the Messiah, which were drawn in part from the Old Testament and the apocalypses and in part were constructed in accordance with methods whose right no one questioned and whose adoption seemed to give security to the faith. Long since in the Jewish religion men had given to everything that is and that happens an existence within the knowledge of God, but they had in reality confined this representation to that only which is really important. The advancing religious thought had above all included individuals also, that is, the most prominent, within this speculation which should glorify God, and so a pre-existence was ascribed also to the Messiah, but of such a nature that by virtue of it *he abides with God during his earthly manifesta-*

Pre-Existence Ascribed to Messiah.

tion. In opposition to this, the Hellenic ideas of pre-existence rooted themselves in the distinguishing of God and matter; spirit and flesh. According to the same the Spirit is pre-existent and visible nature is only a shell which it assumes. Here was the soil for ideas about the incarnation, the assumption of a second nature, etc. In the time of Christ these Hellenic ideas influenced the Jewish and thus both were so spread abroad that even the most prominent Christian teachers adopted them. The religious convictions (see V. 2), that, (1) the establishment of the kingdom of God upon the earth and the sending of Jesus as the perfect Mediator was from eternity the highest purpose in God's plan of salvation, that, (2) the glorified Christ has entered into his own proper position of God-like dominion, that, (3) in Jesus God has revealed himself, and that he therefore excels all Old Testament mediators, yes, the angel-powers themselves—these convictions were so *fixed* (not without the influence of Hellenic thought) that Jesus pre-existed, *i.e.* that in him a heavenly Being of like rank with God, older than the world, yes even its creating Principle, has appeared and assumed our flesh. The religious root of this speculation lay in sentences such as I. Pet. 1, 20; its forms of statement were varied even according to the intelligence of the teacher and his familiarity with the apocalyptic theology or with the Hellenic philosophy of religion, in which intermediate beings (above all the Logos) played a great rôle.

Religious Root of Speculation.

Only the Fourth Evangelist—he hardly belongs to the 1st century—saw with perfect clearness that the pre-earthly Christ must be established as ϑεὸς ὢν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν ϑεόν, in order not to endanger the content and significance of the revelation of God in Christ. In addition there prevailed in wide circles such conceptions also as recognized in a spiritual communication at his baptism the equipment of the man Jesus (see the genealogies, the beginning of the Gospel of Mark) for his office, or found upon the basis of Isa. vii. in his miraculous birth (from a virgin) the germ of his unique being. (The rise and spread of this representation is wholly indistinct to us; Paul seems not to have known it; in the beginning of the 2d century it is almost universal.) On the other hand, it is of great significance that every teacher who recognized the *new* in Christianity as *religion* ascribed pre-existence to Christ.

Rise and Spread Indistinct.

Supplement.—A reference to the witness of prophecy, to the current exposition of the Old Testament, to apocalyptic writings and valid methods of speculation was not sufficient to clear up every new point which cropped out in the statement of the Christian message. The earliest brother-hoods were enthusiastic, had prophets in the midst of them, etc. Under such conditions facts were produced outright continually in the history (*e.g.*, as particularly weighty, the ascension of Christ and his descent into hell). It is farther not possible to point out the motive to such productions, which first only by the creation of

Earliest Brother-hoods Enthusiastic.

Facts Produced.

the New Testament Canon reached a by no means complete end, *i.e.*, now became enriched by comprehensible mythologumena.

VII.—THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS AND THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF THE HELLENISTIC JEWS IN THEIR BEARING ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GOSPEL MESSAGE.

Religion of Diaspora, Morality, and Cosmology.

1. From the remnants of Jewish-Alexandrian literature (reference is also made to the Sibylline Oracles as well as to Josephus) and from the great propaganda of Judaism in the Græco-Roman world, it may be inferred that there was a Judaism in the diaspora to whose consciousness the cultus and the ceremonial law disappeared entirely behind the monotheistic worship of God without images, behind the moral instruction and the faith in a future reward beyond. Circumcision itself was no longer absolutely required of those converted to Judaism; one was also satisfied with the cleansing bath. The Jewish *religion* seemed here transformed into a common human *morality* and into a monotheistic *cosmology*. Accordingly the thought of the theocracy as well as the Messianic hope grew dim. The latter did not entirely fail, however, but the prophecies were valued chiefly for the proof of the antiquity of the Jewish monotheism, and the thought of the future spent itself in the expectation of the destruction of the Roman empire, of the burning of the world and—

what is weightiest—the *general judgment*. That which is specifically Jewish preserved itself under a high regard for the Old Testament, which was considered as the fountain of all wisdom (also for the Greek philosophy and the elements of truth in the non-Jewish religions). Many intelligent men also observed punctiliously the Law for the sake of its symbolical significance. Such Jews, together with their converts from the Greeks, formed a new Judaism upon the foundation of the old. And these prepared the soil for the Christianizing of the Greeks, as well as for the establishment within the empire of a great Gentile Church free from the Law; under the influence of Greek culture it developed into a kind of universal society with a monotheistic background. As religion it laid aside the national forms, put itself forward as the most perfect form of that "natural" religion, which the Stoa had discovered. But in that way it became more *moralistic* and lost a part of the *religious* energy, which the prophets and psalmists possessed. The inner union of Judaism and the Hellenistic philosophy of religion indicates a great advance in the history of religion and culture, but the same did not lead to strong religious *creations*. Its productions passed over into "Christianity."

Preparation for Christianizing Greeks.

2. The Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion had its most noted defender in Philo,—the perfect Greek and the sincere Jew, who turned the religious philosophy of his time in the direction of Neo-

Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy of Religion, Philo.

Platonism and prepared the way for a Christian theology, which was able to rival the philosophy. Philo was a Platonist and a Stoic, but at the same time a revelation-philosopher; he placed the final end in that which is above reason and therefore the highest power in the Divine communication. On the other hand, he saw in the human *spirit* something Divine and bridged over the contrast between *God* and creature-*spirit*, between nature and history, by means of the personal-impersonal *Logos*, out of which he explained religion and the world whose material, it is true, remained to him wholly perishable and evil. His ethical tendencies had, therefore, in principle a strong ascetic character, however much he might guard the earthly virtues as relative. Virtue is freedom from the sensuous and it is made perfect through the touch of Divinity. This touch surpasses all knowledge; the latter, however, is to be highly prized as the *way*. Meditation upon the world is by Philo dependent upon the need of happiness and freedom, which is higher than all reason. One may say that Philo is therefore the first who, as a philosopher, gave to this need a clear expression, because he was not only a Greek, but also a Jew imbued with the Old Testament within whose view, it is true, the synthesis of the Messiah and of the Logos did not lay.

Ascetic Virtue.

Influence of Alexandrian Philosophy of Religion Upon Christianity.

3. The practical fundamental conceptions of the Alexandrian philosophy of religion must, in different degrees, have found an entrance very early into

the Jewish-Christian circles of the diaspora, and through the same also into the Gentile-Christian; or rather the soil was already prepared wherever these thoughts became widespread. After the beginning of the 2d century the philosophy of Philo also became influential through Christian teachers, especially his *Logos-doctrine*, as the expression of the unity of religion, nature and history; and *above all his fundamental hermeneutic principles.* The systems of Valentine and Origen presuppose the system of Philo. His fine dualism and allegorical art ("the Biblical alchemy") became acceptable also to the learned men of the Church; to find the *spiritual* meaning of the sacred text, in part alongside the letter and in part outside, was the watchword of scientific Christian theology, which in general was possible only upon such a basis, since it strove, without recognizing a *relative* standard, to unify the monstrous and discordant material of the Old Testament and the Gospel, and to reconcile both with the religion and scientific culture of the Greeks. Here Philo was a master, for he first in the largest sense poured the new wine into the old wine-skins—a procedure in its ultimate intention justified, since history is a unit; but in its pedantic and scholastic execution the same was a source of illusions, of unreality and finally of stultification.

Valentinus and Origen Presuppose Philo.

VIII. — THE RELIGIOUS DISPOSITION OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES AND THE CONTEMPORARY GRÆCO-ROMAN PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Græco-Roman World Grew More Religious in 2d and 3d Centuries.

1. In the age of Cicero and Augustus the people's religion and the religious sense in general was almost entirely wanting in cultured circles, but after the end of the 1st century of our era a revival of the religious sense is noticeable in the Græco-Roman world, which affected all grades of society and seemed after the middle of the 2d century to grow stronger from decennium to decennium. Parallel with it went the not fruitless attempt to restore the old national cults, religious usages, oracles, et cetera. Meanwhile the new religious needs of the time did not reach a vigorous or untroubled expression through this effort, which was made in part from above and in part by artificial means. The same sought, far more in accordance with the wholly changed conditions of the times, to find new forms of gratification (intermingling and intercourse of nations—downfall of the old republican constitutions, institutions and classes—monarchy and absolutism—social crises and pauperism—influence of philosophy, religion, morality and law—cosmopolitanism and human rights—influx of Oriental cults — knowledge of the world and satiety). Under the influence of philosophy a disposition toward *monotheism* was developed out of the downfall of the political cults and the syncretism.

Religion and Morality More United.

Religion and *individual morality* became more closely united: *Spiritualization of the cults, ennobling of man, idea of ethical personality, of conscience and of purity. Repentance and pardon* became of importance, also inner union with the Divinity, longing for *revelation* (*asceticism and mysterious rites as a means of appropriating the Divine*), yearning after a painless, eternal life beyond the grave (apotheosis); the earthly life as a phantom life (ἐγκράτεια and ἀνάστασις). Just as in the 2d century the *moral* swing was the stronger, so in the 3d century the religious increased more and more—thirst for *life*. Polytheism was not thereby overcome, but only shoved aside upon a lower plane, where it was as active as ever. The *numen supremum* revealed its fulness in a thousand forms (demigods), going upward (apotheosis, emperor cult, "*dominus ac deus noster*") and downward (manifestations in nature and in history). The soul itself is a super-earthly being; the ideal of the perfect man and of the Leader (Redeemer) was developed and sought after. The new remained in part concealed by the old cultus forms, which the state and piety protected or restored; there was a feeling-around after forms of expression, and yet the wise, the skeptic, the pious and the patriot capitulated to the cultish traditions.

Social Organizations, Roman Empire, Cosmopolitanism.

2. The formation of social organizations, on the one hand, and the founding of the monarchical world-wide Roman empire, on the other, had the

greatest significance as regards the development of something new. Everywhere there sprang up that cosmopolitan feeling, which points beyond itself, there toward the practice of charity, here toward the uniting of mankind under *one* head and the wiping out of national lines. The Church appropriated, *piece for piece*, the great apparatus of the earthly Roman empire; in its constitution, perhaps, it also saw the portrayal of the Divine economy.

Stoicism, Platonism.

3. Perhaps the most decisive factor in the change of the religious-ethical attitude was the philosophy, which in almost all its schools had more and more brought ethics forward and deepened the same. Upon the soil of Stoicism, Posidonius, Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, and upon the soil of Platonism, men like Plutarch had achieved an ethical-outlook, which in its principles (knowledge, resignation, trust in God) was obscure, yet in some particulars scarcely admits of improvement. Common to them all is the great value put upon the *soul*. A religious bent, the desire for Divine assistance, for redemption and for a life beyond, comes out distinctly in some of them; most clearly in the Neo-Platonists and those who anticipated them in the 2d century (preparation by Philo). Characteristics of this mode of thought are the dualistic contrasting of the Divine and the earthly, the abstract idea of God, the assertion of the unknowableness of God, skepticism in regard to sense-experience and distrust of the powers of reason; at the same time great readi-

Neo-Platonism.

ness to investigate and to utilize the results of the previous scientific labors; and farther, the demand for freedom from the sensuous through asceticism, the want of an authority, belief in a higher revelation and the fusing of religion, science and mythology. Already men began to legitimize the religious *fantasie* within the realm of philosophy, by reaching back and seizing the myths as the vehicle of the deepest wisdom (romanticism). The theosophical philosophy which had thus equipped itself was from the standpoint of natural science and clear thinking in many ways a retrogression (yet not in all particulars, *e.g.* the Neo-Platonic psychology is far better than the Stoic); but it was an expression for the deeper religious needs and the better self-knowledge. The inner life with its desires was now altogether the starting-point for all thought concerning the world. Thoughts of the divine, gracious Providence, of the kinship of all men, of the common fraternal love, of the ready and willing forgiveness of wrong, of the indulgent patience, of the insight into their own weaknesses were no less the product of the practical philosophy of the Greeks for wide circles, than the conviction of the inherent sinfulness, of the need of redemption and of the value of a human soul which finds its rest only in God. But men possessed no sure *revelation*, no comprehensive and satisfactory *religious communion*, no vigorous and religious *genius* and no conception of *history*, which could take the place of the no longer valuable

Religious Fantasie Legitimized.

Revelation and Religious Communion Wanting.

political history; men possessed no *certitude* and they did not get beyond the wavering between the fear of God and the deification of nature. *Yet with this philosophy, the highest the age had to offer, the Gospel allied itself, and the stages of the Ecclesiastical History of Dogma during the first five centuries correspond to the stages of the Hellenistic Philosophy of Religion within the same period.*

Introductory Works to History of Dogma.

As an introduction to the study of the history of dogma the following works are to be especially commended: Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volks im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 2. Bd. 1885 (English translation published by T. & T. Clark). Weber, System der altsynagogalen palästinensischen Theologie, 1880. Kuenen, Volksreligion und Weltreligion, 1883. Wellhausen, Abriss der Geschichte Israel's und Juda's (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, 1. Heft, 1884). Weiss, Lehrbuch der bibl. Theologie, 4. Aufl., 1884. Baldensperger, Das Selbstbewustsein Jesu im Licht der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit, 1888. Leben Jesu von Keim, Weiss and others and the Einleitungen in das N. T. von Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Holtzmann und Weiss. Weizsäcker, Apostolisches Zeitalter, 1886. Renan, Hist. des Orig. du Christianisme, T. II.–IV. Pfleiderer, Das Urchristendum, 1887, Diestel, Geschichte des A. T. i. der christl. Kirche, 1869, Siegfried, Philo v. Alex. 1875. Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, 1886. Die Untersuchungen von Freudenthal ('Hellenistische Studien') and Bernays. Boissier, La Réligion Romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins, 2 vols., 1874. Réville, La Réligion à Rome sous les Sévères, 1886 (German by Krüger 1888). Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zu Ausgang der Antonine, 3. Bdd. 5. Aufl. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung, 3. Bdd. 1878. Leopold Schmidt, Die Ethik der alten Griechen, 2 Bdd. 1882. Heinze, Die Lehre vom Logos, 1872. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften, 3 Thle. 1877. Die Lehrbücher der Geschichte der Philosophie von Zeller, Ueberweg, Strümpell and others.

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THE RISE OF ECCLESIASTICAL DOGMA.

BOOK I.

THE PREPARATION.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Gentile-Christian Communities.

THE first century of the existence of Gentile-Christian communities is characterized, (1) by the rapid retirement of Jewish Christianity, (2) by religious enthusiasm and the strength of the future hope, (3) by a severe morality deduced from the Masters' teaching, (4) by the manifold form and freedom of expression of belief, on the basis of plain formulas and ever increasing tradition, (5) by the lack of a definite authority, in the transition to a recognized outward authority among the churches, (6) by the lack of a political connection among the various communities, and by an organization which was firm and yet permitted individual liberty, (7) by the development of a peculiar literary activity, claiming assent to its newly produced facts, (8) by the reproduction of detached phrases and individual inferences from the apostolical teaching, without a clear understanding of the same, (9) by the cropping out of those tendencies which served in every way to hasten the process already begun of fusing the Gospel with the spiritual and religious interests of the time,—with Hellenism,—as well as by numerous attempts to wrench the Gospel free from its native setting and to introduce elements foreign to it. And finally, above all, it belonged to the (Hellenic) representation to consider knowledge, not as a (charismatic) supplement to faith, but as of like essence with it.

CHAPTER II.

GROUND COMMON TO CHRISTIANS AND ATTITUDE TAKEN TOWARD JUDAISM.

Beliefs Common to Christians. THAT the great majority of Christians had common beliefs is indicated by this fact, among others, that gnosticism was gradually expelled from the churches. Assurance of the knowledge of the true God, consciousness of responsibility to him, faith in Christ, hope in eternal life, exaltation above the present world,—these were fundamental thoughts. If we enter into details the following points may be noted:

Gospel. 1. The Gospel, being founded upon a revelation, is the reliable message of the true God, the faithful acceptance of which guarantees salvation;

Content of Message.

2. The real content of this message is spiritual monotheism, the announcement of the resurrection and eternal life, as well as the proclamation of moral purity and abstinence on the ground of repentance toward God and of attested cleansing through baptism in remembrance of the reward of good and evil;

Comes through Christ.

3. This message comes to us through Jesus Christ, who "in these last days" is the commissioned Saviour and stands in a peculiar relationship with God. He is the Redeemer (σωτήρ) because he has brought full knowledge of God and the gift of eternal life (γνῶσις and ζωή, and especially γνῶσις τῆς ζωῆς, the expression for the *summa* of the Gospel). He is also the highest Prototype of every ethical virtue, the Law-Giver and the Law of the perfect life, and accordingly the Conqueror of demons and the Judge of the world;

Virtue is Abstinence and Love.

4. Virtue is abstinence (a renunciation of the good things of this world, in which the Christian is a stranger, and whose destruction is awaited) and brotherly love;

Message Entrusted to Apostles.

5. The message of the Christ is entrusted to chosen men, to apostles, and more especially to one apostle; their preaching is the preaching of the Christ. Moreover, the Spirit of God reproduces his gifts and graces in the "saints," and thus equips special "prophets and teachers," who receive communications for the edification of others;

Worship.

6. Christian worship is the offering of spiritual

sacrifice without regard to statutory rites and ceremonies; the holy offices and anointings, which are connected with the Christian cult, have their virtue in this, that spiritual blessings are therewith imparted;

Basis of Brotherhood.

7. The barriers of sex, age, position and nationality vanish entirely for Christians, as Christians; the Christian brotherhood rests upon the Divine election and is organized through the gifts of the Spirit; in regard to the ground of election there were divers views;

Christianity and Judaism.

8. Since Christianity is the only true religion and is not a national religion, but belongs to all mankind and pertains to our inmost life, it follows that it can have no special alliance with the Jewish people, or with their peculiar cult. The Jewish people of to-day, at least, stand in no favored relationship with the God whom Jesus has revealed; whether they formerly did is doubtful; this, however, is certain, that God has cast them off, and that the whole Divine revelation, so far as there was any revelation prior to Christ (the majority believed in one and looked upon the Old Testament as Holy Scripture) had as its end the calling of a "new nation" and the spreading of the revelation of God through his Son.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMON FAITH AND THE BEGINNINGS OF SELF-RECOGNITION IN THAT GENTILE CHRISTIANITY WHICH WAS TO DEVELOP INTO CATHOLICISM.

SOURCES: The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, inferences drawn from the Works of the Apologists of the 2d century; Ritschl, Entstehung der alt-kath. Kirche, 2. Ed. 1857; Engelhardt, Das Christenthum Justins, 1878; Pfleiderer, Das Urchristenthum, 1887.

Fixing of Outlines and Character of Christianity.

1. *The Christian Communities and the Church.*—Both the outlines and the character of the foundations of Christianity were fixed by those disciples of the faith, who were members of well-ordered Christian communities, and who accepted the Old Testament as an original Divine revelation and prized the Gospel tradition as a free message for all, which should be kept faithfully pure. Each little brotherhood should, through the strength of its faith, the certainty of its hope and the holy ordering of its life, as well as through love and peace, be an image of the holy Church of God, which is in heaven and whose members are scattered over the earth; it should, also, in the purity of its daily life and in the genuineness of its brotherly kindness be an ensample to those who are "without," *i.e.* to the alien world. In the recently discovered "Teaching of the Apostles" we come upon the sphere of interest in those communities who had not yet been influenced by philosophical speculation. They awaited the return

of the Christ, and urged a holy life ("Two Ways," dependence of its ethical rules upon the Jewish-Alexandrian gnomic and the Sermon on the Mount) and, without outward union and a common polity, they recognized themselves as belonging to the new and yet original creation of God, to the Church, which is the true Eve, the Bride of the heavenly Christ (Tertull. Apolog. 39: *corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate et spei fœdere;* II. Clem. 14: *ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης τῆς πνευματικῆς, τῆς πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκτισμένης . . . ἐκκλησία ζῶσα σῶμά ἐστι Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄρσεν καί θῆλυ· τὸ ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία*).

Foundations of the Faith.

Old Testament.

Articles of Faith.

Primitive Creed.

2. *The Foundations of the Faith, i.e.* of the confessions respecting the *One* God and Jesus and also the Holy Spirit, were laid by the "Christianized" Old Testament Scriptures, together with the apocalypses and the ever increasing traditions concerning the Christ (his ethical and eschatological discourses, on the one side, and the proclamation of the history of Jesus on the other). Prophecy was proven by theology. Already at an early date short articles of faith had been formulated (*ἡ παράδοσις, ὁ παραδοθεὶς λόγος, ὁ κανὼν τῆς παραδόσεως, τὸ κήρυγμα, ἡ διδαχή, ἡ πίστις, ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως*, etc.). The church at Rome had formulated before A.D. 150 the following creed, which was the basis for all future creeds: *πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα· καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μοναγενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννη-*

Rise of Court of Appeal.

θέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καί εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Everything that had been prophesied concerning the Christ in the Old Testament, and that had been testified concerning him in the primitive Gospel, was referred back to the *concurrent* teaching and testimony of the twelve apostles (*διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν ιβʹ ἀποστόλων*). The rise of this court of appeal, which was the beginning of the idea of Catholic tradition, is historically obscure and rests upon an *a priori.* Of like authority, though not identified with it, is Paul with his Epistles, which were, moreover, diligently read.

Main Elements in Christianity.

3. *The Principal Elements of Christianity* were faith in God, the δεσπότης, and in his Son, on the ground of the fulfilment of prophecy and of the apostolic attested teaching of the Lord, the discipline in accordance with the standard laid down by the Master, baptism culminating in a common sacrificial prayer, the communion meal, and the certain hope of the near coming of Christ's glorious kingdom. The confessions of faith were very manifold; there was not as yet any definite doctrine of faith; imagination, speculation and the exclusively spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament had the widest range; for man must not quench the Spirit. In the exercise of prayer the congregations expressed that

which they possessed in God and in Christ; and the duty of sacrificing this world for the hoped-for future appeared as the practical side of faith itself. **Conceptions of Salvation.** The varying conceptions of salvation grouped themselves about two centres, which were only loosely connected; the one was fixed chiefly by the disposition and the imagination, the other by the intellect. **Chiliasm.** On the one side, accordingly, salvation was believed to consist in the approaching glorious kingdom of Christ, which should bring joy upon the earth to the righteous (this realistic Jewish conception was derived directly from the apocalypses: Chiliasm, and hence the interest in the resurrection of the *physical body*). On the other side, salvation was held to consist in a definite and full knowledge of God (and the world), as against the errors of heathenism; **Knowledge of God.** and this knowledge disclosed to faith (πίστις) and hope the gift of life and all imaginable blessings (less emphasis was accordingly placed on the resurrection of the *physical body*). Of these blessings the brotherhood was already in possession of the forgiveness of sin and of righteousness, in so far as theirs was a brotherhood of saints. **Moral View.** But these two blessings appeared to be endangered as to their worth by emphasizing the *moral* point of view, in accordance with which eternal life is looked upon, for the most part, as the wages and the reward of a perfect moral life lived in one's own strength. It is true that the thought was still present, that sinlessness rests upon a new moral creation (the new birth) which is realized in baptism; but it was ever in danger of being crowded out by the other thought, that there are no blessings in salvation save revealed knowledge and the eternal life, but rather only a catalogue of duties, in which the Gospel is set forth as *the New Law* (as cetic holiness and love). The "Christianizing" of the Old Testament served to promote this Greek conception. The idea, it is true, was already present that the Gospel, in so far as it is law (νόμος), includes the gift of salvation (νόμος ἄνευ ζνγοῦ ἀνάγκης—νόμος τῆς ἐλευθερίας—Christ himself is the Law); but this representation was always doubtful and was gradually abandoned. The setting forth of the Gospel under the conceptions: γνῶσις (God and world), ἐπαγγελία (eternal life), νόμος (moral duty), appeared as plain as it was exhaustive, and in every relation the πίστις was held to be confirmed, since it exhibits itself in knowledge as well as in hope and in obedience; but in reality it is only πίστις τῆς κλήσεως, a preparation, because the blessings of salvation (the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ as well as the ἀφθαρσία) are conferred in the future.

Gospel as New Law.

In this hope of the future, salvation is set forth as realizing itself in a *brotherhood*, while in the moral-gnostic view it is considered as an *individual* possession, and reward and punishment are represented as co-ordinated with it, which results in emptying the conception of God of its content. The moral view of sin, forgiveness and righteousness in Clement, Barnabas and Polycarp is overlaid by Pauline phrases and formulas; but the uncertainty with

Transition to Moralism.

which these are quoted indicates that they were not really understood. In Hermas and II. Clement the ground of the forgiveness of sin is the spontaneous energizing μετάνοια. The wide-spread idea that grievous sins could not be forgiven those who had been baptized, but that light sins might be condoned, indicates the complete transition to a barren, theoretical moralism, which was, however, still overlaid by an apocalyptic enthusiasm.

Influence of Old Testament.

4. *The Old Testament as the Source of the Knowledge of Faith* contributed, (1) to the development of the monotheistic cosmology, (2) to the setting forth of the proofs of prophecy and of the antiquity of Christianity ("older than the world"), (3) to the establishing of all the ecclesiastical ideas, rights and ceremonies, which were considered necessary, (4) to the deepening of the life of faith (Psalms and prophetical fragments), (5) to the refuting of Judaism as a nation, *i.e.* to the proving that this people had been cast off by God, and that they had either never had any covenant with him (Barnabas), or had had a covenant of wrath, or had forfeited their covenant; that they had never understood the Old Testament and were therefore now deprived of it, if, indeed, they had ever been in possession of it (the attitude of the Church as a whole toward the Jewish people and their history appears to have been originally as indefinite as the attitude of the gnostics toward the Old Testament). Attempts to correct the Old Testament and to give it a Christian sense were not want-

ing; in the formation of the New Testament there were rudimentary efforts toward this end.

God is Creator, Ruler, and Redeemer.

5. *Faith Knowledge* was above all a knowledge of *God* as the only supernatural, spiritual and almighty Being: God is the Creator and Ruler of the world and is therefore the Lord. But inasmuch as he created the world as a beautiful, well-ordered whole (monotheistic theory of nature) for the sake of man, he is at the same time the God of goodness and of redemption (θεὸς σωτήρ), and only through the knowledge of the identity of the Creator and Redeemer God does faith in God as the Father reach its perfection. Redemption, however, was necessary, because mankind and the world in the very beginning fell under the dominion of demons. A general and acceptable theory in regard to the origin of this dominion did by no means exist; but the conviction was fixed and universal, that the present condition and course of the world is not of God, but of the devil. Still, faith in the almighty Creator, and hope in the restoration of the earth did not allow *theoretical* dualism to make any headway and *practical* dualism dominated. The world is good and belongs to God, but the present course of it is of the devil. Thus men's thoughts oscillated between the conception of the world as a beautiful and orderly whole, and the impression of the present evil course of things, of the baseness of the sensuous and of the dominion of demons in the world.

Dominion of Demons.

Practical Dualism.

Jesus is Lord and Saviour like God.

6. *Faith in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer* was closely identified with faith in *God* as the Redeemer. Jesus is κύριος and σωτήρ like God, and the same words were often used without indicating whether the reference was to him or to God; for in the Revealer and Mediator of salvation (Jesus), the Author (God) is represented (the purpose of salvation and the revelation of it coincide); prayer, however, was made to God through Christ. This title given to Jesus ("Christ") became indeed a mere name, since there was no real knowledge of the meaning of "Messiah."

Titles Given to Jesus.

Therefore the Gentile Christians were obliged through other means to find expressions for the dignity of Jesus; but they possessed in the full eschatological traditions valuable reminiscences of the original apprehension of the Person of Jesus. In the confession that God has chosen and specially prepared Jesus, that he is the "Angel" and "Servant" of God, and that he shall judge mankind, and similar expressions, other utterances were made concerning Jesus, which sprang from the fundamental idea that he was the "Christ" called of God and entrusted with an office. In addition there was a traditional, though not common, reference to him as "The Teacher."

Son of God.

The title "Son of God" (not "Son of Man") was traditional, and was maintained without any wavering. Out of this grew directly the conception that Jesus belongs to the sphere of God and that one must think of him "ὡς περὶ θεοῦ" (II. Clem. 1). In this phrasing of it the indirect *theologia Christi*, *in regard to which there was no wavering*, found expression in classical forms. It is necessary to think of Jesus as one thinks of God, (1) because he is the God-exalted Lord and Judge, (2) because he brought true knowledge and life and has delivered mankind from the dominion of demons, from error and sin, or will deliver them. Therefore he is σωτήρ, κύριος, θεὸς ἡμῶν, *dei filius ac deus*, *dominus ac deus*, but not ὁ θεός. He is "our Hope," "our Faith," the High-Priest of our prayers, and "our Life."

Theories of Person of Jesus.

Starting from this basis there were divers theories in regard to the Person of Jesus, which however all bore a certain analogy to the näive and the philosophical Greek "theologies", but there were no universally accepted "*doctrines*". We may distinguish here two principal types: Jesus was looked upon as the man whom God had chosen and in whom the Spirit of God (the Godhead itself) dwelt; he was, in accordance with his own testimony, adopted by God and clothed with authority (*Adoption Christology*); or Jesus was looked upon as a heavenly spiritual Being (the highest heavenly spiritual Being next to God), who became incarnate and after the completion of his work upon the earth returned to the heavens (*Pneumatic Christology;* the transition here to the *Logos Christology* was easy). These two different Christologies (the Deified man and the Divine Being appearing in the form of a man) were however brought closely to-

Two Christologies.

Näive Docetism.

Näive Modalism.

gether so soon as the implanted Spirit of God in the man Jesus was looked upon as the pre-existent Son of God (Hermas), and so soon as the title "Son of God," as applied to that spiritual Being, was derived from his (miraculous) incarnation—both, however, were maintained. Notwithstanding these transition forms the two Christologies may be clearly distinguished: In the one case the election (emphasis upon the miraculous occurrence at the baptism) and the exaltation to God are characteristic; in the other, a *näive* docetism; for as yet there was no two-nature theory (Jesus' divinity was looked upon as a gift, or else his human form as a temporary tabernacle). The declaration: Jesus was a mere man (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος) was undoubtedly from the beginning and always highly objectionable; likewise was the denial of the "ἐν σαρκί"; but the theories which identified the Person of Jesus with the Godhead (*näive modalism*) were not cast aside with the same assurance. A formal *theory* of the identity of God and Jesus does not seem to have been wide-spread in the Church at large. The acceptance of the existence at least of *one* heavenly, eternal, spiritual Being close to God was demanded outright by the Old Testament Scriptures, as men understood them, so that all were constrained to recognize *this*, whether or not they had any basis for reconciling their Christology with that heavenly Being.

Pneumatic Christology.

The pneumatic Christology was always found wherever men gave themselves to the study of the

Old Testament and wherever faith in Christ as the complete revelation of God was the foremost thought, *i.e.* it is found in *all* the important and educated Christian writers (not in Hermas, but in Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, etc.). Because this Christology seemed to be directly demanded by the Old Testament as then expounded, because it alone united and reconciled creation and redemption, because it furnished the proof that the world and religion have the same Divine Source, because the most esteemed primitive Scriptures championed it, and, finally, because it gave room for the introduction of the Logos-speculation, it was the Christology of the future. The adoption Christology, however, proved itself insufficient over against the consideration of the relation of religion to the cosmos, to humanity and its history, as well as over against the Old Testament. And the advocates of the pneumatic Christology did not set it forth as a doubtful theologumenon; their expositions of it (Clement, Ignatius, Barnabas, Justin), on the contrary, indicate that they could not conceive of a Christianity without faith in the divine spiritual Being, Christ. On the other hand, in the liturgical fragments and prayers that have come down to us, we find little reference to the pre-existence; it sufficed that Jesus is now the κύριος to whom prayer may be addressed.

Adoption Christology.

Christ as Teacher and Saviour.

The representations of the work of Christ (Christ as teacher: Giving of knowledge, proclaiming of the new law; Christ as Saviour: Giving of life, con quering of demons, forgiving of past sins in the time of error) were connected by some (following current tradition, using the Pauline Epistles) with his death and resurrection, by others they were affirmed without direct reference to these facts. Independent reflections upon the close union of the saving work of Christ with the facts set forth in his preaching are nowhere found; and yet the representation of the free endurance of suffering, of the cross, and of the blood of Christ, was accepted in many communities as a holy *mysterium*, in which the deepest wisdom and power of the Gospel is concealed (Ignatius), although the death on the cross and the forgiveness of sin were by no means everywhere (as in Clement, Polycarp and Barnabas) inseparably joined together (Hermas knows nothing whatever about such a union). The peculiarity and the individuality of the work of the historical Christ were moreover menaced by the idea that Christ had been the revealer of God in the Old Testament.

Exaggerated Importance Given to Facts.

All the facts pertaining to the history of Jesus, the real and the imagined, received an exaggerated significance when reiterated in the work of instruction and when attacked by heretics. To the miraculous birth, death, resurrection, exaltation and return, was added definitely now the ascension on the 40th day and, less definitely, the descent into hell, while the history of the baptism was more and more ignored. The reality of these occurrences was strongly emphasized; but they had not yet become "dogmas";

for they were neither inseparably connected with the idea of salvation, nor were they definitely outlined, nor was the *fantasie* restricted in its artistic exuberance.

Worship.

Lord's Supper.

Baptism.

7. That the *Worship of God* should be a pure, spiritual exercise, without ceremonies, was taken for granted. Every divine service was looked upon as a spiritual *offering* (of thanks) accompanied with fasting and deeds of compassionate love. The Lord's Supper (eucharist) was held to be an offering in the strictest sense of the word, and everything which was associated with it (*e.g.* assistance of the poor) became imbued with the idea of sacrifice. Thenceforward the institutional idea found a wide range, notwithstanding the essential spirituality of worship. Starting with the idea of the *symbolical*, "mysteries" which were so necessary to the Greeks were soon established. *Baptism* in the name of the Father, Son and Spirit was esteemed as the mystery through which the sins of blindness are wholly set aside, and which only thenceforward, however, imposes obligations (mortal sins, committed after baptism, were considered unpardonable, and yet pardoning power was reserved for God who here and there exercises it upon the earth through inspired men. The idea and practice of a "second repentance" were born through the stress of necessity, became however wide-spread, and were then established by the prophetical book of Hermas). Baptism was called *σφραγίς* and *φωτισμός* (no infant

baptism); the uniting of baptism with the gift of the Holy Spirit became somewhat uncertain. The *Lord's Supper* was viewed as φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, as a mysterious communication of gnosis and of life (see the eucharistic prayer in the Didache; the forgiveness of sins is *not* there mentioned); it was at once a communion meal and a sacrificial meal. Realism and symbolism were here mingled together, just as were the ideas of grace and of sacrificial offering. Hellenic conceptions early crowded in here (see Ignatius, Justin, Apol. I., the close).

Realism and Symbolism.

Church Organization.

Church organization, as such, exercised no influence upon the form of the statement of belief until about the year 150. And yet the high esteem in which the apostles, prophets and teachers were held laid the foundation for future developments; besides, Ignatius had already declared that the attitude toward the bishop determined the attitude toward God and toward Christ, and other teachers insisted that one must follow the "ancients", the disciples of the apostles, in all things.

Catholic System of Doctrine in Embryo.

This survey indicates that the decisive premises for the evolution of the Catholic system of doctrine were already in existence before the middle of the 2d century and before the heated contest with gnosticism.

The records which have come down to us from the 1st century of the Gentile Church are of a very

Didache.

Barnabas-Epistle.

I. Clement.

Hermas Pastor, II. Clement.

Polycarp Epistle.

varied character from the point of view of the history of dogma. In the *Didache* we have a catechism for the Christian life, dependent upon a Jewish-Greek catechism, and bringing out in the prayers and ecclesiastical discipline that which is specifically Christian. The *Barnabas-Epistle*, probably of Alexandrian origin, teaches the correct (Christian) interpretation of the Old Testament, casts aside verbal interpretation and Judaism as of the devil, and follows Paul essentially as regards Christology. The same Christology is represented in the Roman *I. Clement-Epistle*, which also contains Pauline reminiscences (in regard to atonement and justification), but these are conceived from the moral standpoint. It is classically represented in *Hermas Pastor* and in the *II. Clement-Epistle*, where the eschatological element is also very prominent. The Christology of the former is the adoption; the author of the II. Clem. Epist. has no consistent Christology, but follows various motives. The theology of Ignatius is the most advanced, in so far as he, in the contest with the gnostics, made the facts of salvation prominent and drew his own gnosis from the history of Christ rather than from the Old Testament. He sought to make Jesus Christ, κατὰ πνεῦμα and κατὰ σάρκα, the centre of Christianity. The Epistle of Polycarp is characteristic on account of its dependence upon earlier Christian writings (Paul's Epistles, I. Peter, I. John), and on account of its conservative attitude toward the most valuable tra

Prædicatio Petri.

ditions. The *Prædicatio Petri* marks the transition from the primitive Christian literary activity to the apologetic writers (Christ as νόμος and λόγος).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ATTEMPT OF THE GNOSTICS TO CONSTRUCT AN APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE OF FAITH AND TO PRODUCE A CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY; OR, THE ACUTE SECULARIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Sources: The writings of Justin and the early Catholic Fathers, together with Epiphanius and Theodoret. Fragments collected by Hilgenfeld, Ketzergesch, 1884. Descriptions by Neander, Gnostische System, 1818, Baur, Gnosis, 1835, Lipsius, Gnosticismus, 1860, Moeller, Kosmologie in der griech. Kirche, 1860; *vide* also Renan, Hist. des. Orig. du Christianisme", T. V.–VII.

Gnosticism.

1. GNOSTICISM is a manifestation of the great syncretic movement of the 2d and 3d centuries, which was occasioned by the interchange of national religions, by the contact of Orient and Occident, and by the influence of Greek philosophy upon religion in general. It aimed at the winning of a *world-religion*, in which men should be rated, not on the basis of citizenship, but according to the standard of their intellectual and moral aptitude. The Gospel was recognized as a world-religion only in so far as it could be severed from the Old Testament religion and the Old Testament, and be moulded by the religious philosophy of the Greeks and grafted upon the existing cultus-wisdom and practice of occult mys-

Aims at a World-Religion.

teries. The means by which this artificial union was to be brought about was the *allegorical* method as used long since by the Greek religious philosophers. The possibility of the rise of a Christian gnosticism lay in this, that the Christian communities had everywhere fallen heir to the heritage of the Jewish propaganda, where there was already an exuberant tendency to spiritualize the Old Testament religion, and where the intellectual interest in religion had long been unbridled. Besides, the Gospel of Christ, and especially Christ himself, had made such an overwhelming impression that men were possessed by the strongest impulse to subordinate their highest conceptions to him, whence, as so often, the "*victus victori legem dat*" attained its right. Finally the Christian preaching from the beginning promised a gnosis of the wisdom of God, especially that of Paul an antinomian gnosis, and the churches in the empire conceived the Christian wisdom as λογικὴ λατρεία, in accordance with their Greek conceptions; they combined the mysterious with a marvellous openness, the spiritual with the most significant rites, and sought in this way, through their organization and through their "philosophical life", to realize that ideal for which the Hellenic religious spirit was then striving,—namely, a communion, or fellowship, which, upon the basis of a Divine revelation, comes into the possession of the highest knowledge and therefore realizes the holiest life, and which communicates this knowledge,

Allegorical Method.

Jewish Propaganda.

Christian Gnosis.

Mysterious Rites.

not through rational discussion, but through mysterious, efficacious consecrations and revealed doctrines.

Acute Stage of Process.

2. We are now prepared to assert, that in gnosticism the acute stage of a process was reached, which began early in the Church and which underwent a slow and distinct evolution under the Catholic system. The gnostics were the *theologians* of the 1st century; they were the first to transform Christianity into a system of doctrines (dogmas); they were the first to treat tradition and the primitive Christian Scriptures systematically; they undertook to set forth Christianity as the absolute religion, and they therefore placed it in opposition to the other religions, to that of the Old Testament as well (not alone to Judaism); but the absolute religion, which they coupled with Christ, was to them essentially identical with the results of the philosophy of religion, for which they had now found the basis in a revelation: They were accordingly a class of Christians who essayed through a sharp onset to conquer Christianity for Hellenic culture, and Hellenic culture for Christianity, and they thereby abandoned the Old Testament in order to fitly close up the breach between the two opposing forces. Christianity became an occult theosophy (revealed metaphysics and apparition philosophy, permeated with the Platonic spirit and with Pauline ideas, constructed out of the material of an old cultus-wisdom which was acquired through mysteries and the illumined understanding, defined

Attempt to Fuse Christianity and Hellenism.

Christianity Becomes Occult Theosophy.

by a keen and, in part, true criticism of the Old Testament religion and the scant faith of the Church. Consequently one is obliged to verify in the prominent gnostic schools the Semitic cosmological principles, the Hellenic philosophical ideas and the knowledge of the redemption of the world through Christ. And one must also take account of these three factors: The speculative philosophical, the cultish-mystical and the dualistic-ascetic. The conjunction of these elements, the entire transformation of every ethical problem into a cosmological problem and, finally, the view that human history is but a continuation of natural history, especially that redemption is but the last act in the drama which had its origin in the Godhead itself and its development in the world—all these are not peculiar to gnosticism, but a stage in the general development which was in many ways related to Philonism and which anticipated Neo-Platonism and Catholicism. Out of the crass mythology of an Oriental religion, by the transformation of the concrete forms into speculative and ethical ideas, such as "Abyss", "Silence", "Logos", "Wisdom", "Life" (the Semitic names were often retained), there was formed a mythology of notions in which the juxtaposition and the number of these ideas were determined by the propounding of a scheme. Thus was produced a philosophical, dramatico-poetic representation similar to the Platonic, but far more complicated and therefore more fantastical, in which those mighty powers, the

Three Factors.

Philosophic Dramatico-Poetic System.

Gospel History Allegorical.

Abstinence the Watch-Cry.

spiritual and the good, appeared to have been brought into an unholy alliance with the material and the base, from which however finally the spiritual, assisted by kindred powers which are too exalted ever to be abased, is after all rendered free. The good and the heavenly which is degraded to the material is the human spirit; and the sublime Power which sets it free is the Christ. The Gospel history is not the history of Christ, but a collection of allegorical representations of the great Divine world-history. Christ has in truth no history; his appearance in this world of confusion and delusion is his own act and the enlightenment of the Spirit, as regards itself, is the effect of this act. This illumination itself is life, but it is dependent upon asceticism and upon a surrender to the mysteries ordained by Christ, in which one comes into communion with a *praesens numen*, and which in a mysterious way gradually free the spirit from the world of sense. This spiritualizing process should also be actively cultivated. Abstinence is therefore the watch-cry. Christianity is accordingly a speculative philosophy which redeems the spirit (γνῶσις σωτηρίας), inasmuch as it enlightens and consecrates it and directs it unto the true way of life. The gnosis is free from the rationalistic interest of the stoa. The powers which give vigor and life to the spirit rule in the supersensible world. The only guide to this world is a μάθησις (not exact philosophy) resting upon a revelation and allied with μυσταγωγία. The fundamental principles

Fundamental Principles.

are accordingly the following: (1) The supersensible, indefinite and eternal nature of the divine primordial Being, (2) the evil (not real) matter opposed to the divine Being, (3) the plenitude of the divine powers (eons) which, viewed partly as powers, partly as real ideas, partly as relatively independent beings, represent in stages the development and revelation of the Divinity, but which at the same time are intended to make possible the transition from the higher to the lower, (4) the cosmos as a mixture of matter with sparks of the divine Being, and which originated from the descent of the latter into the former, *i.e.* from a reprehensible undertaking of a subordinate spirit, merely through the Divine sufferance, (5) the freeing of the spiritual elements from their union with matter, or the separation of the good from the sensuous world through the Christ-Spirit, which is active in holy consecrations, knowledge and asceticism—thus arises the complete gnostic, the independent world-free spirit, who lives in God and prepares himself for eternity. The rest of mankind are earth-born (hylikers). Yet leading teachers (School of Valentinus) distinguish also between hylikers and psychikers; the latter were the doers of the law, who lived by law and faith, for whom the common faith is good enough, that is, necessary. The centre of gravity of the gnostic system did not rest in its changing details, which are so imperfectly known to us, but in its aim and in its postulates.

Hylikers and Psychikers.

Phases of Gnosticism.

3. The phases of gnosticism were as variegated as possible (brotherhoods, ascetic orders, cultus of mysteries, secret schools, free devotional associations, performances by Christian swindlers and betrayed betrayers, attempts to establish new religions after the pattern and under the influence of the Christian religion). Accordingly the relation of gnosticism to that which was common to all Christians and to the individual Christian communities was exceedingly varied. On the one hand, gnosticism penetrated to the very heart of those Christian churches in which docetic and dualistic-ascetic influences were largely at work and where there was a strong tendency to vary the original form of the kerygma; on the other hand, there were gnostic communities that remained apart and indeed abhorred all alliances with others. For the history of dogma the right wing of gnosticism and the real stem, the great gnostic school sects (Basilidians, Valentinians) come especially under consideration. The latter wished to establish a higher order of Christians above the common psychikers, who were barely endured. The contest was mainly with these and they were the *theologians* from whom later generations learned and were the first to write elementary works on dogmatics, ethics, and scientific and exegetical treatises; in short, they laid the foundations of Christian theological literature and began the elaboration of Christian tradition. The expulsion of these gnostics and of the right wing (Encratites, "Docetæ,"

Basilidians, Valentinians.

The First Theologians.

Encratites, Docetæ, Tatian.

Tatian) could be accomplished only slowly and it was a result of the consolidating of the Christian communities into the *Catholic Church* which was called forth by this gnostic movement.

Explanations of Rise of Gnosticism.

Simon Magus.

Samaria and Alexandria.

Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian Gnostics.

The rise of gnosticism is fully explained from the general conditions under which Christian preaching flourished on Roman soil and from its own attraction as a sure announcement of knowledge, life and discipline, attributed directly to a Divine Person who had appeared upon the earth. The Church fathers hold distracted Judaism, together with the demons, responsible for its rise; later they attribute it to the Samaritan messiah, Simon, then to the Greek philosophers, and finally to those who show themselves disobedient to ecclesiastical discipline. In all this there was a *particula veri* as may be easily shown; the syncretism which led to this Christian gnosticism undoubtedly had one of its principal centres in Samaritan-Syrian territory and the other in Alexandria; but it must not be overlooked that the conditions were everywhere present in the empire for a spontaneous development. On that account it is impossible to write a history of the development of gnosticism, and it would be so, even if we knew more than we do about the particular systems. We can distinguish only between Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian gnostics, and can group the latter only according to their greater or less departure from the common Christian faith as exemplified in their varying attitude toward the Old Testament and the

Hellenism.

demiurge, and then seek out of this to form from an unbiased reading of the Christian writings an idea of "gnostic." That the entire many-sided movement, in which Hellenism, with all its good and bad qualities, sought to adapt the Gospel, should gradually become a Christian, or, rather, an ecclesiastical movement, lay in the nature of the case. But it is not therefore possible to group the systems in the 2d century chronologically according to a Christian standard, since attempts like that of Carpocrates belong to the earlier and not to the later times.

Difference between Gnostic Christianity and Common Faith.

4. Although the differences between gnostic Christianity and the common ecclesiastical faith, as well as the later ecclesiastical theology, appear in part fleeting, in so far as in the latter also the question of knowledge was especially emphasized and the Gospel was being transformed into a system of complete knowledge in order to subdue the world, and in so far as the πίστις was made subordinate to the γνῶσις and Greek philosophy was more and more employed, and in so far as eschatology was restricted, docetic views allowed free play and a rigid ascetism prized; yet it is true, (1) that at the time when gnosticism was most flourishing all these were found in the Church at large only in germinal, or fragmentary form, (2) that the Church at large held fast to the settled facts contained in the baptismal confession and to the eschatological expectations, retaining its belief also in the Creator as the Supreme God, in the oneness of Jesus Christ and in the Old

Testament, thus rejecting dualism, (3) that the Church maintained the unity and the parity of human kind and therefore the simplicity and universal tendency of the Christian salvation, and (4) that it opposed every attempt to introduce new, Oriental mythologies, guided in this by the early Christian consciousness and a certain independent judgment. However, the Church in its contest with gnosticism learned a great deal from it. The principal points which were under discussion may be briefly summarized as follows (the word "positive" appended to a gnostic proposition indicates that the doctrine had a *positive* influence in the development of the Church view and doctrine): (1) Christianity, which is the only true and absolute religion, contains a revealed system of doctrine (pos.), (2) the Revealer is Christ (pos.), but Christ *alone*, and *Christ*, only so far as he was made manifest (no O. T. Christ). This manifestation is itself the redemption,—the teaching is the proclamation of this and of the necessary presuppositions (pos.), (3) the Christian teaching is to be deduced from the apostolic tradition critically treated; the same is found in the apostolic writings and in an esoteric doctrine transmitted by the apostles (pos.); as an open doctrine it is condensed in the *regula fidei* (pos.), as an esoteric doctrine it is transmitted by appointed teachers, (4) the primitive revelation (apostolic Scriptures), even because it is such, must be expounded by means of the allegory, in order to draw out its deeper meaning

Principal Points under Discussion.

(pos.), (5) as to the separate portions of the *regula* as the gnostics understood them, the following are to be especially noted:

Disparity between Supreme God and Creator.

(a) The disparity between the supreme God and the Creator of the world, and the consequent contrast of redemption and creation, *i.e.*, the separation of the mediator of revelation and the mediator of creation,

Distinguishing Supreme God from God of O. T.

(b) the distinguishing of the Supreme God from the God of the Old Testament, and the consequent rejection of the O. T.; *i.e.* the declaration that the O. T. does not contain a revelation of the Supreme God, unless it be in certain parts,

Eternity of Matter.

(c) the doctrine of the absoluteness and eternity of matter,

World Product of Intermediate or Evil Being.

(d) the affirmation that the present world came into existence through a fall into sin, *i.e.* through an undertaking antagonistic to God, and that it is therefore the product of an evil, or intermediate being,

Evil Inherent in Matter and a Physical Agency.

(e) the doctrine that evil is inherent in matter and is a physical agency,

Eons.

(f) the acceptance of eons, *i.e.* of real powers and heavenly persons, in whom the absoluteness of the Divinity unfolds itself,

Christ Revealer of Unknown God.

(g) the affirmation that Christ proclaimed a hitherto unknown Divinity,

Jesus, Heavenly Eon.

(h) the doctrine that in Jesus Christ, the heavenly Eon—the gnostics rightly saw redemption in his *Person*, but they reduced his Person to a mere self-existent *Being*—Christ and the human manifestation of him are to be clearly distinguished and to each nature a "*distincte agere*" was to be given (not docetism, but the two-nature doctrine is characteristic). Accordingly some, as Basilides, recognized no real union whatever between Christ and the man Jesus, whom they otherwise accepted as a real man. Others, as a portion of the Valentinians—their Christology was exceedingly complicated and varied—taught that the body of Jesus was a heavenly-psychical form, and that it only apparently came forth from the womb of Mary. Others finally, like Satornil, explained that the entire visible manifestation of Christ was only a phantasma, and hence they questioned the reality of his birth,

Basilides.

Valentinians.

Satornil.

Church is Collegium of Pneumatikers.

(i) the transformation of the ἐκκλησία (that the heavenly Church was looked upon as an eon was nothing new) into the *collegium* of the pneumatikers, who alone shall enjoy the highest blessedness, while the hylikers shall suffer destruction and the psychikers with their ψιλὴ πίστις shall obtain only an inferior blessedness,

Rejection of Primitive Christian Eschatology.

(k) the rejection of the whole of primitive Christian eschatology, especially the return of Christ and the resurrection of the body; with this was coupled the affirmation that in the future one should expect only the freeing of the spirit from the veiled life of the senses, while the spirit itself is enlightened and assured of God and already possesses immortality and only awaits an entrance into the pleroma, Dualistic Ethics.

(l) the dualistic ethics (rigid ascetism) which here and there may have veered over into libertinism.

How strongly gnosticism anticipated Catholicism becomes apparent especially from its Christology and its doctrine of redemption, from its magic-cult and its doctrine of the sacraments, and from its scientific literature.

CHAPTER V.

MARCION'S ATTEMPT TO SET ASIDE THE OLD TESTAMENT AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOSPEL, TO PURIFY TRADITION, AND TO REFORM CHRISTIANITY ON THE BASIS OF THE PAULINE GOSPEL.

Marcion's Guiding Principles.

MARCION should not be classed with gnostics like Basilides and Valentinus; for (1) he was guided by no metaphysical, also by no apologetical, but only by a purely soteriological interest, (2) he therefore placed the whole emphasis upon the pure Gospel and upon faith (not upon knowledge), (3) he did not employ philosophy—at least not as a main principle—in his conception of Christianity, (4) he did not endeavor to found schools of philosophers, but to reform, in accordance with the true Pauline Gospel, the churches whose Christianity he believed to be legalistic (Judaistic) and who, as he thought, denied free grace. When he failed in this, he formed a church of his own. Wholly captivated by the novelty, uniqueness and glory of the grace of God in

Founded a Church.

Christ, he believed that the sharp antitheses of Paul (Law and Gospel, works and faith, flesh and spirit, sin and righteousness) must be made the foundation of religious conceptions, and that these antitheses must be apportioned between the righteous, angry God of the Old Testament, who is identical with the Creator of the world, and the God of the Gospel, who was unknown before Christ, and who is nothing but Love and Mercy. This crass dualism—a Paulinism without dialectics, Old Testament, or the Jewish-Christian view of history—was put forth by Marcion, not without his being influenced by the Syrian gnosis (Cerdo). With the ethical contrast of the sublime and good on the one side, and the petty, just and hard on the other, there was joined the contrast between the eternal, spiritual and the limited, sentient, in a way which threatened to debase the problem again to a question of cosmology. In detail, the following points are especially important:

Crass Dualism.

Exposition of Old Testament.

Jesus' Words and Paul's Epistles the Sole Gospel.

1. The Old Testament was expounded by Marcion according to its verbal sense and with a rejection of all allegorical interpretations; he accepted it as a revelation of the Creator of the world and of the God of the Jews; but even on this account he placed it in sharp antithesis to the Gospel (see the "Antitheses") the content of which he discovered solely in the utterances of Jesus and in the Pauline Epistles, after that he had purified them from supposed Jewish interpolations. These interpolations were, ac-

cording to his idea, of long standing, since the twelve apostles did not understand Jesus and misconstrued his Gospel, making it to correspond with the Old Testament. Paul, who was called by Christ to restore the true Gospel, was the only one who perceived that Jesus had proclaimed a hitherto unknown God of grace in opposition to Jehovah. As his preaching has also been obscured, he, Marcion, has been authorized to restore the pure Gospel. This was the mission which Marcion's church attributed to him, and it gave his "Antitheses" a sort of canonical authority.

Paul Alone Understood Jesus.

Marcion's Theology, Christology.

2. Marcion's conception of God and his Christology resemble the gnostic in so far as he also emphasized most clearly the newness, uniqueness and absoluteness of Christianity in opposition to the Church at large; he surpassed the gnostics, however, in so far as he conceived mankind to be wholly the offspring of the Creator of the world and found in man's nature nothing akin to the God of Love. But love and grace are according to Marcion the entire substance of the Godhead; redemption is the most incomprehensible act of the Divine mercy, and everything that the Christian possesses he owes to Christ *alone*, who is the manifestation of the good God himself. Through his suffering he purchased from the Creator of the world those who *believe on* him, and won them for himself. The rigid docetism, however, which Marcion taught,—the declaration that the souls only of men will be saved,—the

Docetism.

Asceticism.

renunciation of the return of Christ and the increasingly hard asceticism, even to the prohibition of marriage (in spite of the thought that God's love should control the "new" life), are proofs that Marcion was to a certain extent defenceless against Hellenism; on the other hand, his eschatological ideas indicate that he was seeking to return to the monarchy of the good God.

Marcion's Biblical Canon.

3. With the view of restoring the Church of the pure Gospel and of gathering together the redeemed who are hated by the God of this world, Marcion caused certain evangelical writings of a particular character to be collected (Luke's Gospel and 10 Pauline Epistles), laid down certain principles for their interpretation and drew the communities into a closer, though freer, organization. Inasmuch as he rejected the Old Testament, together with all "natural" religion, philosophy and secret tradition, he was obliged to answer the question, What is Christian? out of the historical records. Here, as in many other respects, did he anticipate the Catholic Church.

Conception of Nature, History, Faith.

4. The profound conception that the laws which rule in nature and history and the course of civil righteousness are a reflection of the acts of Divine mercy, and that humble faith and fervent love are the very opposite of self-complacent virtue and self-righteousness—this conception, which dominated the Christianity of Marcion, and which restrained him from every rationalistic attempt at a system, was not

Apelles.

clearly maintained by his church as time went on. In order to close up the breaches and to remove the inconsistencies of his conceptions, some of his pupils advanced to a doctrine of three principles, others to a vulgar dualism, without however surrendering entirely the fundamental ideas of their master. Apelles, however, Marcion's greatest pupil, returned to the confession of the one ~~God~~, without in other respects surrendering the master's conceptions; and, indeed, he further developed some valuable ideas, at which Marcion had only hinted.

The Church fathers strenuously opposed Marcion as the worst of heretics. In its contest with him the early Catholic Church doctrine was developed in special directions.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPPLEMENT: THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS.

Primitive Christianity.

1. PRIMITIVE Christianity appeared simply as a Christian Judaism, the establishment of a universal *religion* upon the Old Testament basis; accordingly it retained in so far as it was not hellenized—and that was never fully accomplished—the Jewish impress of its origin; above all it retained the Old Testament as a primitive revelation. Hence the disposition made of the Old Testament was wholly *Christian*, proceeding on the assumption that the Christians are the true Israel, that the Old Testament

refers to the Christian organization and teaching, and this, whether a more or less realistic or spiritual interpretation of it was in vogue. The question as to the principles of interpretation was a problem within the Church, so long as no superiority was conceded to the Jewish nation as such, and until the abrogation of the Jewish ceremonies and laws was insisted upon. Therefore the term "*Jewish-Christianity*" is applicable exclusively to those Christians who really retained, entirely or in the smallest part, the *national* and *political* forms of Judaism and insisted upon the observance of the Mosaic Law without modification as essential to Christianity, at least to the Christianity of the Jewish-born converts, or who indeed rejected these forms, but acknowledged the prerogative of the Jewish *people* also in Christianity (Papias in spite of his chiliasm; the author of the Didache, in spite of his transference of the Old Testament priestly rights to the Christian prophets; Hermas, in spite of the waning ancient Greek philosophy; the adoption Christologists, in spite of their rejection of the Logos, *are not* Jewish Christians; Paul, however, is because of Romans XI.). The strong draft made upon the Old Testament in favor of the Catholic cultus-, doctrine- and discipline-system, is so little a sign of the advance of Jewish Christianity in the Church at large, that it rather runs parallel to the advancing Hellenism, and was called forth by it. The formula, "the new law," in the Catholic Church is not Jewish,

Jewish Christianity.

Papias, Didache.

Hermas, Paul.

but anti-Jewish, yet it left room for the slipping in of more and more of the *Old Testament* commandments into the Church.

Jewish Christianity Overcome.

2. Jewish Christianity, once a mighty antagonist of Paul, was, through his labors and the labors of other teachers, as well as through the native force of the Gospel, overcome. In the fall of Jerusalem this conquest was completed. Since then Jewish Christianity has not been a *factor* in the history of the Church, while *Judaism* has remained such (influence of Judaism upon the churches of the farthest Orient, in the 4th and 5th centuries). However, Jewish Christians (Ebionites, Nazarenes) existed for some time, and among them the distinctions remained which were already formulated in the apostolic age. Separated from the main Church originally, not on account of "doctrine", but on account of principles of social Church life, of morals and missionary practice, there were among them the following points in controversy: (1) Whether the observance of the Law was a condition, or the determining condition, of the reception of the Messianic salvation, (2) whether the same was to be required also of Gentile-born converts, in order to their recognition as Christians, (3) whether and to what extent one might hold fellowship with Gentile Christians who do not observe the Law, (4) whether Paul was a chosen servant of Christ, or a God-hated interloper, (5) whether Jesus was a son of Joseph, or was miraculously begotten of the Holy Spirit. Thus there

Ebionites, Nazarenes Continued for Some Time.

Points in Controversy Among Them.

Accepted Hebrew Gospel.

Gradually Expelled from Catholic Church.

were shades of belief within Jewish Christianity (not two clearly distinguished parties). There seems to have been little literary activity among these Jewish Christians, who were expelled by the Jews, (see, however, Symmachus); their Gospel was the Hebrew Gospel which was related to the Synoptics (testimony of Justin, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius). Justin still recognized the liberal Jewish Christians who observed the Law for themselves alone, and were friendly toward the Gentile Christians, as Christian brethren. As yet no Christological creed, no New Testament, divided them, and even in their eschatological expectations, Gentile and Jewish Christians could still come to an understanding. But the more Jewish Christianity withdrew from the world in general and the more firmly the Catholic Church fixed its doctrine and discipline (add to this the formation of the New Testament canon) and formulated its Logos-Christology, the more foreign and heretical did Jewish Christianity appear; and after Irenæus it was even placed in the same category with gnosticism. Certain Oriental fathers, however, pass a better judgment upon it.

Judaism Very Complicated.

Gnostic Jewish Christians.

3. Judaism was in the 1st century a very complicated affair on account of foreign influences (Hellenistic Judaism, Samaritans, "Sects"). Accordingly there were already "gnostic" Jewish Christians, ("false teachers" at Colosse, see also the Pastoral Epistles; on the other hand, Simon Magus, Menander) who introduced into Christianity angelological

Simon Magus, Menander.

Cerinth.

Pseudo-Clementine Writings.

Gospel Held to be Restoration of Primitive Religion.

speculations (these were also familiar to the pharisees and the writers of apocalypses) and gave currency to cosmological ideas and myths, through both of which they sublimated the idea of God, bisected, corrected or transformed the Law (rejection of the blood offering) and gave an impulse to a peculiar asceticism and cultus of mysteries. They continued until far into the Byzantine age. Cerinth (c. 100) retained certain established laws (circumcision) and preached a grossly sensuous, realistic future kingdom; but, on the other hand, he distinguished the supreme God from the Creator of the world, freely criticised the Law and distinguished in the Redeemer the man Jesus from the Christ whom he identified with the Holy Spirit. Another branch of this Jewish Christianity is to be found in the Pseudo-Clementine Writings. Therein, as appears from their sources, the attempt is made by means of stoic rationalism, on the one side, and Oriental mythologic cosmology on the other, to fortify *apologetically* the conception that the Gospel is the restoration of the pure Mosaic doctrine. The contradictory representations of stoic naturalism and a positive revelation through prophets are to be united through the idea of the *one* Prophet, who from Adam down has appeared in different forms. The Gospel was believed to be the restoration of the primitive and universal religion, which is simply Mosaism freed from all its peculiar characteristics (circumcision, statutes respecting offerings). Christ is the one true Prophet,

Dualistic Eon Speculation.

Pseudo-Clementine Writings of 3d Century.

who, as it seems, was identified with the first Adam. The stoic idea of the λόγοι was accepted, but it was justified through a dualistically-conceived eon-speculation, in which the early Semitic principles cropped out (masculine-feminine; neutralization of the ethical contradictions in the supreme God). Platonic elements are hardly discernible. But along with the apologetical tendency, the polemical is strongly marked. This is directed, under the form of a refutation of Simon Magus, against every phase of Gentile-Christian gnosticism (also against Marcion), while the primitive writings doubtless contained a polemic against Paul. The polemic and the means made use of prove that the Catholic Church was already in existence. Therefore the Pseudo-Clementine Writings belong to the 3d century. Accordingly it is probable that the compilers had before them earlier, anti-Pauline writings. Moreover it is probable that the last redactors were in no sense Jewish Christians, that, also, the above-mentioned characteristics are not ascribable to a group of writers, as such, but that they belong to them only *accidentally*, that primitive Jewish Christian writings passed through various hands and were innocently transmitted and revised. This being so, the seeking for a "Pseudo-Clementine System" is a fruitless undertaking; it were better to accept the last narrator as a Catholic Christian who made use of whatever interested him and others, but who was by no means a disciple of Irenæus or Origen. Whether under such conditions it is possible to distinguish the gnostic, Jewish-Christian, and anti-Pauline sources is questionable. A third group which did not have in a true sense, like the former, a literary existence is composed of the Elkesaites (in Syria, pushing toward Rome at the beginning of the 3d century). These were such Jewish-Christians as wholly set aside the Old Testament through their "nature-speculations"; who did, however, retain the idea of prophecy, especially of Jesus as a Prophet, but who followed a new prophet that had perfected religion through penitential and cultus ordinances (washings) on the basis of a new scripture revelation. A series of elements belonging to this no longer Christian Jewish-Christianity (sources: Hippolytus, Eusebius, Epiphanius),—viz. rigid monotheism, partial criticism of the Old Testament, rejection of blood offering, prohibition of wine, frequent washings, connivance in respect to marriage, perversion of the Messianic idea in the interests of their prophet, discarding of atonement idea and, as it seems, also of the idea of a kingdom, high regard for the relatives of their prophet—reappear again in Islamism, that was in a measure influenced by this "Jewish-Christianity", which is related to the Sabier. The main Church troubled itself very little about this aberration.

Elkesaites.

BOOK II.

THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Ritschl, Entstehung der altkathl. Kirche, 1857. Renan, Origines, T. V–VII.

Gentile Christianity in the 2d Century.

THE second century of the existence of Gentile-Christian Churches is characterized by the victorious contest with the gnostics, Marcion and the early Christian enthusiasm; that is, by the declining of the acute hellenizing tendency on the one side, and by the suppression of the primitive Christian freedom of expression, discipline and, in part, hope also on the other. An important part of primitive Christianity was rescued by the conserving force of tradition (faith in the Creator and Redeemer God); but men speculated all the more freely about the world and its wisdom, since they believed that they possessed in the *apostolic* Scriptures, in the *apostolic* creed, in the *apostolic* office, the definite assurance of what is "Christian". The subjectivism of Christian piety was curbed and the fanciful mythcreating tendency was restrained, likewise also the acceptance of wholly foreign material as doctrinal teaching; but the individual was made subject to a sacred primitive record and to the priest, since he was put under the rigid episcopal restraint of the one, holy, apostolic, *Catholic Church*, which men identified with the kingdom of Christ as a preparation for blessedness. The gnostic systems were finally refuted; but men then made for themselves out of the kerygma and with the help of Greek philosophy a scientific system of faith, which was a superlative medium for commending the Church to the intellectual world, but which was nothing but a mystery to the laity, obscuring their faith, or interpreting the Gospel in the language of the Greek philosophy of religion.

Gnostic Systems Refuted.

Double Problem. First: Origin of Catholicism as a Church.

2. The problem of the history of dogma for the period from about 150–300 A.D., is a double one: First, it has to describe the origin of Catholicism as a *Church*, *i.e.* the rise and development of the apostolic-Catholic standards (Rule of Faith, New Testament, Ecclesiastical Office; standards regarding the holiness of the Church), by which the scattered churches were gradually fused into *one* empirical Church, which, however, was held to be the *apostolic, true and Holy Church.* Second, it has to describe the rise and development of the *scientific system of faith*, as this grew up on the circumference of the Church for apologetical purposes, not it is true as a foreign growth, but rather in closest

Second: Origin of Scientific System of Faith.

connection with the aims of the earliest Gentile Christianity (see Book I. Chap. 3); to describe how this, which was originally through revelation simply an assured monotheistic cosmology, Logos-doctrine and moral theology, became in the contest with gnosticism amalgamated with the ideas of salvation in the ancient mysteries, on the one side, with the Church kerygma and the Old Testament ideas on the other (Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian), and was thus transformed into a complicated system (philosophical, kerygmatical, Biblical and primitive-Christian-eschatological elements); how, farther, under the influence of the *Alexandrians*, it was recast into an Hellenic, syncretic *system* in the interest of Catholic gnostics (type of Philo and Valentine), and how, then, the great breach between scientific dogmatics and the traditional faith was made manifest, which already in the 3d century had received such a thorough solution that the aims of scientific dogmatics and a part of its teaching (above all its Logos-doctrine) were adopted as *the faith of the Church;* while other things were cast aside or contested, the realistic propositions of the kerygma were shielded from the spiritualizing tendency that would transform them, and the right of distinguishing between a system of faith for thinking minds and a faith for unthinking minds (thus Origen) was fundamentally denied.. The four stages of the development of dogma (Apologists, early Catholic Fathers, Alexandrines, Methodius together with

Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian,

Alexandrians.

Logos Doctrine Accepted.

his followers) correspond to the progressive religious and philosophical development of paganism during that time: Philosophical theory of morals, idea of salvation (theology and practice of mysteries), Neo-Platonism and reactionary syncretism.

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS A CHURCH AND ITS GRADUAL SECULARIZATION.

CHAPTER II.

THE SETTING FORTH OF THE APOSTOLIC RULES (NORMS) FOR ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTIANITY. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Rule of Faith, New Testament, Office.

THE three apostolic norms (Rule of Faith, New Testament, Office)—see Irenæus, III.: 1 sq., Tertullian, *de praesc.* 21. 32. 36.[*])—found their way into the different provincial churches at different times, but the three always went together. They had their preparatory stages in the brief kerygmatic confes-

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[*] *De praescr.* 21: "*Constat omnem doctrinam quae cum ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a deo accepit.*" 36: "*Videamus quid (ecclesia Romana) didicerit, quid docuerit, cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit. Unum deum dominum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex virgine Maria filium dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem; legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet, inde potat fidem, eam aqua signat, sancto spiritu vestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrium exhortatur, et ita adversus hanc institutionem nominem recipit.*" 32: "*Evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successionem ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveravit, habuerit auctorem et antecesseorem.*"

sions, in the authority of the κύριος and of the apostolic tradition, as well as in the epistles read in the churches, and finally in the deference shown to apostles, prophets and teachers, *i.e.* to the "elders" and leaders of the individual churches.

Baptismal Confession.

A. *The Recasting of the Baptismal Confession into the Apostolic Rule of Faith* (Caspari, Quellen z. Gesch. des Taufsymbols, 4 Bdd.). From the first there was in the Church a kerygma (preaching) of Christ (see Book I., Chap. 3 sub 2) and brief confessional formulas (Father, Son and Spirit); and especially in the Roman church, at least since ± 140 A.D., a definite baptismal confession (probably also in Asia Minor). These confessions were "the faith" and were considered the quintessence of the apostolic preaching and were, therefore, referred back to Christ and ultimately to God himself. But everything indeed which seemed inalienable was looked upon as an apostolic rule of faith, *e.g.* the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. However, probably nothing was *fixed*, save that the Roman symbol and the ethical rules (διδαχὴ κυρίου) stood at least upon the same plane as the kerygma of Christ. From the beginning, however, in the work of instruction, in exhortations and, above all, in the contests with false teachings men enjoined: ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα (I. Clem. 7; cf. Polyc. epist. 2. 7; the Pastoral Epistles, Jude, Ignatian Letters, also Justin). As the danger from

Roman Symbol.

Need of External Standard.

gnosticism became acute, men necessarily came to realize that neither the content and compass of "the received faith" ("the sound doctrine"), nor its interpretation was secured to them. There was need, it seemed, of a fixed *outward* standard, in order to be able to disprove doctrines such as that of the difference between the supreme God and the Creator-God, or such as that of docetism, and to be able to maintain the true conception as *apostolic* doctrine—they needed a *definitely interpreted apostolic creed.* Under these circumstances the particularly closely allied churches of Asia Minor and Rome, whose experience is known to us through Irenæus (he is hardly the first writer on the subject), accepted the fixed Roman baptismal confession as apostolic in such a way that they proclaimed the current anti-gnostic interpretation of it as its *self-evident* content, and the expounded confession as "*fides catholica*"; *i.e.* they set it up as a standard of truth in matters of faith and made its acceptance the condition of membership in the Church. This procedure, by which the centre of gravity of Christianity was shifted, (the latter, however, was preserved from entire dissolution) rests upon two unproven assertions and an exchange. It is not proven that any confession of this kind emanated from the apostles and that the churches founded by the apostles always preserved their teaching without modifications; and the confession itself was exchanged for an exposition of it. Finally, the conclusion that

Churches of Asia Minor and Rome Accept Baptismal Confession as Apostolic.

from the virtual agreement in doctrine of a group of churches (bishops) there existed a *fides catholica* was unjustified. *This action established the Catholic argument from tradition and has determined its fundamental significance until the present time:* The equivocal right, on the one side, to announce the creed as *complete and plain*, and, on the other side, to make it so elastic that one can reject every uncomfortable meaning, is to the present day characteristic of Catholicism. It is also characteristic that men identify Christianity with a system of faith which the laity cannot understand. The latter are therefore oppressed and referred back to *the authority.*

Catholic Argument from Tradition Established.

Tertullian developed the method of Irenæus still farther. As the latter found the chief gnostic teachings already refuted in the baptismal confession, while as yet only the common sense of the Church protested against them; so the former, embracing the confession all the more firmly as authority for the faith, found in the *regula* already the creation of the universe from nothing, the mediatorship of the Logos in creation, the existence of the same before all creatures, a definite theory in regard to his incarnation, the preaching of a *nova lex* and of a *nova promissio*, and finally also the trinitarian economy and the correct teaching in respect to the natures of Christ (*de praescr.* 13; *de virg.* 1; *adv. Prax.*, 2, etc.). His "*regula*" is an apostolic *lex et doctrina*, inviolable for every Christian.

Tertullian Makes an Advance on Irenæus.

Not Wide-Spread till During 3d Century.

Only in the course of the 3d century did this Catholic standard become wide-spread in the Church. Clement of Alexandria did not yet know it (for him the κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας was the anti-gnostic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures); Origen, however, came very near accepting it (see, *de princip. praef.*), *i.e.* in the beginning of the 3d century the Alexandrian Church was following the Roman, and gradually became "Catholic". Later still the Syrian churches also followed, as the documentary source of the Apostolic Constitutions proves, which knows nothing of the "apostolic rule of faith" in the Occidental sense. Only at the end of the 3d century did the Catholic Church become a reality through the common apostolic *lex* and distinguish itself sharply from the heretical parties; remote churches, indeed, probably came first through Nicea to an acceptance of an "apostolic rule of faith." But even the Nicene creed was not accepted at a single stroke.

New Testament Writings Recognized as Apostolic.

B. *The Recognition of a Selection of Well-known Scriptures as Virtually Belonging to the Old Testament; i.e. as a Compilation of Apostolic Scriptures* (see the "Introductions to the N. T." by Reuss, Holtzmann, Weiss). By the side of the Law and the Prophets (τὰ βιβλία) there was in the churches the Word of the Lord, or briefly "ὁ κύριος", which was indisputable. The words and deeds of the Lord ("the Gospel") were recorded in numerous, oft-revised scriptures closely related to each other, which were called the "Lord's Writings", also

Tatian's Diatessaron.

"λόγια", then—yet not till after the middle of the 2d century—"εὐαγγέλια" and "ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων"; these were publicly read at least after c. 140 (Justin). The last named title expresses the judgment, that everything which was reported of the Lord could be traced directly or indirectly to the apostles. Out of these numerous evangelical writings there were in certain churches, already before the middle of the 2d century, four that were prominent—*our present Gospels*—which, *e.g.*, very soon after 160 were worked over by Tatian into a single Gospel (Diatessaron). About the same time they took on their final form, more than likely in Rome. Together with these writings the Epistles of the apostle Paul, which had been collected earlier, were read in the churches, *i.e.* by the leaders, as the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius and particularly Polycarp testify. While however the Gospels had a direct relation to the kerygma and met the requirements of tradition (Ignatius, Justin), such was not the case with the Pauline Epistles. Finally all definite scriptural productions of prophetic spirits (πνευματοφόροι) were revered as inspired Holy Scriptures, whether they were Jewish apocalypses with high-sounding names, or the writings of Christian prophets and teachers. The γραφή was primarily the Old Testament, but with, "ὁ κύριος λέγει" (γέγραπται or simply λέγει), apocalyptic verses were also cited. Of like worth, but different in kind, was the citation: ὁ κύριος λέγει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (fulfilling of prophecy—ethical rules). Many teachers gladly spoke in the words of the apostle Paul, without according them the same rank as the Scriptures and the Word of the Lord (were the Epistles of Paul publicly read in the churches before c. 180?).

Marcion's Canon.

Marcion, who rejected the Old Testament and the prophetic proofs, formed a new collection of Scriptures and gave it canonical rank (Luke's Gospel, 10 Pauline Epistles). At the same time probably, or a little later, the gnostic school leaders did the same, favoring the writings in widest circulation among the churches, but with new additions (Valentinus, Tatian, Encratites). Everywhere in such circles the Epistles of Paul came to the front; for they were theological, soteriological, and could be interpreted as dualistic. The new critically constituted collections, which the gnostics set over against the Old Testament, were clothed with the same authority as the Old Testament and were allegorically interpreted in harmony with it (still, besides, secret tradition and secret scriptures). Again, a reference to the γραφή and the κύριος did not suffice for the leaders of the churches. It was necessary, (1) to determine which evangelical writings (in which recension) were to be taken into consideration; it was necessary, (2) to deprive the heretics of everything which could not be discredited as new and false; it was necessary, (3) to put forth such a collection of writings as did not overturn the evidence from tradition, but on the contrary by their inherent qualities even added

Forming of N. T. Canon.

weight. At first they confined themselves to the proclamation of the four Gospels as the only authentic *apostolic* records of the Lord. These were already held in an esteem so nearly equal to that of the Old Testament, that the immense stride necessary to declare the words and letters holy was scarcely recognized as an innovation; besides, what the Master had said was from the beginning considered holy. Many and, indeed, most of the churches abode by this decision until far into the 3d century; see, for example, the documentary basis of the Apostolic Constitutions; some Oriental churches continued to use the Diatessaron. No second collection came to be esteemed, and the four Gospels were joined to the βιβλία (ὁ κύριος διὰ προφητῶν—ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ); alongside of these stood the testimony of pneumatic scribblings, even, however having decreasing dignity (Montanist controversy).

Paul's Epistles Added to Four Gospels.

But wherever the contest with heresy was most vehemently carried on and the consolidation of the churches upon stable principles was most intelligently undertaken—in (Asia Minor and) Rome, a *new Catholic-apostolic collection of scriptures* was opposed to the new gnostic collection, more in defence than in attack. The Epistles of Paul were added to the four Gospels (not without some scruples in transforming scriptures which were written for special occasions into Divine oracles and concealing the process even of transformation) and consequently included under the argument from tradition,

New Testament Placed on Same Plane with Old Testament.

so that through the medium of a very recent book, the Acts of the Apostles, they were associated with the supposed preaching of the twelve apostles, *i.e.* subordinated to it. The Paul sanctioned by the twelve apostles in the Acts, and made hardly recognizable by the Pastoral Epistles, thus became a witness of the διδαχὴ διὰ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων, *i.e.* one was under obligation and had the right to understand him in accordance with the Acts of the Apostles, which surely came into the collection only *faute de mieux* and was obliged to support a tradition far beyond its *own* words. The two-, more properly three-fold new apostolic collection (Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles), now placed as *the New Testament* on the same plane with the Old Testament and presently raised above the latter, already recognized by Irenæus and Tertullian (in practice, not in theory, the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles seemed to be of equal worth), gradually came into use in the churches, beginning in the Occident, and when this was once accomplished the result could hardly be disturbed. Whereas a fourth and fifth ingredient could never really win a perfectly firm form. First, men sought to strengthen the history of the apostles by means of scriptures written by the twelve apostles. It was natural that they should wish to have such scriptures, and then there were highly esteemed scriptures from Christian prophets and teachers enough to suggest their acceptance (they could not be ignored), but without any apostolic authority (in

Catholic Epistles Added.

the strict sense). Thus arose the group of *Catholic Epistles*, for the most part denominated apostolic, originally anonymous writings (most scholars held them to be pseudonymous), whose ancient authority could be rescued only by ascribing them to the twelve apostles. This group, however, with the exception of two epistles, did not become fixed as regards its extent or its dignity until the 4th century and even later, and this without thereby really endangering—strange to say—the respect given to the entire collection. Second, the apocalypses presented themselves for admission to the new collection. But the time which produced them was wholly gone by and indeed combated them, and the nature of the new collection required apostolic, not prophetic sanction; the latter rather excluded it. The apocalypses of Peter and John could, therefore, alone come under consideration. The former was quickly rejected for some unknown reason and the latter was finally ὡς διὰ πυρός rescued for the new collection.

Apocalypses of Peter and John.

No Closed N. T. in 3d Century.

A closed New Testament there was not in the churches in the 3d century; but where there was at hand a second collection, it was used virtually as the Old Testament and no questions were raised. The incomplete collection served *ad hoc* every purpose which, as one might think, the complete alone could serve. Catholicism never came, however, to be a religion of the book. The words of the Lord remained the standard for the guidance of life, and the development of doctrine pursued its own course at all times, being influenced only in a secondary way by the New Testament.

Results which followed Acceptance of N. T.

Results: (1) The New Testament conserved the most valuable part of the primitive literature; but it gave over to destruction almost all the remaining literature as being arrogant or corrupt; (2) the New Testament made an end to the production of inspired writings, but it also made an ecclesiastically profane literature possible and likewise set fixed limits to it; (3) the New Testament obscured the historic sense and the historical origin of its own documents, but it at the same time occasioned the necessity of a thorough-going study of these documents and provided for their active influence in the Church; (4) the New Testament repressed the enthusiastic tendency to the production of "facts"; but, in requiring that all the statements in its own documents should be considered entirely harmonious, clear, sufficient and spiritual, it necessitated the learned, theological production of new facts and mythological conceptions; (5) the New Testament set boundaries to the time of revelation, exalted the apostolic age and the apostles themselves to an unapproachable height and thereby helped to lower the Christian ideal and requirements, but it likewise preserved the *knowledge* and power of the same, and became a goad for the conscience; (6) the New Testament guarded effectively the hesitating canonical esteem for the Old Testament; but it likewise made it an offence to exalt the Christian revelation above that of the Old

Testament, and to brood over the *specific* meaning of the former; (7) the New Testament encouraged the fatal tendency to identify the Master's words with apostolic tradition (teaching of the apostles), but through the acceptance of the Pauline Epistles it set as a standard the loftiest expression of the consciousness of redemption, and through the canonization of Paulinism it introduced most valuable leaven into the history of the Church; (8) through the claim of the Catholic Church that both Testaments belonged to her alone, she robbed all other Christian churches of their title-right to them; but while she made the New Testament a norm, she constructed an armory from which in the time to come the sharpest weapons have been drawn out against herself.

Transformation of Episcopal Office into Apostolic Office.

C. *The Transformation of the Episcopal Office in the Church into the Apostolic Office. History of the Transformation of the Idea of the Church.* The claim that the apostles formulated a rule of faith was not sufficient; it was necessary to show that the Church had kept the same pure and that she possessed within herself a living court of appeal to decide all points under controversy. Originally men simply referred to the churches founded by the apostles, in which the true teaching was to be found, and to the connection of these with the disciples of the apostles and the "ancients". But this appeal offered no absolute certainty; hence Irenæus and Tertullian, influenced by the imposing development of the episcopate in Rome and by the ancient respect once given to the apostles, prophets and teachers now transferred to the bishops, so conceived of the same that the "*ordo episcoporum per successionem ab initio decurrens*" guaranteed to them the inviolability of the apostolic inheritance. With each this thesis oscillated between an historical (the churches are those founded by the apostles; the bishops are the disciples of the disciples of the apostles) and a dogmatic aspect. Yet already with Irenæus the latter is clearly prominent: "*episcopi cum episcopatus successione certum veritatis charisma acceperunt*" (the charisma of truth depends upon the office of the bishops which rests upon the *apostolic succession*). This thesis is simply a dogmatic expression for the exalted place which the episcopate had already actually won for itself; it did not, moreover, originally in any way entirely identify apostles and bishops; it remained also uncertain in its application to the *individual* bishops and left room still for the ancient parity: *spiritus*, *ecclesia*, *fideles*. Calixtus of Rome, however (v. Tertull., *de pudic.*; Hippol., Philos. IX.), claimed for himself *full* apostolic regard and apostolic powers, while Tertullian allowed to him only the *locus magisterii*. In the Orient and in Alexandria the *apostolic* character of the bishops was quite late in gaining recognition. Ignatius knew nothing about it (the bishop is the representative of God unto his own church) and neither did Clement, and even the basal docu-

Apostolic Succession.

ment of the Apost. Constitutions is silent. Yet in the time of Origen the doctrine began to establish itself in Alexandria. The idea of the Church was greatly influenced by this development. Originally the Church was the heavenly Bride of Christ, the abiding-place of the Holy Spirit; and its Christian claims rested upon its possession of the Spirit, upon its faith in God, its hope and its well-ordered life: He who belongs to the Church is sure of his blessedness (*Holy* Church). Then the Church became the visible establishment of this *confession* of faith (*fides in regula posita est, habet legem et salutem de observatione legis*); it is the legacy of the apostles, and its Christian character rests upon its possession of the true apostolic teaching (*Catholic* Church in the sense of universality and pureness of doctrine,—the form of expression since the end of the 2d century). One must be a member of this empirical, *one* apostolic Church in order to partake of salvation, since here alone is found that knowledge which gives blessedness. The Church ceased to be the sure communion of salvation and of the saints and became the condition of salvation (v. the following chapter). This conception of the Church (Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen) which represents the development of the churches into the *one* definite Church—a creative act, to be sure, of the Christian spirit—is not evangelic, neither is it hierarchic; it has never entirely disappeared from the Catholic churches. But almost from the beginning it was in-

Idea of Church Influenced by this Development.

Hierarchical Church Idea.

fluenced by the *hierarchical* Church idea. The latter was only hinted at by Irenæus and Tertullian (the last named finally contended against it and in this contention he even reverted to the primitive Church idea: *spiritus* equals *ecclesia*, universal priesthood); it was farther developed by Calixtus and other Roman priests, especially by Cyprian, while the Alexandrians blended the earliest Church idea with a mystic-philosophical conception, and Origen, although greatly impressed by the empirical Church, never lost sight of its relative significance and office.

Calixtus, Cyprian.

Calixtus and Cyprian constructed the hierarchical Church idea out of existing relations and the exigencies which these imposed; the latter rounded out the standard of the former, but on one point, touching the justification of the earthly character of the Church, he lagged behind, while Calixtus had resolutely advanced to its completion (v. the following chapter). The crises were so great in the 3d century that it was nowhere sufficient,—save in isolated communities,—to simply preserve the Catholic faith; *one must obey the bishops* in order to guard the existing Church against the openly proclaimed heathenism (in practical life), heresy and enthusiasm (the primitive Christian recollections). The idea of the one episcopally constituted Church became supreme and the significance of doctrine as a bond of union was left in the background: The Church, resting upon the bishops, who are the successors of the apostles, the representatives of God, is by reason of these fundamental facts itself the apostolic legacy. According to Cyprian the Church is the seat of salvation (*extra quam nulla salus*), *as a single*, *organized confederation*. It rests wholly and solely upon the episcopate, which, as the continuation of the apostolate, equipped with the powers of the apostles, is the bearer of these powers. The union of the individual with God and Christ is therefore conceivable only in the form of subordination to the bishops. The attribute, however, of the unity of the Church, which is of equal significance with that of its truth, since the unity comes only through love, manifests itself primarily in the unity of the episcopate. This has been from the beginning a unit and it remains a unit still, in so far as the bishops are installed by God and continue in brotherly interchange. The individual bishops are to be considered not only as leaders of their own particular churches, but as the *foundation* of the *one* Church ("ecclesia in episcopo est"). Thence it follows farther, that the bishops of those churches founded by the apostles possess no longer any peculiar dignity (all bishops are equal, since they are partakers of the *one* office). The Roman chair, however, came to have a peculiar significance, since it was the chair of the apostle upon whom Christ first conferred the apostolic gifts in order to indicate clearly the unity of these gifts and of the Church; and farther also, because historically the Church of this chair was the root and mother of the *one Catholic Church*. In a

Church Rests upon Episcopate.

Roman Chair.

severe Carthaginian crisis, Cyprian so appealed to Rome as if communion with this Church (its bishop) was the guarantee of the truth; but later he denied the claims of the Roman bishop to special rights over other churches (contest with Stephen). Finally, although he placed the unity of the organization of the Church above the unity in articles of faith, the essence of Christianity was guarded by him to this extent, that he demanded of the bishops everywhere a Christian steadfastness, otherwise they *ipso facto* would forfeit their office. Cyprian also as yet knew nothing of a character *indelibilis* of the bishops, while Calixtus and other Roman bishops vindicated the same to them. A consequence of his theory was, that he closely identified heretics and schismatics, in which the Church did not then follow him. The great *one* episcopal Church, which he presupposed was by-the-bye a fiction; such a homogeneous confederation did not in reality exist; Constantine himself could not complete it.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION: THE OLD CHRISTIANITY AND THE NEW CHURCH.

[See the Literature on Montanism and Novatianism.]

Montanism, Novatianism.

1. THE denial of the claims of the ethical life, the paling of the primitive Christian hopes, the legal and political forms under which the churches protected

themselves against the world and against heresies called forth soon after the middle of the 2d century, first in Asia Minor, then in other Christian communities, a reaction which sought to establish, or rather to re-establish, the primitive times and conditions and to protect Christianity from the secularizing tendency. The result of this crisis (the so-called Montanist crisis and the like) was, that the Church asserted itself all the more strenuously as a legal organization which has its truth in its historical and objective foundation, that it accordingly gave a new significance to the attribute of *holiness*, that it expressly authorized a double state,—a spiritual and a secular,—within itself, and a double morality, that it exchanged its character as the possessor of certain salvation for that other, viz. to be an indispensable condition for the transmission of salvation and to be an institution for education. The Montanists were compelled to withdraw (the New Testament had already thereby done good service), as well as all Christians who made the truth of the Church dependent upon a rigid maintenance of its moral claims. The consequence was that at the end of the 3d century two great Christian communities put forth claims to be the true Catholic Church: viz. the national Church confederated by Constantine and the Novatian churches which we refused with the remnant of Montanism. The beginnings of the great schism in Rome go back to the time of Hippolytus and Calixtus.

Montanus' Aim.

2. The Montanist opposition had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was the stupendous undertaking of a Christian prophet (Montanus), who with the assistance of prophetesses felt called upon to realize for Christianity the rich prophetic promises of the Fourth Gospel. He interpreted these in accordance with the Apocalypse, and proclaimed that the Paraclete had appeared in his own person, in whom also Christ, yea, even God Almighty, had come to his own in order to lead them into all truth and to gather together into *one* fold his scattered flocks. Accordingly it was Montanus' highest aim to lead the Christians forth from their civic relations and communial associations and to form a new, homogeneous brotherhood which, separated from the world, should prepare itself for the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem. The opposition which this exorbitant prophetical message encountered from the leaders of the churches, and the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius, intensified the already lively eschatological expectations and increased the desire for martyrdom. That which the movement lost, however, in definiteness (in so far as the realization of the ideal of uniting all Christians was not accomplished, except for a brief period and within narrow limits) it gained again after c. 180 inasmuch as the proclamation of it invested earnest souls with greater power and courage, which served to retard the growing secularizing tendency within the Church. In Asia and Phrygia many Christian communities

Opposed by Leaders of Church.

Adopted in Asia and Phrygia.

acknowledged *in corpore* the Divine mission of the prophets; in other provinces assemblies were formed in which the current teachings of these prophets were considered as a Gospel, at the same time various modifications were going on (sympathies of the confessors in Lyons. The Roman bishops came near acknowledging the new prophecies). In the Montanist churches (c. 190) it was no longer a question of a new organization in the strict sense of the word, or of a radical re-formation of the Christian organizations, but rather, wherever the movement can be clearly traced, were these questions already pushed aside, even when they were active and influential. The original prophets had set no bounds to their enthusiasm; there were also no definite limits to their high pretensions: God and Christ had appeared in them; the *Prisca* saw Christ living in female form; these prophets made the most extravagant prophecies and spoke in a loftier tone than any one of the apostles; they subverted apostolic regulations; they set forth, regardless of every tradition, new commandments for the Christian life; they railed at the great body of Christian believers; they thought themselves to be the *last* and therefore the highest prophets, the bearers of the final revelation of God. But after they had passed off the stage, their followers sought an agreement with the common Christian churches. They recognized the great Church and begged to be recognized by it. They were willing to bind themselves to the apostolic *regula* and to the New Tes-

Montanists Ask Admission to Church.

tament; they no longer hesitated to accept the ecclesiastical organization (the bishops). And they accordingly demanded the recognition of their own prophets, whom they now sought to commend as successors of the earlier prophets (prophetic succession); the "new" prophecy is really a *later revelation*, which, as the Church understands it, presupposes the earlier; and the later revelation pertains simply and solely (in addition to the confirmation which it gives to the Church *teaching* as opposed to the gnostic) to the burning questions of Christian *discipline* which it decides in the interest of a more rigid observance. Therein lay the significance of the new prophecy for its adherents in the empire and accordingly they had bestowed their faith freely. Through the belief that in Phrygia the Paraclete had given revelations for the entire Church in order to establish a relatively severe regimen (refraining from second marriage, severer fast regulations, mightier attestation of Christianity in daily life, complete readiness for martyrdom), the original enthusiasm received its death-blow. But this flame was after all a mighty power, since Christendom at large made, between the years 190 and 220, the greatest progress toward the secularization of the Gospel. The triumph of Montanism would have been succeeded by a complete change in the ownership of the Church and in missionary operations: its churches would have been decimated. Concessions, therefore, (the New Testament, *apos-*

Bishops Attack Montanism.

tolica regula, episcopate) did not help the Montanists. The bishops attacked the form of the new prophecy as an innovation, threw suspicion on its content, interpreted the earlier future hopes as materialistic and sensuous, and declared the ethical demands to be extreme, legalistic, ceremonial, Jewish, contrary to the New Testament, and even heathenish. They set over against the claims of the Montanists to authentic divine oracles, the newly formed New Testament, declared that every requirement was to be found in the declarations of the two Testaments and thus clearly defined a *revelation epoch*, which extended to the present time only through the New Testament, the apostolic teaching and the apostolic office of bishops (in this contest the new ideas were for the first time made perfect, (1) that the Old Testament contained prophetical elements, the New Testament was not prophetic, but apostolic, (2) that apostolic dignity could not be reached by any person of the present day). They began finally to distinguish between the morality required of the clergy and that required of the laity (thus in the question of one wife). In this way they discredited that which had once been dear to the whole of Christendom, but which they could no longer make use of. In so far as they repelled the alleged misuse, they rendered the thing itself less and less powerful (chiliasm, prophecy, right of laity to speak, rigid sanctity), without being able to entirely suppress it. The most vehement contest between the parties was in

Heated Controversy about Forgiveness of Sin.

regard to the question of the forgiveness of sin. The Montanists, otherwise acknowledging the bishops, ascribed this right to the Holy Spirit alone (*i.e.*, to those who possess the Holy Spirit),—for the power of the Spirit is not necessarily attached to the office—and recognized no human right in the forgiveness of sins, which rested far more on the (rare) laying hold of the Divine mercy ("*potest ecclesia* (*spiritus*) *donare delicta, sed non faciam*"). They therefore expelled from their churches all who had committed mortal sins, committing their souls to God. The bishops on the other hand, contrary to their own principle, were obliged to maintain that baptism alone cleanses from sin, and to vindicate the right conveyed by the power of the keys by a reference to the apostolic office in order to protect the standing of the ever less holy churches against the dissolution which would have resulted from the earlier régime. Calixtus was the first to make use of the right of the bishops to forgive sins in the widest sense, and to extend this right even to mortal sins. He was opposed, not only by the Montanist, Tertullian, but in Rome itself by a very high ecclesiastical rival bishop (Hippolytus). The Montanists were compelled to withdraw with their "devil-prophecy", but they withdrew willingly from a Church which had become "unspiritual" (psychic). The bishops asserted the stability of the Church at the expense of its Christianity. In the place of the Christianity which had the Spirit in its midst, came the Church organization which possessed the New Testament and the spiritual office.

Bishops Assume to Forgive Sins, even Mortal Sins.

3. Meanwhile the carrying out of the pretensions of the bishops to the right to forgive sins (opposed in part by the churches and the Christian heroes, the confessors) and the extension of the same to mortal sins (contrary to the early practice, the early conception of baptism and of the Church) was attended by great difficulties, although the bishops encountered not only the early practice of the primitive rigid discipline, but also a wide-spread laxness. The extension of the forgiveness of sins to adulterers was the occasion of the schism of Hippolytus. After the Decian persecution, however, it was necessary to declare even the greatest sin, apostasy, as pardonable, likewise to enlarge the ancient concession that one capital sin after baptism might still be pardonable (a practice founded upon the Hermas Pastor) and to abolish all rights of spiritual persons (confessors), *i.e.* to make the forgiveness of sin dependent upon a regular, casuistic, bishoply action (Cornelius of Rome and Cyprian). Only then was the Church idea radically and totally changed. The Church includes the pure and the impure (like Noah's ark); its members are not collectively holy and every one is by no means sure of blessedness. The Church, solely in virtue of its endowments, is holy (objective), and these have actually been conferred, together with the pure teaching, upon the bishops (priests and judges in the name of God); it is an indispensable salva-

Idea of Church Radically Changed.

tion institute, so that no one will be blessed who remains without; it is also *societas fidei*, but not *fidelium*, rather is it a training-school and cultus-institute for salvation. It possesses also, in addition to baptism, a second cure for sin, at least in practice; the theory, however, was still confused and uncertain. Now for the first time were the clergy and laity sharply distinguished *religiously* ("*ecclesia est numerus episcoporum*"), and the Roman bishops stamped the clergy with a character *indelibilis* (not Cyprian). Now also began the theological speculation in regard to the relation of the Church, as a communion of saints, to the empirical holy Church, to the milder secularizing of Christianity tempered by the "means of grace." But all this could not be accomplished without a great counter-agitation which began at Rome (*Novatian*) and soon spread among all the provincial churches. *Novatian* required only a minimum, the unpardonableness of the sin of apostasy (upon the earth), otherwise the Church would no more be holy. This minimum, however, had the same significance as the far more radical demands of the Montanists two generations before. There was in it a vital remnant of the ancient Church idea, although it was strange that a Church should consider itself *pure* (katharoi) and truly *evangelical*, merely because of its unwillingness to tolerate apostates (later perhaps other mortal sinners). A second Catholic Church, stretching from Spain to Asia Minor, arose, whose archaic

Novatian Opposition.

Second Catholic Church.

fragments of the old discipline, however, did not help it to become a more independent earthly system of life; nor did it really distinguish itself from the other Church, although it declared the ministrations of the same invalid (practice of re-baptism).

With wisdom, foresight and relative severity the bishops in these crises brought their churches around to a new attitude. As it was, they could use only one bishop's Church and they learned to consider themselves rightly as its pupils and as its sheep. At the same time the Church had taken on a form in which it could be a powerful support to the state. Besides, its inner life was much better organized than formerly in the empire, and the treasure of the Gospel was still ever in its keeping (the image of Christ, the assurance of eternal life, the exercise of mercy) as once the monotheism and piety of the Psalmists remained alive within the hard and foreign shell of the Jewish Church.

The Priesthood.

Note 1. The Priesthood. The rounding out of the old Catholic Church idea is clearly manifested in the completed development of a priestly order. Hierourgical priests are found first among the gnostics (Marcion's followers); in the Church the prophets (Didache) and the local ministers (I. Clement) were formerly likened to the Old Testament priests. Tertullian first calls the bishop a priest, and from that time until about 250 the priestly character of the bishops and presbyters was evolved very rapidly in the Orient, as well as in the Occident; so strong indeed was the influence of heathenism at this point that an *ordo of priestly assistants* (lower ordination) arose (in the Occident first). The completed idea of priest meets us first in Cyprian, in the Roman bishops of that time, and in the document which lies at the basis of the Apostolic Constitutions. The bishops (secondarily also the presbyters) were held to be the representatives of the Church before God (they alone are permitted to bring the offering) and representatives of God before the Church (they alone grant or withhold the Divine grace as judges in the place of God and Christ; they are the depositaries of the mysteries, who dispense a grace which they thought to be an anointing of a materialistic sort). In support of this claim, appeal was made increasingly to the Old Testament priests and the entire Jewish cultus system, naturally in a supplementary way. Doors and windows were thus thrown open, as regards the rights and duties of the priests, toward heathenism and Judaism, after that they had disregarded the exhortation of the aging Tertullian to return to a common priesthood. Tithes, cleansings and finally Sabbath ordinances (transferred to Sunday) were gradually established.

Appeal Made to Jewish System.

Sacrifice.

Note 2. The Sacrificial Offering. Priesthood and sacrifice condition each other. The sacrificial idea had from the beginning the widest play in the Church (see Book I. Chap. 3, Sec. 7); therefore the new conception of the priest must of necessity influence the conception of the sacrifice, even though

Meritorious Works.

the old representation (pure sacrifice of the spirit, sacrifice of praise, the whole life a sacrifice) still remained. This influence manifested itself in two ways, (1) within the Christian life of sacrifice was introduced the special acts of fasting, of voluntary celibacy, of martyrdom, etc. more and more prominently (see among others Hermas) and these received a meritorious, and even "satisfaction" significance (see Tertul.); this development appears complete in Cyprian. To him it is self-evident that the Christian, who cannot remain sinless, must through penance (atoning sacrifice) reconcile the angry God. Deeds done, where special sins are not to be erased, entitle one to a special reward. Next to penitential exercises, the *giving of alms* is the most effective means (prayer without alms is barren and fruitless). In the writing, *De opere et eleemos.*, Cyprian has given an elaborate theory, one might say, concerning alms as a *means of grace* which a man can provide and which God *accepts*. Following the Decian persecution the *opera et eleemosynae* crowded into the absolution system of the Church and secured therein a firm footing: One can—through God's indulgence—win again for himself his Christian standing through works. If men had remained wholly satisfied with this, the entire system of morality would have been encompassed by it. Hence it was necessary to enlarge the conception of *gratia dei*, and not as hitherto to make it depend solely upon the sacrament of baptism. This was first accom-

Priestly Re-enacting of Sacrifice of Christ.

plished, however, by Augustine; (2) the idea of sacrifice underwent a change in the cultus. Here also is Cyprian epoch-making. He first clearly associated the specific offering of the Lord's Supper with the specific priesthood; he first declared the *passio domini*, and also the *sanguis Christi* and the *dominica hostia* the object of the eucharistic offering, and thereby reached the idea of the priestly re-enacting of the sacrifice of Christ (ἡ προσφορὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἷματος also in the apostolic Church regulations); he placed the Lord's Supper decidedly under the point of view of the incorporation of the Church and of the individual with Christ, and certified in a clear way for the first time that the commemoration of those taking part in the offering (*vivi et defuncti*) had a special (*deprecatory*) significance. The real effect of the sacrificial meal for those participating was, however, the making of prayers for each other more efficacious; for unto the forgiveness of sins in the fullest sense this act could, notwithstanding all the enrichment and lofty representations of the ceremony, not be referred. Therefore the claim that the service was the re-enactment of the sacrifice of Christ remained still a mere claim; for against the conception so closely related to the cultus of the times, that participation in the service cleansed from sin as in the mysteries of the *magna mater* and of Mithras, the fundamental ecclesiastical principle of baptism and repentance stood in opposition. As a sacrificial act the Lord's Supper never attained to equal importance with baptism; but to the popular imagination this solemn ritual, modelled after the ancient mysteries, must have gained the highest significance.

Means of Grace, Baptism.

Note 3. Means of Grace, Baptism and Eucharist. That which since Augustine has been called "means of grace", the Church of the 2d and 3d century did not possess, save in baptism: According to the strict theory the baptized could not expect any new bestowal of means of grace from Christ, he must rather fulfil the law of Christ. But in practice men possessed in absolution, from the moment when mortal sins were absolved, a real means of grace, whose significance was screened by baptism. Reflection upon this means of grace remained as yet wholly uncertain, in so far as the thought that God absolves the sinner through the priest was crossed by the other (see above), that the penitential acts of sinners the rather secure forgiveness. The ideas concerning baptism did not essentially change (Hoefling, Sacrament der Taufe. 2 Bdd. 1846). Forgiveness of sins was looked upon in general as the result of baptism (however, here also a moral consideration entered: The sins of the unbaptized are sins of blindness; therefore it is fit that God should absolve the penitent from them); actual sinlessness, which it was necessary now to preserve, was considered the result of forgiveness. Often there is mentioned in connection with the *remissio* and the *consecutio æternitatis* the *absolutio mortis*, *regeneratio hominis*,

Mysterium.

Lord's Supper.

restitutio ad similitudinem dei, *consecutio spiritus sancti* ("*lavacrum regenerationis et sanctificationis*"), and all possible blessings as well. The ever-increasing enrichment of the ritual is in part a consequence of the purpose to symbolize these presupposed rich effects of baptism; in part it owes its origin to the desire to worthily equip the great *mysterium.* An explanation of the separate acts had already begun (confirmation by the bishop). The water was looked upon as a symbol and vehicle. The introduction of infant baptism lies wholly in the dark (in the time of Tertullian it was already wide-spread, but condemned by him, *de bapt.* 18, because he held that the *cunctatio* was indicated by reason of the *pondus* of the act; Origen referred it back to the apostles). The attempts of some to repeat baptism were repelled. The Lord's Supper was looked upon not only as an offering, but also as a divine gift (Monographien von Doellinger 1826, Kahnis 1851, Rueckert 1856), whose effect, however, was never strictly defined, because the rigid scheme (baptismal grace, baptismal duties) excluded such. Imparting of the Divine life through the Holy Supper was the chief representation, closely connected with purely superstitious ideas (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας): the spiritual and the physical were strangely mixed (the bread as γνῶσις communication and ζωή). No Church father made a clear discrimination here: The realistic became spiritualistic and the spiritualistic mystical; but the forgiveness of sins retreated entirely from view. In accordance with this the representation of the relation of the visible elements to the body of Christ began to take form. A problem (whether symbolical or realistic) no one dreamed of: The symbol is the inherently potential mystery (vehicle), and the mystery apart from the symbol was inconceivable. The flesh of Christ is itself "spirit" (no one perhaps thought of the historical body); but that the spirit becomes perceptible and tangible, was even the distinguishing mark. The anti-gnostic fathers recognized that the consecrated bread was composed of two inseparable elements,—one earthly and the other heavenly,—and thus saw in the sacrament that which was denied by the gnostics, viz.: The union of the spiritual and the fleshly and the warrant for the resurrection of the flesh which is nourished by the blood of the Lord (even so Tertullian, who has falsely been classed as a pure symbolist). Justin spoke of a transformation, but of a transformation of the participants; the idea of the transformation of the elements was, however, already taking form. The Alexandrians saw here, as in everything which the Church at large did, the mystery behind the mystery; they accommodated themselves to the administration, but they wished to be such spiritual Christians that they might be continually nourished by the Logos and might partake of a perpetual eucharist. Everywhere the service was departing from its original significance and was made more and more precise as

Justin.

Alexandrians.

regards its form and content, both by the learned and ignorant (practice of infant communion testified to by Cyprian).

Magical Mysteries.

Magical mysteries, superstition, authoritative faith and obedience, on the one side, and a highly realistic representation of the freedom, ability and responsibility of the individual in moral matters, on the other side, is the mark of Catholic Christendom. In religious matters authoritatively and superstitiously bound, therefore passive; in moral matters free and left to themselves, therefore active.

That the Roman church led the way throughout in this process of broadening the churches into catholicity is an historical fact that can be unquestionably proven. But the philosophic-scientific system of doctrine, which was evolved at the same time out of the faith, is not the work of the Roman church and its bishops.

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AS DOCTRINE AND ITS GRADUAL SECULARIZATION.

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTIANITY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE APOLOGISTS.

M. v. Engelhardt, Das Christenthum Justin's, 1878. Kühn, Octavius, 1882. Ausgabe der Apologeten mit Commentar, von Otto.

The Apologists.

1. THE apologists wishing to declare and defend the Christianity of the churches stood therefore in all things upon the basis of the Old Testament, emphasized the universalism of the Christian revelation and held fast to the traditional eschatology. They rejected gnosticism and saw in the moral power which faith gave to the uncultured a principal proof of its genuineness. But anxious to present Christianity to the educated as the highest and surest philosophy, they elaborated as truly *Christian* the moral cast of thought with which the Gentile Christians from the beginning had stamped the Gospel, thereby making Christianity *rational* and giving it a form which appealed to the common sense of all earnest, thinking and reasoning men of the times. Besides, they knew how to use the traditional, positive material, the Old Testament as well as the history and worship of Christ, simply as a *verification* and *attestation* of this rational religion which had

Christianity Highest Philosophy, Rational.

been hitherto wanting and had been sought for with fervent desire. In the apologetic theology Christianity is conceived as a religious development brought about by God himself and corresponding to the primitive condition of man and placed in the sharpest contrast with all polytheistic national religions and ceremonial observances. With the greatest energy the apologists proclaimed it to be the religion of the spirit, of freedom and of absolute morality. The whole positive material of Christianity, however, was transformed into a great *scheme of evidence;* religion did not obtain its content from historical facts—it received it from Divine revelation, which is self-witnessing in the creature-reason and freedom of mankind—but the historical facts serve for the *attestation* of religion, for its *elucidation*, as against its partial obscuration, and for its universal *spreading*.

Christian Teaching Transformed.

And that was what the majority were seeking. In what religion and morality consist, that they believed they knew; but that these are *realities*, that their rewards and punishments are *sure*, that the true religion excludes all forms of polytheism and idolatry, were claims for which they had no guarantee. Christianity as an *actual revelation* brought the certainty they desired. It gave to the highest product of Greek philosophy and to the sovereignty of theistic morality victory and permanence; it gave to this philosophy as knowledge of the world and as morality for the first time the courage to free itself from the polytheism of the past and to descend from the plane of the learned to the plane of the common people.

Apologists Conservative.

The apologists were in contrast with the gnostics *conservative*, inasmuch as they were not really disposed to investigate at any point the traditions of the Church or to make the *content* of the same comprehensible. The argument from prophecy, now however formulated in the most external way, allied them with the Church at large. The gnostics sought in the Gospel a *new religion*, the apologists by means of the Gospel were confirmed in *their religious moral sense.* The former emphasized the redemptive idea and made everything subordinate to it; the latter brought all within the radius of natural religion and relegated the redemptive idea to the circumference. Both hellenized the Gospel; but only the speculations of the apologists were at once legitimized, because they directed everything against polytheism and left the Old Testament and the kerygma untouched and emphasized in the clearest manner freedom and responsibility. Apologists and gnostics carried forward the work which the Alexandrian Jewish thinker (Philo) had begun as regards to the Old Testament religion; but they divided the work, so to speak, between them: The latter devoting themselves rather to the Platonic-religious side of the problem and the former to the stoic-rationalistic side. The division however could not be sharply made; no apologist entirely overlooked the redemp-

Apologists and Gnostics Continued Work of Philo.

Irenæus Blends Two Problems.

tive idea (redemption from the power of the demons can be wrought only by the Logos). With Irenæus begins again in the theological work of the Church the blending of the two problems; not only the contest with gnosticism made this necessary, but the spirit of the age turned more and more from the stoic morality to the Neo-Platonic mysticism, within whose shell lay concealed the impulse toward religion.

Christianity is Philosophy and Revelation: Thesis of Apologists.

2. Christianity is *philosophy* and *revelation:* This is the thesis of every apologist from Aristides to Minucius Felix. In the declaration that it is philosophy, the apologists encountered the widespread opinion among the churches, that it is the antithesis to all worldly wisdom (see the testimony of Celsus); but they reconciled this difference through the friendly understanding that Christianity is of supernatural origin and as revelation, notwithstanding its rational content, cannot be apprehended save by a divinely illumined understanding. On the principles underlying this conception the apologists were all agreed (Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Melito, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix and others whose writings are attributed to Justin). The strongest impress of stoic morality and rationalism is found in Minucius; Justin's writings (Apology and Dialogue) have the most in common with the faith of the churches. On the other hand Justin and Athenagoras think the most favorably of philosophy and of philosophers, while in the succeeding time the judgment became ever harsher (already by

Tatian) without changing the view of the philosophic content of Christianity. The general conviction may be thus summarized: Christianity is philosophy, because it has a rational element and because it gives a satisfactory and generally comprehensible answer to those questions in regard to which all true philosophers have exercised themselves; but it is not a philosophy,—indeed it is the direct antithesis to philosophy, so far as it is free from all mere notions and opinions and refutes polytheism, *i.e.*, originates from a revelation, therefore has a supernatural, Divine origin, upon which finally the truth and certainty of its teaching alone rest. This contrast with *philosophy* shows itself also above all in the unphilosophical form in which the Christian preaching went forth. This thesis permits in detail various judgments in regard to the concrete relation of Christianity and philosophy, and it urged the apologists to labor at the problem, why then the rational needed to be revealed at all? The following general convictions however may also be laid down here:

Summary.

Christianity is Revelation.

(1) Christianity is, according to the apologists, revelation, *i.e.* it is the Divine wisdom which from of old has been proclaimed through the *prophets* and possesses through its origin absolute trustworthiness, *which is also clearly evidenced in the fulfilment of the words of the prophets* (the evidence from prophecy as the only sure evidence; it has nothing to do with the content of religion, but is an accompaniment to it). As Divine wisdom Christianity stands

opposed to all natural and philosophical knowledge and makes an end to such.

Christianity is Philosophy.

(2) Christianity is the manifestation which accords with the natural, though darkened reason of mankind; it includes all the essential elements of philosophy—it is therefore *the* philosophy (ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία, ἡ βαρβαρικὴ φιλοσοφία)—and it assists mankind to realize the truths which philosophy contains.

Revelation Necessary.

(3) Revelation of the rational was and is necessary, because mankind has fallen under the dominion of demons. (4) The efforts of the philosophers to discover the true knowledge have been fruitless, which is above all clearly shown by the fact that neither polytheism nor the wide-spread immorality has been overthrown by them.

Philosophers Indebted to Prophets.

So far as the philosophers have discovered any truth, they are indebted for it to the prophets (thus the Jewish Alexandrian philosophers already taught) from whom they borrowed it; it is, to say the least, uncertain whether they also have come to the knowledge of any fragment of the truth through the sporadic activity of the Logos (see Justin on Socrates); certain is it, however, that many apparent truths of the philosophers are the aping of truth by evil spirits (to these also the whole of polytheism was referred, which is partly also the aping of Christian institutions).

Christ only Emphasized Prophets.

(5) The acknowledgment of Christ is simply included in the acknowledgment of the prophetic wisdom; a new content the teaching of the prophets did not receive through Christ; he only gave it currency and energy (triumph over the demons; Justin and

Tertullian recognize a new element in the Gospel). (6) The practical testing of Christianity lies, (a) in its apprehensibility (the unlearned and women become wise), (b) in the expulsion of demons, (c) in its ability to produce a holy life. In the apologists Christianity accordingly despoiled antiquity, *i.e.* the proceeds of the monotheistic knowledge and ethics of the Greek: ὅσα παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐστί (Justin). It dates itself from the beginning of the world. Everything true and good that mankind extols came through Divine revelation, but is, at the same time, truly human, because it is only a clearer expression of that which men find within themselves. It is at the same time *Christian*, since Christianity is nothing but the teaching of revelation. One cannot think of another form in which the claim of Christianity to be the world-religion comes out so strongly (hence the effort to reconcile the world-empire with the new religion), nor can one think of a second form in which the specific content of the traditional Christianity is so thoroughly neutralized. But its truly epoch-making character lay in this, that the spiritual culture of the race appeared now to be reconciled and allied with religion: Revelation is wholly an outward, miraculous communication (passivity of the prophets) of rational truth; but rational truth—theistic cosmology and morality—was set forth simply dogmatically and as the common possession of mankind.

Christianity Old as the World.

Spiritual Culture Allied with Religion.

3. The "dogmas" of Christianity—this conception

Dogmas are Rational Truths.

and the other, ϑεολογία, were first introduced into philosophical language by the apologists—are those rational truths which are revealed by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, and which are all summed up in Christ (Χριστὸς λόγος καὶ νόμος) and have as their consequent true virtue and eternal life (God, liberty and virtue, eternal reward and eternal punishment, *i.e.* Christianity as a monotheistic cosmology, as a doctrine of liberty and morals, as a doctrine of redemption; the latter however is not clearly set forth). The *instruction* is referred back to God, the *establishment* of a virtuous life (of righteousness) God must needs have left to men. The prophets and Christ are therefore fountains of righteousness, in so far as they are Divine teachers. Christianity may be defined as the God-transmitted knowledge of God, and as virtuous conformity to rational law, in the longing and striving after eternal life and in the certainty of reward. Through the knowledge of the truth and through the doing of good, men become righteous and partake of the highest blessedness. Knowledge rests upon *faith* in the Divine *revelation.* This revelation has also the genius and the power of redemption, in so far as the fact is unquestionable that mankind cannot without it triumph over the dominion of the demons. All this is conceived from the Greek standpoint.

Dogmas Set Forth Knowledge of God.

(a) The dogmas which set forth the knowledge of God and of the world are dominated by the fundamental thought, that over against the world as a created, conditioned and transient existence stands the Self-Existent, Unchangeable and Eternal, who is the primal Cause of the world. He has no attributes, which are attributable to the world; therefore he is exalted above every name and has in himself no distinctions (the Platonic expressions concerning God were held as incomparably good). He is accordingly *one* and *alone*, *spiritual* and faultless and therefore *perfect;* in purely negative predicates he is best characterized; and yet he is *Origin* (Cause) and the *Fulness* of all existences; he is *Will* and *Life*, therefore also the kind Giver. The following theses remain fixed with the apologists as regards the relation of God to the world: (1) that God is to be thought of primarily as the final *Cause*, (2) that the principle of the ethically good is the Principle of the world, (3) that the Principle of the world, *i.e.* the Godhead, as immortal and eternal, forms the contrast to the world as the perishable. The dogmas concerning God are not set forth from the standpoint of the redeemed Church, but on the basis of a certain conception of the world on the one hand, and of the moral nature of man on the other; which latter however is a manifestation within the cosmos.

Summary.

The cosmos is everywhere permeated with reason and order (opposition to gnosticism); it bears the stamp of the *Logos* (as a reflection of a higher world and as a product of a rational Will). The material also which lies at the basis of its composition is not evil, but was created by God. Still the apologists

Cosmos Permeated with Reason.

The Logos.

History of Logos.

did not make *God* the immediate creator of the world, but the personified Divine Reason perceptible in the world and inserted between God and the world. This was done with no reference to Christ and with no thought (in the gnostic sense) of separating God and the world; the conception of the Logos was already at hand in the religious philosophy of the day, and the lofty idea of God required a being, which should represent the actuality and the many-sided activity of God, without doing violence to his unchangeableness (a finer dualism: The Logos is the hypostasis of the active energizing Reason, which makes it possible to think of the Godhead itself as resting ὑπερούσιον; he is both the revealing Word of God, the Divine manifesting himself audibly and visibly upon the earth, and the creating Reason which expresses himself in the work of his own hands; he *is the Principle of the world and of revelation at the same time.* All this is not new; yet the Logos was not proclaimed by the apologists as a νοούμενον, but as the surest reality). Beyond the carrying out of the thought that the principle of the cosmos is also the principle of revelation the majority did not go; their dependence upon the faith of the Church is evidenced, however, by their failure to clearly distinguish between the Logos and the Holy Spirit. The history of the Logos is as follows: God was never ἄλογος; he ever had the Logos within himself as his reason and as the potentiality (idea, energy) of the world (notwithstanding all negative assertions, God and the world were somehow bound together). For the sake of the creation God put the Logos forth from himself (sent him forth, permitted him to go forth), *i.e.* through a free simple act of his will generated him out of his own Being. He is now an independent hypostasis (ϑεὸς ἐκ ϑεοῦ) whose real essence (οὐσία) is identical with that of God; he is not separated from God but only severed, and is also not a mere mode or attribute of God; but is the independent result of the self-unfolding of God, and, although being the compendium of the Divine Reason, he did not rob the Father of his reason; he is God and Lord, possesses the essence of the Divine Nature, although he is a second being by the side of God (ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τι, ϑεὸς δεύτερος); but his personality had a beginning ("*fuit tempus, cum patri filius non fuit*," Tertull.). Since then he had a beginning, and the Father did not, he is, as compared with the Father, a *Creature*, the begotten, created, manifested God. The subordination lies, not in his essence (for monotheism would then have been destroyed), but in the manner of his origin (ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρός). This made it possible for him to go forth into the finite as reason, revelation, and activity, while the Father remains in the obscurity of his unchangeableness. With the going forth of the Logos begins the realization of the world-idea. He is the Creator and to a degree the Prototype of the world (the one and spiritual Being among the many sentiment creatures),

Begotten God.

Creator and Prototype.

which had its origin from nothing. Man is the true aim in the creation of the world, and the true aim of man is to attain unto the Divine essence through the reason (image of God) and freedom created within him. As spirit-embodied beings men are neither mortal nor immortal, but capable of death and of eternal life. In the doctrines, that God is the absolute Lord of the material world, that evil is not inherent in matter but originated in time and through the free decision of the spirit (angel), finally that the world advances toward the light, dualism appeared to be fundamentally overcome in the cosmology. Yet it was not overcome in so far as the sentient was *actually* looked upon as evil. The apologists held this teaching in regard to God, the Logos, the world and mankind as the essential content of Christianity (of the Old Testament and of the preaching of Christ).

Doctrines of Freedom.

(b) The doctrines concerning freedom, virtue, righteousness and their reward were so held that God was looked upon simply as Creator and Judge, and not as the principle of a new life (reminiscences in Justin). The ἀφθαρσία is at the same time reward and gift, linked with correct knowledge and virtue. Virtue is withdrawal from the world (man must renounce his natural inclinations) and exaltation in every respect above the senses, and love. The moral law is the law for the perfect, exalted spirit, which, inasmuch as it is the loftiest being upon the earth, is too lofty for the same. The spirit should hasten

Virtue.

Righteousness.

from the earth to the Father of Lights; in equanimity, fulness, purity and goodness, which are the necessary consequences of right knowledge, it should make it manifest that it has already overcome the world. The vicious die the eternal death, the virtuous obtain the eternal life (strong emphasis upon the idea of the judgment; recognition of the resurrection of the body of the virtuous; the idea of righteousness is not pushed beyond the *legal* requirements).

Rewards.

(c) God is Redeemer in so far as he (although the cosmos and the reason are sufficient revelations) has still sent forth direct miraculous dispensations of the truth. Inasmuch as the fallen angels at the very beginning gained the mastery over mankind and entangled men in sensuality and polytheism, God sent his prophets to enlighten man's darkened perception and to strengthen his freedom. The Logos worked directly within them, and many apologists in their writings were satisfied with a reference to the Holy Scriptures and to the evidence from prophecy. But all indeed recognized with Justin the *complete revelation* of the Logos in *Jesus Christ*, through whom prophecy is fulfilled and the truth made easily accessible to all (adoration of Christ as the revealed Logos). Justin still more zealously defended the adoration of a crucified "man" and added many things from the traditions concerning Christ that make their appearance first again in Irenæus.

God is Redeemer.

Logos Revealed in Christ.

CHAPTER V.

BEGINNINGS OF AN ECCLESIASTICO-THEOLOGICAL EXPOSITION AND REVISION OF THE RULE OF FAITH IN OPPOSITION TO GNOSTICISM ON THE PRESUPPOSITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF THE APOLOGISTS: IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, HIPPOLYTUS, CYPRIAN, NOVATIAN.

Irenæus.

1. IRENÆUS, a pupil of Polycarp and a teacher from Asia Minor, who resided in Lyons and was conversant with the traditions of the Roman church, set forth in his great anti-gnostic work the apostolic norms of the Catholic Church and also made an attempt to develop a system of Church doctrine. He sought to combine the *apologetic theology* with a *theological revision of the baptismal confession;* he took from the *two Testaments* that material which served not alone to attest his philosophical teaching; like the gnostics he placed the thought of the *realized redemption* in the centre and sought thereby at the same time to express the *primitive Christian eschatological hopes*. In this way arose a "faith" of unlimited extent, which was to be *the faith* of the Church, of the learned and unlearned, composed of the most divers elements—the philosophico-apologetic, Biblical, Christosophic, gnostic-anti-gnostic and materialistic-fantastical (the pistis should at the same time be the gnosis and vice versa;

Combined Apologetic Theology with Baptismal Confession.

all consciousness that rational theology and *fides credenda* are irreconcilable magnitudes was wanting; everything stood upon an *even plane;* speculation was mistrusted and yet was not discarded). This complicated structure received its outward unity through the reference of all declarations to the rule of faith and the two Testaments, and its inward unity through the strong emphasis of two fundamental thoughts: *That the Creator-God is also the Redeemer-God, and that Jesus Christ is the Redeemer solely on this account, because he is the incarnate God* (*filius dei filius hominis factus*). In the carrying out of the latter thought, Irenæus is superior to his pupils, Tertullian and Hippolytus. For the former especially was entirely incompetent to unite the apologetico-rational, the historico-redemptive, and the eschatological ranges of thought, but he developed, conformably to his juristic temper and equipments, a well-rounded system in certain particulars, which was very influential in the subsequent times (terminology of the trinitarian and Christological dogmas; giving Occidental dogmatics a juristic trend).

Complicated Structure.

The joining of the old idea of salvation with the thoughts of the New Testament (salvation-history) and with the apologetic rationalism was the work of Irenæus. *Christianity is to him real redemption, brought about by the Creator-God.* This redemption is to him *recapitulatio*, *i.e.* restoration to a living *unity* of that which has been unnaturally

Christianity Redemption through Creator-God.

separated through death and sin; especially, as regards mankind, the restoration of human nature unto the Divine image through the gift of imperishableness. This salvation is accomplished, not through the Logos in itself, but solely through Jesus Christ, and, indeed, through Jesus Christ in so far as he was God and became man. In that he took upon himself humanity he has inseparably united and blended the same with Divinity. *The incarnation is therefore along with the doctrine of the unity of God the fundamental dogma.* Thus the historical Christ stands (as with the gnostics and Marcion) at the centre, not as the teacher (although Irenæus' rational scheme in many respects intersected his realistic theory of redemption), but by virtue of his constitution as the God-man. All else in the Holy Scriptures is preparatory history (not simply ciphers in the evidence from prophecy), and the history of Christ (kerygma) himself is *the unfolding of the process of the incarnation* (not simply the fulfilment of prophecy). Although the apologists in reality did not pose the question "*cur deus homo*" at all, yet Irenæus made it fundamental and answered it with the intoxicating statement: "That we might become Gods". This answer was accordingly highly satisfactory, because, (1) it indicated a specific Christian benefit from salvation, (2) it was of like rank with the gnostic conception; indeed it even went beyond the latter in its compass of territory regarding deification, (3) it met the eschatological trend of Chris-

Incarnation Fundamental Dogma.

Gained Ready Acceptance.

tianity half-way, yet at the same time it could take the place of the fantastic-eschatological expectations, (4) it expressed the mystic Neo-Platonic trend of the time and gave the same the greatest satisfaction, (5) it replaced the waning intellectualism (rationalism) by the certain hope of a supernatural transformation of our nature, which will make it capable of appropriating that which is above reason, (6) it gave to the traditional historical utterances concerning Christ, and the entire previous history as well, a firm foundation and a definite aim, and made possible the conception of a gradual unfolding of the history of salvation (οἰκονομία θεοῦ; appropriation of Pauline ideas, distinguishing of the two Testaments, vital interest in the kerygma). The moral and eschatological interest was now balanced by a real religious and Christological interest: The restoration of human nature unto the Divine image *per adoptionem.* "Through his birth as a man the eternal Word of God secured the legacy of life for those who, through the natural birth, had inherited death". The carrying out of this thought is indeed crossed by many things foreign to it. Irenæus and his pupils warded off the acute hellenization by the bringing in of the two Testaments, by the idea of the unity of creation and redemption, by their opposition to docetism; they taught the Church anew that Christianity is faith in *Jesus Christ;* but on the other hand they promoted the hellenization by their superstitious conception of redemption, and by turning the inter-

Irenæus and Pupils Warded off Hellenization.

est toward the natures rather than toward the living *Person*.

Declared Dualism Destroyed Omnipotence of God.

2. The early Catholic fathers, in opposition to the gnostic theses, declared that dualism destroys the omnipotence of God, therefore in general the idea of God, that the emanations are a mythological fancy and endanger the unity of the Godhead, that the attempt to ascertain the inner Divine constitution is audacious, that the gnostics could not avoid placing the final origin of sin in the pleroma, that criticism of the constitution of the cosmos is impertinent, the same is much rather an evidence of wisdom and goodness, that docetism gives the lie to the Deity, that the freedom of man is an undeniable fact, that evil is a necessary means of correction, that goodness and justice do not exclude each other, etc. Everywhere they argue accordingly for the gnostic demiurge as against the gnostic Redeemer-God. They refer above all to the two Testaments, and have therefore been eulogistically called "Scripture theologians"; but the "religion of the Scriptures", whereby the latter is wilfully interpreted as inspired testimony (Irenæus looks askance at the gnostic exegesis, but comes very near making use of it) gives no guarantee of contact with the Gospel. The relation between the rule of faith and the Scriptures (now super-, now sub-ordination) also did not come to a clear statement.

Accept Gnostic Demiurge.

Doctrine of God Outlined for All Time

In the *doctrine of God* the main outlines were firmly drawn for all time. A middle way between the disavowal of knowledge and an over-curious speculation was much prized. In Irenæus are found tendencies to make *love, i.e. Jesus Christ*, the principle of knowledge. God is to be known through revelation, whereby the knowledge of the world is declared, now to be sufficient, and now insufficient; For Irenæus, the apologist, it is sufficient, for Irenæus, the Christologist, it is not; but a God without a creation is a phantom; always must the cosmical precede the religious. The *Creator-God* is the starting-point, blasphemy of the Creator is the highest blasphemy. Hence also the apologetic idea of God is virtually made use of (God the negation and the Cause of the cosmos); but Irenæus is still enthused by it, since a real interest is at hand as regards the historical revelation. Especially was it pointed out against Marcion, that goodness requires justice.

Logos-Doctrine; Tertullian and Hippolytus.

In the *Logos-doctrine* Tertullian and Hippolytus manifest a deeper apologetic interest than Irenæus. They adopt the whole mass of apologetic material (Tertull. Apolog. 21); but they give it a more particular reference to Jesus Christ (Tertull. *de carne Christi* and *adv. Prax.*). Accordingly Tertullian fashioned the formulas of the later orthodoxy, in that he introduced the conceptions *substance* and *person*, and notwithstanding his very elaborate subordinationism and his merely economical construction of the trinity, he still hit upon ideas concerning the relations of the three Persons which could be fully

Una Substantia, Tres Personæ.

recognized upon the soil of the Nicene Creed ("*una substantia, tres personæ*"). The unity of the Godhead was set forth in the *una substantia;* the disposition of the one substance among the three Persons (*trinitas*, τριάς first by Theophilus) did not destroy the unity (the gnostic eons-speculation is here confined to three in number). Already it was considered a heresy to maintain that God is a numerical unity. But the self-unfolding (not partitioning) of the Godhead had made a beginning (the realization of the world-idea is still ever the main-spring of the inner Divine *dispositio*); the Logos became a distinct being ("*secundus a deo constitutus, perseverans in sua forma*"); since he is *derivatio*, so is he *portio* of the Deity ("*pater tota substantia*"). Therefore notwithstanding his unity of substance (*unius substantiæ*—ὁμοούσιος) he has the characteristic of temporality (the Son is not the world-idea itself, although he possesses the same): He, the Stream, when the revelation has accomplished its aim, will finally flow back into its Fountain. This form of statement is in itself as yet not at all distinguishable from the Hellenic; it was not fitted to preserve faith in Jesus Christ, for it is too low; it has its importance merely in the identification of the historical Christ with this Logos. Through this Tertullian united the scientific idealistic cosmology with the declarations of the primitive Christian tradition concerning Jesus, so that both were to him like the wholly dissimilar wings of one and the

Logos Derivatio et Portio Dei.

Holy Spirit.

same building. The Holy Spirit Tertullian treated merely according to the *schema* of the Logos-doctrine, —an advance upon the apologists,—yet without any trace of an independent interest ("*tertius est spiritus a deo et filio*", "*vicaria vis filii*", subordinate to the Son as the latter is to the Father, yet still "*unius substantiæ*"). Hippolytus emphasized the creature-character of the Logos still stronger (Philos. X, 33: *εἰ γὰρ θεόν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι ὁ θεός, ἐδύνατο· ἔχεις τοῦ λόγου τὸ παράδειγμα*), but did not attribute an independent *prosopon* to the Spirit (adv. Noët. 14: *ἕνα θεὸν ἐρῶ, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίᾳ δὲ τρίτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*).

Irenæus Differs from Tertullian and Hippolytus.

While Tertullian and Hippolytus simply add the Christ of the kerygmas to the complete Logos-doctrine already at hand, Irenæus took his point of departure from the God-Christ, who became man. The "Logos" to him is more a predicate of Christ than the subject itself. His declarations concerning Christ were won from the standpoint of the doctrine of redemption; the apologetic Logos-doctrine even troubled him; but he could not rid himself of it, since redemption is *recapitulatio* of the creation, and since John 1:1 teaches that Christ is the Logos. However, he rejected from principle every *προβολή*, emanation and theological speculation. Christ is the eternal Son of God (no temporal coming-forth); he is the eternal self-revelation of the Father; there exists between him and God no separation. Yet so greatly did he strive to reject the eon-speculation—

he also could not quite see the Divine in Christ in the redemption; he was obliged to give him a part in the creation, and then he taught nothing different from Justin and Tertullian. But he always had the incarnation in view, whose subject must be the full Divinity. "God placed himself in the relation of Father to the Son, in order to create, after the likeness of his Son, men who should be his sons". Perhaps the incarnation was to Irenæus the highest expression of purpose in the sonship of Christ. In regard to the Holy Spirit Irenæus spoke with the greatest indefiniteness; not once is τριάς found in his writings.

Irenæus' Doctrine of Man.

Fall Excusable and Advantageous.

In the teaching of Irenæus concerning *the destiny of mankind, their original state, fall and sin*, the divergent lines of thought become very apparent (apologetico-moralistic, Biblico-realistic), and have characteristically remained so for the doctrine of the Church. Only the first is clearly developed. Everything created, therefore also man, is in the beginning imperfect. Perfection could only be the destiny (native capacity) of mankind. This end is realized through the free decision of man upon the basis of his God-given capacity (image of God). The primitive man stumbled and fell into death; but his fall is excusable (he was tempted, he was ignorant, he allowed himself to be seduced *prætextu immortalitatis*), and even teleologically necessary. Disobedience has been advantageous for the development of man. In order to become wise he must see that disobedience works death; he must learn the distance between man and God, and the right use of freedom. It is a question of life and death; the consequence of sin is that which is really dreadful. But the goodness of God showed itself at once, as well in the removal of the tree of life, as in the ordaining of temporal death. Man regains his destiny, when he decides freely for the good, and that he can still ever do. The significance of the prophets and of Christ reduces itself here, as by the apologists, to the *teaching* which strengthens freedom (so taught Tertullian and Hippolytus). The second course of thought by Irenæus flowed out of the gnostic-anti-gnostic recapitulation-theory and was influenced by Paul. This encompasses entire humanity as the sinful Adam, who having fallen once cannot help himself. All offended God in Adam; through Eve the entire race has become subject to death; the original end is forfeited and God alone can help by descending again into communion with us and restoring us to likeness with his Being (not out of freedom does blessedness flow, but out of communion with God, "*in quantum deus nullius indiget, in tantum homo indiget dei communione*", IV. 14, 1). Christ, as the second Adam, redeems the first Adam ("*Christus libertatem restauravit*"), in that he step for step restored *in bonum*, what Adam had done *in malum*. (The testimony of prophecy is here changed into a history of destruction and salvation). This religious, preconceived historical view is carried out in

Irenæus Influenced by Paul.

Christ Second Adam.

an almost naturalistic way. From the consequence of the apokatastasis of every individual man Irenæus was preserved only by his moral train of thought.

Idea of God-Man Dominates.

The idea of the *God-man* dominated this entire scheme. Ecclesiastical Christology, so far as it emphasizes the *oneness* of the Divine and human in Christ, stands to-day still by Irenæus (Tertullian did not so clearly see the necessity of the oneness). Jesus Christ *vere homo vere deus*, *i.e.*, (1) he is truly the Word of God, God in kind, (2) this Word became truly man, (3) the incarnate Word is an inseparable unity. This is carried out against the "ebionites" and Valentinians, who taught the descent of one of the many eons. The Son stands in *natural*, and not in adopted kinship (the virgin birth is *recapitulatio:* Eve and Mary); his body is *substantially* identical with ours; for docetism menaced the redemption just as did "ebionitism". Therefore must Christ, in order to be able to restore the whole man, also pass through a full human life from birth to mature age and to death. The unity between the Logos and his human nature Irenæus called, "*adunitio verbi dei ad plasma*" and "*communio et commixtio dei et hominis*". It is to him perfect; since he did not care to distinguish what the man did from what the Word did. On the contrary Tertullian, dependent upon Irenæus, but not viewing the realistic doctrine of redemption as the key to Christianity, used it is true the formula,

Perfect Union Between Logos and Man Jesus.

"*homo deo mixtus*", but not understanding the "*homo* FACTUS" in the strict sense. He speaks (adv. Prax.) of two substances of Christ (*corporalis et spiritualis*), of the "*conditio duarum substantiarum*" which in their integrity persist, of the "*duplex status domini*, NON CONFUSUS, *sed cujunctus in una persona—deus et homo*". Here is already the Chalcedon (juristic) terminology. Tertullian developed it in endeavoring to ward off the thought: God transformed himself (so some patripassionists); but he did not see, although he used the old formulas, "*deus crucifixus*", "*nasci se vult deus*", that the realistic redemption becomes more strongly menaced through the sharp separation of the two natures, than through the acceptance of a transformation. Indeed he only asserts the oneness and rejects the idea that Christ is "*tertiam quid*". But even Irenæus could not persuade himself, against his own better judgment, to divide the *one* Jesus Christ after the manner of the gnostics: (1) There are not a few passages in the New Testament, which can be referred only to the humanity of Jesus (not to the God-man), if the real Divinity on the other hand is not made to suffer (so *e.g.* the descent of the Spirit at his baptism, his trembling and shaking), (2) Irenæus also conceived of Christ in such a way as to make him the new Adam ("*perfectus homo*"), who possesses the Logos, which in certain acts in the history of Jesus was inactive. The gnostic distinguishing of the *Jesus patibilis* and the *Christus*

Two Substances Non Confusus.

Two-Nature Doctrine.

ἀπαθής was by Tertullian explicitly, and by Irenæus indirectly, legitimized. Thus arose the ecclesiastical two-nature doctrine. Hippolytus stood between the two older teachers.

Irenæus Father of Theology of Facts.

However, the *oneness* was still the penetrating conception of Irenæus. Since Christ became what we are, he as God-man likewise passed through and suffered what we should have suffered. Christ is not only "*salus et salvator*", but also his whole life is a *work of redemption.* From his conception to his burial everything was inwardly necessary. Irenæus is the father of the "theology of facts" in the Church (Paul emphasized only the death and the resurrection). The influence of the gnosis is unmistakable, and he even uses the same expressions as the gnostics when he conceives redemption as fully accomplished,—on the one side, in the mere *manifestation* of Jesus Christ as the second Adam, on the other, in the mere knowledge of this manifestation (IV. 36, 7: ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἥτις ἦν ἀφθαρσία). Still he emphasizes the personal meritorious *service.*

Work of Christ Variously Interpreted.

He looked at the work from many points of view (leading back into communion, restoration of freedom, redemption from death and the devil, propitiation of God); the dominating one is the procuring of the ἀφθαρσία (adoption unto Divine life). But how uncertain all is to him, he betrays in I. 10, 3, when he attributes the question, Why did God become flesh? to those who will have nothing to do with the simple faith. He can also still ever rest satisfied with the hope of the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the body. Between this hope and the deification-idea lies the Pauline view (gnosis of the death on the cross); Irenæus exercised himself to prove its legitimateness (the death of Christ is the true redemption). Still he had not reached the idea of the atonement (the redemption money is not paid to the devil upon his "withdrawal"); within the recapitulation-theory he expresses the idea, that through disobedience upon the tree Adam became a debtor toward God, and through obedience upon the tree God became reconciled. Reflections on a substitutional sacrifice are not found in Irenæus; seldom do we find the idea of sacrificial death. Forgiveness of sins he did not really recognize, but only the setting aside of sins and their consequences. The redeemed become through Christ bound together into a true unity, into true humanity, into the Church, whose head Christ is. In Tertullian and Hippolytus the same points of view are found, except that the mystic (recapitulating) form of the redemption recedes. They oscillate *con amore* between the rational and the Pauline representation of redemption ("*totum Christiani nominis et pondus et fructus mors Christi*", adv. Marc. III., 8); but Hippolytus (Philosoph. fin.) gave a classical expression to the deification brought about by Christ, interweaving therewith the rational schema (knowledge redeems). More sharply come out in Tertullian the conceptions, *culpa*, *reatus peccati*, etc.; he

Did Not Reach Idea of Atonement.

Hippolytus Emphasizes Deification.

has also already "*satisfacere deo*", "*meritum*", "*promereri deum*", which Cyprian carried out more precisely. Finally we find in Tertullian the portrayal of Christ as the Bridegroom and the individual soul as the bride, a fatal modification of the primitive Christian representation of the Church as the body of Christ, under the influence of the Hellenic representation (see also the gnostics), that the Deity is the husband of the soul.

Tertullian Calls Christ Bridegroom of Individual Soul.

Eschatology.

Very striking is the impression made upon one by the *eschatology* of the early Catholic fathers; for it corresponds neither with their rational theology, nor with their mysticism, but is still wholly archaic. They do not, however, repeat the same in any urgent way (perhaps on account of the churches, or the *regula*, or the Apocalypse of John), but they and the Latin fathers of the 3d, and of the beginning of the 4th, century live and move altogether in the hope of the earliest Christian churches (like Papias and Justin). The Pauline eschatology they felt as a difficulty, the primitive Christian, together with its grossest chiliasm, not at all. This is the clearest proof that these theologians were only half-hearted about their rational and mystic theology, which they had been compelled to adopt in their contest with the gnosis. They had in fact two Christs: The returning Christ, who should conquer the antichrist and set up his judgment seat as the victorious King, and the Logos, who was looked upon, now as a Divine teacher, now as God-man. This very com-

Papias, Justin.

plication recommended the new Church doctrine. The details of the eschatological hopes in Irenæus (l.V., see also Melito), Tertullian and Hippolytus (*de antichr.*) are in the main as stereotyped, in particulars as wavering, as in the earlier times. The Johannean Apocalypse, together with its learned expositions, stands with Daniel in the foreground (six, or rather seven thousand years, heathen earthly power, antichrist, site in Jerusalem, campaign of the returning Christ, victory, resurrection of Christians, visible kingdom of joy, general resurrection, judgment, final end). But after the Montanistic crisis there arose in the Orient an opposition movement against this drama of the future (the "alogoi"); the learned bishops of the Orient in the 3d century, above all the Origenists, opposed it, yes, even the Johannean Apocalypse (Dionysius Alex.); they found however tenacious oppposers among the "*simplices et idiotæ*" (Nepos in Egypt). The Christian people of the Orient also unwillingly suffered themselves to be robbed of their old faith, they were obliged however to submit gradually (the Apocalypse disappears often in the Oriental church canon). In the Occident chiliasm remained unbroken.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus.

Opposition in Orient.

There remains still *the doctrine concerning the two Testaments.* The creation of the New Testament threw a new light upon the Old Testament. This passed now no longer simply as a Christian book (Barnabas, Justin), and also not as a book of the Jewish God (Marcion), but by the side of the old

Doctrine of Two Testaments.

conception that it is Christian in every line and stands upon the summit of the Christian revelation, was peacefully established the other which is inconsistent with it, that it was a *preparatory stage* to Christ and the New Testament. This view, in which an historical conception faintly appears, was first set forth by the Valentinians (*ep. Ptolemaei ad Floram*). Men varied according to necessity: Now the Old Testament is held to contain the whole truth in the form of prophecy, now it is a *legisdatio in servitutem* by the side of the new *legisdatio in libertatem*, an old transient covenant, which prepared the way for the new, and whose content is the history of God's pedagogy of the human race,—in every portion of saving value and yet transient, and at the same time the forecast of the future and typical. As over against the gnostic attacks the fathers tried to set forth the incomparableness of the ceremonial laws, and Paul is distorted for the purpose in order to prove by him also devotion to the law. Prophecy, type, pedagogy were the decisive points of view, and only when men were restricted by no opposition did they admit that certain Old Testament requirements had been abrogated. In all this there lay, notwithstanding the confusion and the contradiction which persists even until the present time, a real step forward. Men began to make distinctions in the Old Testament, they hit upon the idea of advancing stages of truth, of historical conditions (Tertullian, *de orat.* 1: "*quidquid retro fuerat, aut de-*

Old Testament Contained All.

An Advance.

mutatum est per Christum ut circumcisio, aut suppletum ut reliqua lex, aut impletum ut prophetia, aut perfectum ut fides ipsa"). Inasmuch as two Testaments were now accepted, the specific significance of the Christian covenant became more prominent (Tertull. "*lex et prophetae usque ad Johannem*"; the apostles greater than the prophets); true, the new Covenant was still ever treated as "*lex*", and the hopeless question was accordingly discussed, whether Christ has lightened or weighted the old law? The pedagogical salvation-history, as it was first put forth by Irenæus and intertwined with the testimony of prophecy, made a tremendous impression (*ab initio—Moses-Christ*); the Tertullian addition (4th stage: *paracletus* as *novus legislator*) did not gain acceptance, yet it has ever reappeared in the history of the Church, since even Christ and Paul cannot be included in the scheme of new law-givers for the Church life.

Pedagogical Salvation-History.

3. The value of the work of the old Catholic fathers to the Church—in the Occident Novatian worked out the Tertullian Christology, Cyprian established the *regula* as developed into a salvation-history and made a part of the Tertullian formulas current in larger circles—did not consist in their construction of a system of dogmatics, but in their refutation of the gnosis and in the theological fragments which they left, *i.e.* in the anti-gnostically interpreted "rule of faith", which was coupled with the chief statements of the apologetic theology (vide

Value of Work of Old Catholic Fathers.

above all Cyprian's writing, "*testimonia*"; here the doctrine concerning the two Testaments, as Irenæus had developed it, forms the ground-plan in which the particular articles are introduced. Doctrinal passages from the rational theology change with the kerygmatic facts; everything, however, is proven from the two Testaments; faith and theology are not at a tension). In order to become a Catholic Christian one was obliged above all to believe the following articles, which stand in sharp contrast to the opposing doctrine: (1) the unity of God, (2) the identity of the highest God and the Creator of the world, *i.e.* the identity of the Mediator of creation and of redemption, (3) the identity of the highest God and the God of the Old Testament and the acceptance of the Old Testament as God's old book of revelation, (4) the creation of the world out of nothing, (5) the unity of the human race, (6) the origin of evil from man's freedom and the inalienable character of that freedom, (7) the two Testaments, (8) Christ as God and man, the unity of his personality, the essential character of his Divinity, the reality of his humanity, the verity of his fate, (9) the redemption and covenant through Christ as the new, final manifestation of God's grace to all men, (10) the resurrection of the entire man. In closest connection with these doctrines stands the Logos-doctrine, yes the latter formed measurably the foundation of their contents and just claims. How it was carried out will be indicated in Chapter VII. On the carrying out of

Articles of Faith of Catholic Christians.

this, however, hung also the decision of the weightiest questions, whether the Christian faith as in former times should rest upon the hope of the return of Christ and upon his glorious kingdom, or in the faith in the God-man, who has brought full knowledge and transformed the nature of man into the Divine nature.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITION INTO A PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, OR THE ORIGIN OF SCIENTIFIC ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY AND DOGMATICS: CLEMENT AND ORIGEN.

Guericke, de schola quæ Alex. floruit catechetica, 1824. Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alex., 1886. Winter, Ethik des Clemens, 1882. Redepenning, Origenes, 1841, f. Denis, Philosophie d'Origène, 1884.

Clement, Origen.

1. THE gnostics sharply distinguished pistis and gnosis; Irenæus and Tertullian made use of science and speculation only from necessity and in order to refute them, reckoning that to faith itself which they needed for theological exposition. In the main they were satisfied with the authority, hope and holy ordinances of life; they were building upon a building, which they themselves did not care for. But after the end of the 2d century there began to be in the Church a movement toward a scientific religion and toward a theological science (schools in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Edessa, Aelia, Cæsarea, Rome; alogoi,

Various Schools, Alexandria.

Alexander of Cappadocia, Julius Africanus, Theoktist, Theodocian schools). It was the strongest in the City of Science, Alexandria, where Christianity became the heir of Philo and where evidently, until toward the year 200, there had not been a firm organization of Christians upon exclusive principles. The Alexandrian church comes into the light of history together with the Alexandrian Christian school (c. 190); in the latter the entire Hellenic science was taught and adapted to the service of the Gospel and the Church. Clement, the pupil of Pantænus, produced in his Stromata the first Christian ecclesiastical work, in which the Greek philosophy of religion served not only an apologetic and polemic purpose, *but was the means of first restricting Christianity to thinking men* (as by Philo and Valentinus). Ecclesiastical literature was in itself unfamiliar to Clement; he acknowledged its authority, because the Holy Scriptures appeared to him as a *revelation;* but it was his conscious purpose to work their content out philosophically and to make them his own. The pistis is given; it is to be recoined into gnosis, *i.e.* a doctrine is to be developed which will satisfy scientific demands by a philosophical view of the world and of ethics. Gnosis does not conflict with faith, but on the contrary it supports and enlightens it, not only in certain points, but it lifts it up into a higher sphere out of the domain of authority, into the sphere of pure knowledge and inner spiritual harmony flowing

Clement a Pupil of Pantænus.

Pistis is Given.

Pistis and Gnosis Bound Together.

from the love of God. Pistis and gnosis, however, are bound together in this, that both have their content in the Holy Scriptures (yet in practice Clement is not an exact Scripture-theologian like Origen). Into these Scriptures the highest aim and the entire apparatus of the idealistic Greek philosophy is read; they are at the same time referred to Christ and ecclesiastical Christianity—so far as there was such in Alexandria at that time. The apologetic purpose, which Justin had had, is here transformed into a systematico-theologic. The positive material is accordingly not shoved into the proof of prophecy, but, as by Philo and Valentinus, is carried over with infinite pains to scientific dogmatics.

Idea of Logos.

To the idea of the Logos who is Christ, Clement, in that he exalted it to the highest principle of the religious view of the world and of the exposition of Christianity, gave a far richer content than did Justin. Christianity is the doctrine of the creation, education and perfecting of the human race through the Logos, whose work reaches its climax in the perfect gnostic, and who has made use of two means, the Old Testament and Hellenic philosophy. Logos is everywhere, wherever men rise above the plane of nature (the Logos is the moral and rational principle in all stages of the development); but the authentic knowledge of him can be won only from revelation. He is the law of the world, the teacher, or in Christ the hierourge, who through holy ordinations conducts to knowledge; finally, for the perfect,

He is Law, Teacher, Hierourge.

the bridge to union with God himself. Aside from the Holy Scriptures the Greek combination of knowledge and ceremonial ordination made it possible for Clement to let ecclesiastical Christianity pass current. The ecclesiastical gnostic rises, so to speak, by means of an attached balloon to the Divine realms; he leaves behind him everything earthly, historical, statutory and authoritative, yes, finally, the Logos himself, while he struggles upward in love and knowledge; but the rope remains fast beneath, while the pure gnostic on the contrary severed it. This exaltation is accomplished in gradual stages (Philo), under which scheme the whole philosophical ethics is set forth, from reasonable moderation to the excess of consciousness and of apathetic love. Ecclesiastical tradition is also set forth; but here as yonder the true gnostic should upon the higher stage overcome the lower. When the spirit's wings are grown he needs no crutches. Although Clement succeeded very poorly in arranging the unwieldy material under his proposed scheme—he stuck fast in the midst of his undertaking—yet his purpose is perfectly plain. While Irenæus wholly näively blended discordant material and therefore won no religious freedom, Clement advanced to freedom. He was the first to give attention to *the problem* of future theology: In connection with the historical deposits, through which we are what we are, and in connection with the Christian communion, upon which we are thrown because it is the only universal moral-relig-

Clement Attacked Problem.

ious communion, to win for ourselves freedom and independence with the Gospel and to *so* set forth this Gospel that it shall appear the highest message of the Logos, who makes himself known in all rising above nature, and therefore in the whole history of mankind. Truly the danger was for Clement at hand, that the ideal of the self-sufficient Hellenic seer should stifle the voice that declares that we live in Christ by the grace of God; but the danger of secularization was in the trammelled exposition of Irenæus, which placed value upon authorities that have nothing to do with the Gospel, and alleged facts pertaining to salvation that oppress us, in another way, indeed, but none the less. If the Gospel is to give freedom and peace in God and prepare us for an eternal life in union with Christ, then Clement understood it in that sense. His was virtually an attempt to fuse the aim of the Gospel to make us rich in God and to gain from him power and life, with the ideal of the Platonic philosophy to raise oneself as a free spirit above the world unto God, and then to bind together the instructions pertaining to a blessed life which are found in the one and in the other. But Origen was the first to succeed in putting this into a systematic form, in which the most scrupulous Biblicism and the most conscientious regard for the rule of faith are conjoined with the philosophy of religion.

Attempted to Fuse Gospel and Platonic Philosophy.

Origen.

2. Origen was the most influential theologian in the Oriental church, the father of theological science, the author of ecclesiastical dogmatics. What the

Wished to Conserve All Truth.

Presupposes Rule of Faith.

Orthodox-Traditionalist, Biblical Theologian, Idealistic Philosopher.

apologists, gnostics and old Catholic theologians had taught, he brought together and combined; he recognized the problem and the problems, the historical and the speculative. He sharply distinguished, with the clearest vision, between ecclesiastical faith and ecclesiastical theology, and spoke one thing to the people and another to the discerning. His universal spirit did not wish to destroy anything, but everywhere to conserve; he found on every hand that which is valuable and he knew how to give to every truth its place, be this in the pistis, or in the gnosis; no one should be "offended", but Christian truth should triumph over the systems of the Hellenic philosophers and the old Catholic gnostics, over the superstition of the heathen and Jews and over the defective presentation of Christian unitarians. This Christian truth bore as gnosis Neo-Platonic marks, and indeed to such a high degree that a Porphyry commended the theology of Origen, and rejected only the intermingled "strange fables". Origen presupposes the rule of faith in a firmly outlined form (see his principal work, περὶ ἀρχῶν), together with the two Testaments: He who has these has the truth which makes blessed, yet there is a deeper, more gratifying conception. Upon its summit all contrasts become mere shades, and in the absolute harmony which such a view gives, one learns to estimate the relative. Thus is Origen an orthodox traditionalist, a strong Biblical theologian (nothing should pass current which is not in the Scriptures), a keen idealistic philosopher who translated the content of faith into ideas, completed the structure of the world that is within, and finally let nothing pass save knowledge of God and of self in closest union, which exalts us above the world and conducts unto deification. Zeno and Plato, however, should not be the leaders, but Christ; for the former did not overcome polytheism, nor make the truth generally accessible, nor give a system of instruction which made it possible for the unlearned to become any better than their natural ability permits. That Christianity is for both classes,—religion for the common man without polytheism (of course with pictures and signs) and religion for the thinking mind,—Origen recognized as its superiority over all other religions and systems. *The Christian religion is the only religion which is also truth in mythical form.* Theology it is true is obliged—as always, so also here—to emancipate itself from the positive traits (characteristic of the positive religion) belonging to external revelation and statutes; but in Christianity this is accomplished under the guidance of Holy Scripture which establishes the positive religion for the masses. The gnosis neutralizes everything empirically historical, if not indeed always in matters of fact, yet wholly so as regards its worth. It sublimates first from the empirical history a higher transcendental history, which begins in eternity and rests behind the empirical; but in reality it sublimates this transcendental once again, and there remains now only

Christianity for Both Classes.

Christian Religion Truth in Mythical Form.

Gnosis Neutralizes Empirical.

the unchangeable God and the created soul. This is most clearly brought out in Origen's Christology. Back of the historical Christ reposes the eternal Logos; he who appeared first as physician and redeemer, appears on a deeper view as the teacher—blessed are the advanced ones, who need no more the physician, the shepherd and the redeemer!—but the teacher is finally no longer necessary to those who are become perfect; such rest in God. Thus is ecclesiastical Christianity here stripped off as a husk and thrown aside like a crutch. That which in Justin is proof of prophecy, in Irenæus salvation-history, vanishes in Origen for the gnostic, or is only a picture of a spiritual history. In the final analysis there fails in his high-flying, all-comprehensive ethics the sense of guilt and fear of the Judge.

Christology.

System Monistic, yet has Dualistic Element.

The system was intended to be strongly monistic (that which was created out of nothing has only a transitory significance as a place of purification); yet in fact there dwelt within it a dualistic element. The dominating antithesis is God and created things. The amphiboly lay in his double view of the spiritual (it belongs on the one side, as the outgoing of God's nature, to God himself, on the other side, as that which has been created, it stands in opposition to God), which keeps cropping out in all Neo-Platonic systems. Pantheism was to be warded off, and yet the supermundane character of the human spirit was to be stoutly maintained. This spirit is the *free*, heavenly eon, conscious of the right way, but uncertain in its striving. Divine origin, divine end, and free choice constitute its essence. The knot is tied however, in that moment when the spirit comes forth in manifestation. There is therefore a history prior to temporal history. The system is divided into three parts: (1) God and his outgoing, (2) the fall of the created spirit and the consequences, (3) redemption and restoration. That freedom will only be a semblance, if the spirit *must* finally attain unto its end, Origen did not observe. In carrying out his scheme he was so earnest that he even limited the Divine omnipotence and omniscience. Out of the Holy Scriptures the God-world drama is educed (secret tradition which still played a great rôle in Clement entirely recedes). As the cosmos is spiritual, psychic and material, so also the Holy Scriptures, the second revelation, consist of these three parts. Thereby was a secure method given for exegesis; it has, (1) to discover the verbal sense, which, however, is the shell, (2) the psychic-moral sense, (3) the pneumatic. Here and there this pneumatic is alone taken into consideration and the verbal sense must even be cast aside, whereby only one is permitted to discover the deeper sense. This Biblical alchemy Origen developed with the greatest virtuosity.

System Divided into Three Parts.

Origen's Exegesis.

(a) God is the *One*, who stands over against the *many* that point back to him as the Cause; he is the absolute Existence and spiritual Being, who stands over against conditioned existences. He is different from the many, yet the order, the dependence and

God is One Over Against the Many.

the longing of the many tell of him. God as the absolute Cause, with self-consciousness and will, is set forth as more living and, so to speak, as more personal by Origen than by the gnostics and the Neo-Platonists. But God is ever causality, and therefore never to be thought of apart from revelation. That he creates belongs to his being, which is revealed indeed even in the many. Since however all revelation must be partial, Origen permits no limitless conceptions to be applied to the Omniscience and Omnipotence; God *can* only what he *will;* he cannot do that which is in itself contradictory and is not able to become existent (all miracles are natural); he cannot indeed make the created absolutely good, since the conception of the created includes a *privatio* of being; he can make the same only potentially good; for the idea never goes forth without reserve into the substance which gives it form. Freedom also places limitations upon God, which he, it is true, imposed upon himself. Thus are relative ideas applied to the idea of God. God is love and goodness; righteousness is a manifestation of his goodness.

God Not Absolutely Omniscient and Omnipotent.

Since God is eternally revealed, the world is eternal, but not this world, yet the world of spirits. With this world, however, God is united through the Logos, into whom, laying aside his absolute apathy, God once again entered. The Logos is God himself and at the same time the totality and the creator of the many (Philo), a special hypostasis, like indeed the self-consciousness of God and the

Logos is God.

He is Begotten.

First Stage from One to the Many.

Holy Spirit.

potency of the world. The Logos is the perfect likeness of God (ὁμοούσιος). He has nothing corporeal about him and is therefore true God, yet a second God (no sharing of Divinity, *οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν θεός*). He *is begotten* of the *essence* of the Father from eternity; there was no time when he was not, and he ever goes forth from the Father's being through the Divine constraining will. But even because he is *substantia substantialiter subsistens*, he is as such no ἀγέννητον; he is an αἰτιατόν, the Father is πρώτον αἴτιον. Accordingly he is the first stage in the transition from the One to the many; from the standpoint of God the κτίσμα ὁμοούσιον, from our standpoint the manifest, essential God. For us alone therefore does the essential likeness of the Father and Son exist; his unchangeableness is therefore only relative, since it does not reside in the *autousie*. Everywhere in this speculation in regard to the Logos-Creator, there is no thought of the Logos-Redeemer. The Holy Spirit also—the rule of faith necessitated him—is included in the Godhead as a third unchangeable being and reckoned as a third stage and hypostasis. He is become through the Son and is related to him as the Son to the Father. His sphere of activity is the smallest—strangely enough, indeed, the most important. The Father is the principle of existence, the Son of reason, the Spirit of that which is holy. This graduated trinity is a trinity of revelation, but even on that account also imminent and persistent, since God

Created Spirits.

Freedom.

can never be thought of apart from revelation. The Holy Spirit is the transition to the fulness of spirits and ideas, which, created through the Son, are in truth the unfolding of his own fulness. The characteristic of *created* spirits is the *becoming* (advance, προκοπή), *i.e.* freedom (opposition to the heretical gnosis). But the freedom is still relative, *i.e.* in a broad sense they are free; fundamentally however there exists the rigid necessity for the created spirit to reach the goal. Freedom therefore is *sub specie aeternitatis* necessary *evolution.* Out of freedom Origen sought to understand the actual world; for to the spirits belong also human spirits; they were all created *from eternity* (God is ever a Creator), originally alike in substance; but their duties are different and therefore their development. In so far as they are changeable spirits they are all endowed with a kind of corporeality. In the fact itself of being created there is ordained for angels and men a kind of materiality. As to how they *might* have developed themselves Origen did not speculate, but only as to how they *have* developed.

Fall, World Created to Redeem Them.

(b) They should all attain unto a persistent existence, in order to make room then for new creations. But they fall into idleness and disobedience (preexistent fall into sin). To curb and purify them the visible world was created; this is also a house of correction and the spirits are, through the bondage of the soul, shut up in divers bodies, the grossest of which have devils, the finest angels, the medium men, who are supported and endangered by devils and angels (acceptance of popular representations). Life is a discipline, a conflict under the permission and leading of God, which will end with the conquest and destruction of evil. Thus harshly, almost Buddhistically, did Origen think of the world—he is however fundamentally an optimist. Man consists of spirit, soul and body (after Plato and because the spirit cannot be the principle of action antagonistic to God. The soul is treated just as inconsistently as the Logos: It is a spirit grown cold and yet no spirit. It was thus conceived in order to make the fall conceivable, and yet to guard the integrity of the reasonable soul). Man's conflict consists in the striving of those powers inherent in his constitution to gain dominion over his environment. Sin inheres on the one side in the earthly state (in reality all *must* be sinners); on the other, it is the product of freedom, but is even therefore conquerable when God assists. For without him nothing is good.

Man Consists of Spirit, Soul, and Body.

God Helps Through Laws of Nature, of Moses, Gospel.

(c) But we must help ourselves; God helps as teacher, first through the laws of nature, then through the laws of Moses, then through the Gospel (to each according to his kind and according to the measure of his receptivity); the perfect he helps through the *eternal* Gospel, which has no outer shell and no representation. Revelation is a manifold, gradual rendering of help, which comes to the assistance of the growing creature (the significance of the *people* Israel is recognized). But the Logos must himself appear and help. His work must be as complicated as the need is: He must exhibit to the one class the true victory over death and the demons, must, as the God-man, bring an offering which represents the expiation of sin, must pay the price of redemption which shall end the dominion of the devil—in short he must bring a comprehensible redemption in "*deeds*". (Origen first introduced into the Gentile Church a theory of reconciliation and atonement; but one should consider in what age he wrote.) To others, however, he must, as Divine teacher and Hierourge, disclose the depths of knowledge and bring to them a new principle of life, so that they may share his life and, interwoven with the Divine Being himself, may become divine. Return to communion with God is here, as yonder, the goal; yonder through *facts* toward which man directs his faith; here through knowledge and love, which, striving up beyond the Crucified, lays hold upon eternal life as the Logos himself encompasses it. The "facts" are also, as with the gnostics, not simulation or an indifferent basis of truth, but are truth, though not *the* truth. Thus he reconciled faith and the philosophy of religion. He can commend the cosmic significance of the death on the cross, a work which encompasses all spirits, and yet rise above this occurrence by speculations which have no history.

Christology Complex.

In accordance therewith his Christology takes its form; its characteristic is its complexity: The Redeemer was all that Christians can think him to have been. For the gnostic he is the divine Principle, the Teacher, the First-Born, the knowable, Divine Reason. The gnostic knows no "Christology": From Christ on began the perfect indwelling of the Logos in mankind. Here, therefore, neither the Divinity nor the humanity of Christ is a question or a problem. But for the imperfect Christian Christ is the God-man, and the gnostic is in duty bound to solve the problem which this expression offers and to guard the solution from errors on the right and on the left (against docetism and ebionitism). The Logos could unite itself with the body only through the medium of a human soul. This soul was a pure unfallen spirit, which had destined itself for the soul in order to serve the purposes of redemption. It was a pure spirit fundamentally united with the Logos and became then, by reason of its moral worthiness, a medium for the incarnation of the Logos (closest inner union, but really perfect only through incessant exercise of will from both sides; therefore no mingling). The Logos remains unchangeable; only the soul hungers and suffers, inasmuch as it, like the body, is truly human. But because both are *pure* and their substance is in itself without qualities, his body was still *actually* totally different from ours (Clement is still more docetic). The body could at any moment assume such a character as the situation required, in order to make the strongest impression upon different persons. The Logos was also not shut up within the body, but wrought everywhere as

Docetic Element.

hitherto and united itself with all pious souls. It is true the union was with none so close as with the soul of Jesus, and the same was true as regards his body. The Logos illumined and deified the soul gradually during the earthly life, and the soul the body. The functions and the attributes of the incarnate Logos form a gradation, in the knowledge of which believers progress. The union became so close (κοινωνία, ἕνωσις, ἀνάκρασις) that the attributes are interchanged in the Holy Scriptures. Finally Jesus appears transformed into Spirit, received into the Godhead, *the same with the Logos.* But the union is fundamentally ethical and finally not unique. All conceivable heresies are here touched upon, but guarded by cautions (Jesus the heavenly man—yet all men are heavenly; the adoption Christology—but the Logos behind it; the conception of two Logoi; the gnostic severing of Jesus and the Christ; monophysite commingling; docetism), save only modalism. That in a *scientific* Christology so much room was left for the humanity is the important thing; the idea of the *incarnation* is accepted.

Jusus and Logos Ethically United.

Freedom and Faith.

The redemptive adaptations are in all this already indicated: Freedom and faith are in the van. As in Christ the human soul gradually united itself with the Logos, so man receives grace gradually, in keeping with his progress (Neo-Platonic progressive stages of knowledge from simple science and sensuous things onward; yet ecstasy and visions recede; there is little that is shadowy). Everywhere a blending of freedom and enlightenment is necessary, and the ecclesiastical faith remains the starting-point also of the "theoretic life", until this comes to joyous ascetic contemplation, in which the Logos is the friend and bridegroom of the soul that is now deified in love and rests in Divinity. Regeneration Origen recognized only as a process; but in him and Clement are found statements joined to the New Testament (God as Love, as the Father, regeneration, adoption) which, free from the shackles of the system, set forth the evangelical announcement in a surprisingly pertinent way. In the highest sense there are no "means of grace", but the symbols which accompany the bestowal of grace are not equally good. The system of numerous mediators and intercessors (angels, martyrs, living saints) Origen first brought actually into operation and encouraged prayers to these (as regards praying to Christ Origen was very reticent).

Regeneration a Process.

System of Mediators.

According to Origen all spirits will, in the form of their individual lives, be finally rescued and glorified (apokatastasis), in order to make way for a new world-epoch. The sensuous-eschatological expectations are *in toto* banished. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body Origen adopted (rule of faith), but he conceived of it in such a way that a *corpus spiritale* will rise, in which all sense-faculties, yes all the members which have sensuous functions, will be wanting, and which will shine brightly like the angels and stars. The souls of those who have fallen asleep will go at once to paradise (no

Universal Redemption.

Purgatory.

sleeping of the soul); the souls which are not yet purified will pass into a new condition of punishment (purgatory), which will purify them still farther (the remorse of conscience is hell). Only so far, however, did Origen accept the ecclesiastical doctrine of damnation; at last all spirits, the demons themselves, will return to God purified. Yet is his doctrine esoteric: "for the common man it is enough to know that sin will be punished". This system drove from the field the heretic gnostic theology and later dominated the ecclesiastical theology of the Orient. But the Church could not for any length of time approve of all the teaching of Origen or content itself with his sharp discrimination between faith and the *science* of faith. It was obliged to try to unite both and to put them upon the same plane (like Irenæus).

CHAPTER VII.

DECISIVE RESULT OF THEOLOGICAL SPECULATION WITHIN THE REALM OF THE RULE OF FAITH, OR THE DEFINING OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL DOCTRINAL NORM THROUGH THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE LOGOS-CHRISTOLOGY.

Logos-Christology.

THE Logos-Christology alone permitted a uniting of faith and science, corresponded to the doctrine that God became man in order that we might become gods, and thus supported Christianity from without and from within. But it was by no means wide-spread in the churches in the year 190, or even later; rather was it in part unknown, and in part feared as heretic-gnostic (destruction of the Divine monarchy, that is, on the other hand, of the Divinity of Christ); Tertull. *adv. Prax.* 3: "*Simplices quique, ne dixerem inprudentes et idiotae, quae maior semper pars credentium est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis saeculi ad unicum et verum deum transfert, non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum sua* οἰκονομία *esse credendum, expavescunt ad* οἰκονομία . . . *Itaque duos et tres iam iactitant a nobis pradicari, se vero unius dei cultores praesumunt . . . monarchiam inquiunt tenemus*".

Established by about 300. Effect.

The establishment of the Logos-Christology within the *faith* of the Church—and indeed as *articulus fundamentalis*—was accomplished after severe conflicts during the course of a hundred years (till about 300). It signified the transformation of the faith into a system of beliefs with an Hellenic-philosophical cast; it shoved the old eschatological representations aside, and even suppressed them; it put back of the Christ of history a conceivable Christ, a principle, and reduced the historical figure to a mere appearance; it referred the Christian to "natures" and naturalistic magnitudes, instead of to the Person and to the ethical; it gave the faith of the Christians a definite trend toward the contemplation of ideas and doctrinal formulas, and prepared the way, on the one side for the monastic life, on the other for the chaperoned Christianity of the imperfect, active laity; it legitimized a hundred questions in metaphysics, cosmology, and natural science as ecclesiastical, and demanded, under threat of loss of bliss, a definite answer; it went so far that men preached, instead of faith, rather faith in the faith, and it stunted religion while it appeared to broaden it. But in that it made the bond with natural science perfect it raised Christianity to the world-and-everybody's religion and prepared the way for the act of Constantine.

Monarchianism Resisted.

The tendencies in the Church, which strove against philosophical Christianity and the Logos-Christology, men called *monarchian* (so first Tertullian). The name was not happily chosen, since many monarchians acknowledged a second hypostasis, yet made use of it for everything except for Christology. Two tendencies can be distinguished among the monarchians (see the old Christologies, Book I. chap. 3, sub 6): The *adoption*, which looked upon the Divine in Christ as a power and started from the human person of Jesus which was deified, and the *modalistic*, which held Christ to be a manifestation of God the Father. Both contested the Logos-Christology as "gnosticism"; the first through an avowed interest in the historical representation of Christ (Synoptic), the second in the interest of monarchy and of the Divinity of Christ. Both tendencies, passing into each other, were *Catholic*, maintaining the fundamental principles of the rule of faith (neither "ebionitic", nor gnostic); but after the New Testament had established itself as such the contest was in vain; for

Resistance in Vain.

although there are passages in the New Testament in favor of these theses, the other passages which maintain the pre-existence of Christ as a special hypostasis outweigh them—at least according to the interpretation then current—and it seemed self-evident that the "lower" in the expressions should everywhere be interpreted according to the "higher" (pneumatic), (therefore the Synoptics in accordance with John). In all ecclesiastical provinces there were monarchian contests; but we know them only in part.

Adoptionism Rejected.

(1) *The Rejection of Dynamic Monarchianism, or Adoptionism.*—(*a*) The *alogoi* (nickname; sources: Irenæus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius) in Asia Minor were a party of the radical anti-Montanistic opposition, which rejected *all* prophecy in the Church; they appeared at a time when there was as yet no New Testament. They criticised the Johannean writings on historical grounds and rejected them on account of their proclamation of the Paraclete and the apocalypse, at the same time proving the inaccuracy of the historical narratives in the Johannean Gospel. But they criticised also the docetism of the Gospel, hesitated at the Logos, and decided that the untrue writings, which, on the one hand, contained Jewish-naturalistic elements, on the other, docetic-gnostic, must have originated with Cerinthus. Their own Christology was fashioned after the Synoptics: The miraculous birth, the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus, his development, the exaltation through his

Synoptic Christology.

resurrection constitute his dignity. The earliest opponents (Irenæus, Hippolytus) treated these in a measure respectfully, since these "alogoi" did good service against the Montanists. But one must say, notwithstanding the high esteem which the "alogoi" had for sound historical criticism, that their religious inspiration could not have been of a very high order; for they were neither apocalyptic enthusiasts, nor mystics: Wherein then consisted the power of their piety?

Expelled from Rome.

(*b*) The same can be said of the *Roman-adoption parties of the Theodotians*, who stood in evident alliance with the "alogoi" (the cobbler Theodotus and his party, Theodotus the banker, the Artemonites). They established themselves after about 185 in Rome (the elder Theodotus was from Byzantium, a man of unusual culture); but already had bishop Victor of Rome expelled Theodotus (c. 195) from the Church, because he held Christ to be a ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος—the first case where a Christian who stood upon the rule of faith is disciplined as an unsound teacher. Theodotus taught as did the "alogoi" concerning Christ (προκοπή of the miraculously born man Jesus, equipped by his baptism and prepared for his exaltation through the resurrection; stress upon the ethical proof), but recognized the Johannean Gospel already as Holy Scripture, and carried on his Scripture argument in the same sound critical way as did the latter (Deut. 18: 15; Jer. 17: 9; Isa. 53: 2 *seq.;* Matt. 12: 31; Luke 1: 35; Jno.

Theodotus the Banker.

8: 40; Acts 2: 22; I. Tim. 2: 5). Under their most distinguished pupil Theodotus, the banker, the adoptionists zealously cultivated the criticism of the sacred text, empirical science and natural phenomena (not with Plato), and stood as a school alongside the Church (see the description in Eusebius, H. E. V, 28). Their attempt to found a church (bishop Natalis) was soon frustrated (at the time of bishop Zephyrinus); they remained as officers with an ever-dwindling army. Out of their thesis, that the Holy Spirit, whose hypostasis (as eternal Son of God, see Hermas whose Christology they followed) they acknowledged, stood higher than Jesus, since the latter is only an adopted God, their opponents made a capital heresy. Inasmuch as they ascribed the Old Testament theophanies to this eternal Son of God and took Melchisedec to be a manifestation of the eternal Son, they were called Melchisedecs, because they prayed to him. Of the learned labors of these men nothing remains to us. Hippolytus informs us that some of them would not concede that Christ is a God, even after his resurrection; others acknowledged the θεοποίησις. It became clear in the contest that an alliance with the science of Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, was not compatible with the Church, but on the contrary that it demands an alliance with Plato, and that the old Christology of Hermas—the adoptionists appealed to such documents—was no longer satisfactory. Some decades later there appeared in Rome in the person of Arte-

Logos-Christology Platonic.

By 250 Adoptionism Vanishes from Rome.

mon a still more important adoptionist teacher, of whom, however, little is known. He also put aside the predicate "God" as applied to Christ, but seems not to have agreed rigidly in all particulars with the Theodotians. About the year 250 adoptionism was insignificant in Rome (Cyprian is silent; yet see Novatian, *de trinit.*); but in the Occident it continued for a long time in the Church formulas, as "*spiritus sanctus dei filius, caro Jesus—spiritus sanctus Christus—spiritus carni mixtus Jesus Christus*" (through the reading of the highly esteemed Hermas); and it is instructive that Augustine still a short time before his conversion thought the adoption Christology to be the Catholic. Therefore the orthodox Christological formulas were still little known in the fourth century in the Occidental laity-world.

Adoptionism in Orient.

(*c*) From the writings of Origen one gathers that there were adoptionists also in the Orient. Origen treated them as misguided, *i.e.* as simple-minded Christian brethren, who needed friendly instruction; did he not himself make use of the adoption view in his complicated Christology (accordingly he was later unjustly classed with the adoptionists; against this Pamphilus defended him)? Beryllus of Bostra, the monarchian teacher who won a large following in Arabia and Syria, became convinced of the truth of the Logos-Christology through Origen (Euseb. VI., 33: *τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν μὴ προϋφεστάναι κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας, μηδὲ μὲν*

Beryllus of Bostra.

θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνην τὴν πατρικήν). Those Egyptian chiliasts, whom Dionysius of Alexandria opposed, and whose teaching περὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐνθέου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας he acknowledged as necessary, may have favored dynamical representations. But no great adoption movement was undertaken in the Orient, save by Paul of Samosata, metropolitan of Antioch (Euseb. VII, 27-30; other material in Routh, Rel. Sacr. III.), the national Syrian bishop, who opposed the Greeks and their science as well as the Romans and their church. That two great Oriental general councils at Antioch proved ineffective against him, and only the third condemned and deposed him (very probably 268) is an evidence of how little even yet the Alexandrian dogmatics had found acceptance in the Orient. Paul was a learned theologian (unspiritual, vain, shrewd, sophistical; a "man of the world" his opponents called him), who wished to break the power of the Hellenic (Platonic) philosophy in the Church and to maintain the old teaching. In later times he appears to the Church as a heretic of the first order, like a Judas, ebionite, Nestorian, monothelite, etc. His conception was this: God is to be thought of simply as individually personal (ἓν πρόσωπον). It is true that in God a Logos (Son), *i.e.* a Sophia (Spirit), can be distinguished—both are otherwise also to be identified—but these are *attributes.* God from eternity sent forth the Logos from himself, so that one can call him Son, but he remains an impersonal power.

Paul of Samosata.

Paul's Doctrine.

He worked in Moses and the prophets, *μᾶλλον καὶ διαφερόντως* in the Son of David, born of the virgin. The Redeemer is a man from "beneath", but the Logos from above worked within him (in-dwelling by means of an inspiration working from without, so that the Logos becomes the "inner man" of the Redeemer). The communion which thus arises is a *συνάφεια κατὰ μάθησιν καὶ μετουσίαν*, a *συνέλευσις* (no *οὐσία οὐσιωμένη ἐν σώματι*); the Logos did not dwell in Jesus *οὐσιωδῶς*, but *κατὰ ποιότητα*; therefore is he always to be distinguished from the latter as the greater. The Redeemer is the man wrought upon by the Logos; but he possessed in a *unique* way the Divine grace, just as his position is unique. His testimony bears witness to his endowments. Between two persons—therefore also between God and Christ—unity of disposition and of will alone is possible. Such unity is realized only through love; but also only that which comes from love has value; that which is gained through "nature" is indifferent. Jesus by reason of the unchangeableness of his love and will is like God and has become one with him, inasmuch as he not only himself remained without sin, but through conflict and endurance overcame the sins of our progenitors. Like as he however advanced and persisted in the confirmation of the good, so also did the Father endow him with might and miraculous deeds, by which he made known his unswerving will toward God. Thus he became the Redeemer and entered into an indissoluble and eternal union with God, because his love can never fail. As a reward of his victorious love he has obtained a name above every name, judgment and Divine dignity, so that one may call him "the God born of the virgin", which he has ever been in God's decree and proclamation (through grace and confirmation did he attain unto Godhood; the steps were here also birth, baptism, and resurrection). This evangelical Christology, which was the only one to consciously cast aside the religious physics, Paul supported by Scripture proofs and zealously refuted its opponents, especially the "old expositors", the Alexandrians. He did away with all Church liturgies in which the essential Divinity of Christ was proclaimed; he would know nothing of "substances", but held fast to the living Person. His teaching was considered heretical in the highest degree by the learned Hellenic bishops: He has betrayed the mystery! In the confession of six bishops against him the physical Logos-doctrine was set forth in broad terms as a most important part of the apostolic and Catholic Church faith. At the synod the word "ὁμοούσιος" was also expressly cast aside, evidently because Paul had used it for the Logos in order to prove by it that God and the Logos are one subject. With Paul's deposition and removal (272) it was decided that no Catholic Christian dare any more doubt the Divine *physis* of the Redeemer. But the teaching of Paul did not succumb in Antioch without leaving its trace behind. Lucian and his renowned professional school, the birthplace of

Evangelical Character.

Paul Deposed.

Lucian.

Photinus.

Arianism, were fructified by the spirit of Paul. However, the doctrine is badly disfigured in Arianism by reason of its combination with the hypostatized *λόγος-ϰτίσμα*. On the contrary Photinus and the great Antiochians—although the latter acknowledged the Nicene symbol—learned their best lesson from Paul: So-called Nestorianism had its roots in Paul's teaching, and in it Paul was once more condemned.

How long unbroken adoption views held their sway in outlying Oriental churches is indicated by the *Acta Archelai*, written at the beginning of the fourth century. What its author, a clerical teacher, says about Christ is very like the teaching of Paul. But in the great centres of Christianity adoptionism was totally broken down by about 270.

Modalistic Monarchianism.

(2) *The Rejection of Modalistic Monarchianism.* Not adoptionism, but modalism was the dangerous opponent of the Logos-Christology between 180 and 300, the doctrine according to which the Godhead itself is seen incarnate in Christ, and he himself considered the very and only God. Against this view Tertullian, Origen, Novatian, and especially Hippolytus contended most energetically ("patripassiani", they were first called by Tertullian; in the Orient later the most common expression was "Sabelliani"). Hippolytus says that in his time the question agitated the whole Church (Philos. IX, 6: *μέγιστον τάραχον ϰατὰ πάντα τὸν ϰόσμον ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐμβάλλουσιν*), and Tertullian and Origen testify that the majority of Christian people think "monarch-

Official Doctrine in Rome from Victor to Calixtus.

ianically". In Rome, from Victor to Calixtus, modalism was the official doctrine; among the Montanists one-half thought modalistically; the Marcionite church also leaned toward this view, and in the Catholic Church from the earliest times on many formulas were used which served to promote this form of thought, which indeed in reality best agreed with the plain, unreflecting faith (ὁ θεός μου Χριστός). But an exclusive modalistic *doctrine* was first developed in opposition to gnosticism and the Logos-Christology, (1) in order to ward off ditheism, (2) in order to maintain the full Divinity of Christ, (3) in order to sever all connection with gnosticism. Now for the first time men sought to establish this faith energetically as *doctrine*. Scientific theologians came to its defence. But to this religious conception more than to any other contact with thought and science must needs prove detrimental: It was the beginning of the end; however, the death-struggle continued a long time. The stoic philosophy with its pantheism and its dialectical formulas was called in to assist (the adoptionists relied in part upon Aristotle; see above). The controversy thus presented a phase which makes it appear related to the controversy of the Platonists and common stoics about the idea of God (whether the λόγος-θεός is the lutimate God, or whether there still stands behind him an apathetic ὄν as θεός). The oldest defenders of modalism, however, had at the same time an express Biblical interest.

Asia Minor and Rome First Theatres.

(*a*) Here also were *Asia Minor and Rome* the first theatres of the controversy. In the former was Noëtus (he, however, was probably finally excommunicated), in the latter his pupil Epigonus (about 200), who won first Kleomenes, then Sabellius to his cause. Against them Hippolytus came forward; but the bishops of Rome favored the school (above all Zephyrinus). Calixtus (217–222), originally a modalist, sought to satisfy all parties by a compromise formula and found himself thereby obliged to excommunicate Hippolytus (rival bishop) as well as Sabellius. His formula seems to have pacified the majority. How imperfect our knowledge of this matter is, is indicated by the circumstance that Hippolytus is wholly silent about the modalist Praxeas in Rome (see Tertullian). Probably the latter came to Rome before Epigonus (perhaps even under Eleutherus), but had not at that time aroused opposition. Since he also went to Carthage and was an out-and-out anti-Montanist, Tertullian used his name in order to combat the Roman modalism in general (about 210). Certain is it that Victor, who excommunicated Theodotus, did so, not from the standpoint of the Logos-Christology, but rather from that of modalism. Yet it is to be observed that the two monarchian views are more nearly related to each other than is either of them to the Logos-Christology. Both defend the redemptive historical view of the Person of Christ, as against the naturalistic historical, and often pass from into each other (as to Beryllus one

Calixtus' Compromise Formula.

Two Monarchian Postulates.

Noëtus.

Speculative Idea of God.

can question whether he was an adoptionist or a modalist; in the writings of Origen not a few passages leave us in doubt which party he is contending against; the compromise formula of Calixtus is also variegated). The simplest form of modalism is represented by Noëtus (see Hippolytus): Christ is the Father himself, who was born and died. If Christ is not the Father, then is he not God. Next to the monotheistic interest (opponents were called *δίθεοι*) was the interest in the full Divinity of Christ (*φάσκουσιν συνιστᾶν ἕνα θεόν—τὶ οὖν κακὸν ποιῶ δοξάζων τὸν Χριστόν—Χριστὸς ἦν θεὸς καὶ ἔπασχὲν δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ὢν πατήρ, ἵνα και σῶσαι ἡμᾶς δυνηθῇ*). Scripture evidence was Ex. 3: 6; 20: 2 *seq;* Isa. 44: 6; 45: 5, 14; Baruch 3: 36; Jno. 10: 30; 14: 8 *seq;* Rom. 9: 5; the Johannean Gospel was recognized; but *'Ιωάννης μὲν λέγει λόγον, ἀλλ' ἄλλως ἀλληγορεῖ.* The conception "Logos" was rigidly rejected. Speculatively the idea of God is grounded (in Kleomenes) upon the thought that God is invisible if he wishes, visible however when he permits himself to be seen; intangible when he does not wish to be touched, tangible when he presents himself to be touched; unbegotten and begotten; mortal and immortal (old Church formulas justified by the stoic idea of God). The Father so far as he deigned to be born is the Son; both are therefore only *nominally* to be distinguished; but the distinction is also an historical, redemptive one. In favor of the identity they called to mind the Old Testament theophanies. That they

Old Näive Modalism Revived.

Doctrine of Praxeas.

Modalism Becomes Adoptionism.

after the manner of the stoics attributed to the Godhead itself the element of finiteness cannot be proven. It is the old näive modalism, which is here exalted to a theory (otherwise, observe that all early Christian writers, who were not philosophical, knew only *one* birth of the Son, that from the virgin). The theory was wrecked in this, that in the Gospels without doubt two subjects (Father and Son) are presupposed. However, the modalists hardly declared unequivocally: The Father suffered; they said, the Son, who suffered, is identical with the Father (bishop Zephyrinus: *ἐγὼ οἶδα ἕνα θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἕτερα οὐδένα γενητὸν καὶ παθητόν*, but: *οὐχ ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ υἱός*). More complicated is the doctrine of "Praxeas" and the formulas of Calixtus; they indicate a trace of the difficulties: "Logos" is no substance, it is nothing else than sound and word. Praxeas, in tendency and in Scripture argument at one with Noëtus, made, however, a clearer distinction between the Father and the Son: God through the assumption of the flesh made himself into the *Son; the flesh makes the Father into the Son*, *i.e.* in the Person of the Redeemer the flesh (the man Jesus) is the Son, the Spirit (God, Christ) is the Father (citation of Luke 1: 35). *That which was born* is the Son; the Spirit (God) could not suffer; so far as he entered into the flesh he shared the suffering ("*pater compassus est filio*"). As soon as the distinguishing of *caro* (*filius*) and *spiritus* (*pater*) was taken strictly modalism passes over into adoptionism. This took place in part through Calixtus, who in his formula of reconciliation accepted the Logos (but as a designation of the Father also) and an adoption element (this Hippolytus has well observed), but by means of it actually transferred the faith of the Roman church to the Logos-Christology, and to the physico-deification doctrine—excommunicating his old friend Sabellius. Yet the gnostical subordinationism of Tertullian and Hippolytus could *never* gain acceptance *in Rome* (Calixtus' formula: τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱόν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα (stoic λόγος-θεός) καὶ πατέρα ὀνόματι μέν καλούμενον, ἓν δὲ ὂν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον · οὐκ ἄλλο εἶναι πατέρα, ἄλλο δε υἱόν, ἓν δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν· καὶ τὰ πάντα γέμειν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω· καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ σαρκωθὲν πνεῦμα οὐχ ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον · Jno. 14: 11. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλεπόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ χωρηθέν πνεῦμα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν πατέρα · οὐ γάρ, φησίν, ἐρῶ δύο θεοὺς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος πατήρ προσλαβόμενος τὴν σάρκα ἐθεοποίησεν ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἕν, ὡς καλεῖσθαι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἕνα θεόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἓν ὂν πρόσωπον μὴ. δύνασθαι εἶναι δύο, καὶ οὕτως τὸν πατέρα συμπεπονθέναι τῷ υἱῷ · οὐ γὰρ θέλει λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι).

Calixtus' Formula.

Logos-Christology Abandoned in Occident.

Certain is it that the learned and influential Novatian (*de trinit.*) did much toward bringing about the final abandonment of the Logos-Christology in the Occident. About the year 260 the Roman bishop Dionysius wrote: Σαβέλλιος βλασφημεῖ, αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν *εἶναι λέγων τὸν πατέρα*, Cyprian marked patripassianism as a pestilential heresy like Marcionitism, and he himself shoved into a second recension of the Roman symbol (Aquileja) the phrase: "*Credo in deo patre omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili*". However, the Logos-Christology had never found a congenial soil in the Occident; men let it pass, but they held much more firmly—in this there was a real interest—to the article of faith: Christ is true, complete God, and there is only *one* God. This attitude of the Occident became of most decisive significance in the Arian controversy: The Nicene doctrine is, not as a philosophical speculation, but as the direct, symbolical faith, as much the property of the Occidental church of the third century, as the Chalcedon doctrine. Accordingly many Occidental teachers, who were not influenced by Plato and the Orient, used in the third and fourth centuries modalistic formulas without hesitation, above all Commodian. The theology of the Occident until Augustine shows in general a mingling of Ciceronian morality, massive, primitive Christian eschatology, and unreflecting Christology with more or less latent modalism (*one* God in the strictest sense; Christ God and man) and practical Church politics (penitential institute), which is wholly foreign to the Orient (Arnobius, Lactantius, Commodian). They were no mystics, in part opponents of Neo-Platonism. How hard it would have been for them to make themselves at home in the speculations of the Orient is indicated

Occidental Theology till Augustine.

by the energetic, but abortive attempt of Hilarius and the theological barbarism of Lucifer. It is well-understood that modalism did not continue in the Occident as a sect, so long as in the Orient; it found in the latter, even in the prevailing form of teaching especially where the Logos was accepted, a shelter.

Old Modalism in Orient.

(*b*) The accounts of the *old modalism in the Orient* are very turbid; for subsequently everything is called "Sabellianism", which pertains to the eternal and enduring hypostasis of the Son (*e.g.* Marcellus' doctrine). Already in the third century in the Orient speculation concerning the modalistic theses increased greatly and was carried out into manifold forms, and the historians of the movement (Epiphanius, Athanasius, etc.) add thereto still other discovered forms. Just as one can write no history of the Logos-Christology in the Orient from Origen to Athanasius—the sources have been destroyed—so also one can write no history of modalism. It is certain that the contest began later in the Orient, but it was more passionate and enduring and led to the development of the Origenistic Christology in the direction of Arianism (also antithetic). The first great agitation took place in the Pentapolis, after that Origen combated the "singular" modalists as Christian brethren and sharply criticised bishops (Roman), who made the distinction between Father and Son merely *nominal* (the condemnation of Origen at Rome under Pontianus may also have had reference to his Christology). Perhaps Sabellius himself near

Impossible to Write History of Modalism in Orient.

Sabellius' Doctrine.

the end of his life went (again?) from Rome into the Pentapolis. He was already dead when Dionysius of Alexandria combated Sabellianism there. He is to be distinguished from Noëtus by his more careful theological deductions and by his regard for the Holy Spirit: To one Being are attached three names (Father, Son, and Spirit), otherwise polytheism would be established; the three names are at the same time three *energies*. The one Being is to be called *υἱοπάτωρ*—a designation for the being of God himself. However this Being is not at the same moment Father and Son, but in three consecutive, interchanging energies (prosopons) he acts as Creator and Law-giver, as Redeemer, as Quickener (through this teaching the conception "Prosopon", "Person" became discredited in the Orient). Whether it was possible for Sabellius to carry through the thought of strict succession, we do not know. Perhaps he still permitted the Prosopon of the Father to continue active (the Sabellians fell back upon the Old Testament Scriptures, but also upon the Gospel to the Egyptians and other apocrypha—a proof that the Catholic canon had not yet established itself in the Pentapolis). This distinguished itself from the earlier modalism, not by a stronger pantheistic tendency, nor by a new doctrine of the trinity (both came thereto first later in the fourth century, if the modifications were not introduced by the historians), but by the attempt to explain the succession of the Prosopons, by the attention given to the Holy Spirit (see

Sabellians Adduce O. T., Gospel to Egyptians, etc.

above) and by the drawing of a formal parallel between the Prosopon of the Father and the two other Prosopons, which indeed tended toward the acceptance of a μονάς-λόγος back of the Prosopon (συστολή and πλατυσμός), who never reveals himself, but becomes known only through his activity (this view is favored by Schleiermacher, Theol. Ztschr. 1822 H. 3). Cosmology is introduced by Sabellius as a parallel to soteriology, without the preference being given to the Father, and thereby in a peculiar manner the way was prepared for the *Athanasian Christology*, *i.e.* the Augustinian. This is the decisive significance of Sabellianism in the Orient. It prepared there the way for the ὁμοούσιος; for that the Sabellians made use of this word (on the other hand also Paul of Samosata) is clear. While within modalism there was hitherto no firm connection between cosmology and soteriology, under the later Sabellianism the history of the world and of redemption became *one* history of the self-revealing God; this became of equal rank with the Logos-Christology. In different ways Marcellus and Athanasius sought to reconcile the main principles of modalism and the Logos-Christology: The former failed, the latter succeeded in that he almost entirely excluded the world-idea from the Logos-idea, *i.e.* restored the Logos (as the Sabellians the υἱός), to the being, yes, to the numerical unity of God.

Sabellianism Prepares Way for Athanasian Christology.

Oriental Theology to 400.

(c) *History of Oriental theology until the beginning of the fourth century.*—The next consequence of modalism was that the followers of Origen gave to the Logos-Christology a strong subordination cast. Dionysius of Alexandria went so far as to set forth in a doctrinal letter the Son simply as a creation, which is related to the Father as the vine to the gardener and as the boat to the builder (Athanasius, *de sentent. Diony.*). He was denounced by his Roman colleague of the same name (about 260); the latter published a warning, in which he very characteristically branded modalism as a heresy; first, on the ground of its affinity with the Christology then current in Alexandria, which he however totally misunderstood and represented in its coarsest form; second, on account of its tritheism. And without any adjustment, he proclaimed the paradox, that one must believe in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and these three are at the same time one. The Alexandrian college, presenting now the other side of the Origenistic Christology, humbly submitting, explained that it had nothing against the word ὁμοούσιος; the Father was always Father, the Son always Son, and the latter is related to the former as the beam is to the light, the stream to the fountain; they even went farther and explained that in the very designation "Father" the Son is included; but in the diplomatic writing the bishop allowed himself a mental reservation; he would have been obliged to set aside the Neo-Platonic philosophy, *i.e.* science, if he had rejected every μερισμός in the Godhead. This controversy was a prelude to the Arian, it ended

Alexandrians Submit to Rome.

Controversy Prelude to Arian.

quickly and its culmination did not require the Alexandrians to restrict their speculations. They were besides also very anxious to replace the old simple faith in the churches (when it became inconvenient) by the philosophical (Dionysius labored in Egyptian villages against chiliasm; his opponent was Nepos; Euseb., H. E. VII, 24, 25), but at the same time to refute the empirical philosophy (Dionysius' Tract on nature against the atomic theory). The Logos- and Christus-doctrine was worked out by the leaders of the catechetical school in the spirit of Origen (finer philosophical polytheism); but out of the comprehensive literature we have only insignificant fragments: Pierius, the junior of Origen, expressly designated the Father and Logos as two οὐσίαι and two φύσεις and subordinated the Holy Spirit very greatly to the Son, as the third οὐσία. He taught the pre-existence of souls and contested the verbal sense of some Scripture passages as not authoritative. Theognostus (in the time of Diocletian) composed a comprehensive dogmatic work, which as a system surpassed that of Origen and had a form that has been in use until to-day. He moreover developed Origenism in the direction of Arius. Another Origenist, Hierakas, established an order of monks, in whose celibacy he saw something new in Christian ethics and, as it seems, emphasized more strongly the substantial unity of the Father and Son. At all events Peter († as martyr 311), bishop of Alexandria, did this. In him the Alexandrian bishop again in-

Theognostus Develops Origenism in Direction of Arianism.

Peter.

clined toward the views of the Demetrius, who had condemned Origen. Under what circumstances this happened is unknown. But from his extant writings it is clear that he substituted Biblical realism (history of the creation and the fall) for the Origenistic spiritualism and designated this as μάθημα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας. Yet this reaction on the part of Peter was still not a radical one; he only rounded off the points; he began in Alexandria the *adjustment* between the realistic faith of the simple-minded and the scientific faith, by means of subtractions and additions: That which was before his mind was a *concordant* faith which should be at the same time ecclesiastical and scientific. But the time for this was not yet at hand (see the Cappadocians); freedom still ruled in theology, which latter, it is true, was pushing on toward its complete secularization and submersion. Already every future conception was current; but there was wanting as yet a definite statement of them and a fixed value *, yes, they were looked upon as unbiblical, by many still as suspicious. The state of the doctrine of faith is best reflected in the works of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the enthusiastic pupil of Origen, the most influential

Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

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* **Thus** μονάς, τριάς, οὐσία, φύσις, ὑποκείμενον, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, περιγραφή, μερίζεσθαι, διαιρεῖν, πλατύνειν, συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαι, κτίζειν, ποιεῖν, γίγνεσθαι, γεννᾶν, ὁμοούσιος, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, διὰ τοῦ θελήματος, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν, ἄτρεπτος, αναλλοίωτος, ἀγέννητος, ἀλλότριος, πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος, δύο οὐσίαι, οὐσία οὐσιωμένη, ἐνανθρώπησις, θεάνθρωπος, ἕνωσις οὐσιώδης, ἕνωσις κατὰ μετουσίαν, συνάφεια κατὰ μάθησιν καὶ μετουσίαν, συγκρᾶσις ἐνοικεῖν, etc.

theologian in Asia Minor. One sees here that the "scientific" itself trembled before the fine polytheism which it introduced, and farther that Christology became pure philosophy: The symbol which Gregory disseminated among the churches hardly corresponded in a single sentence with the Biblical statements; it is a compendium of the purest speculations, recalling the Gospel only in the words, Father, Son, and Spirit. Therein Christian faith was expected to recognize itself once more!

Reaction; Methodius.

No wonder that a reaction set in, if indeed a tame one. By the side of Peter of Alexandria there appeared here and there in the Orient about the year 300 opponents of Origen who compelled those who still honored him to come to his defence. The most significant and influential of these opponents was Methodius (about 300). He was no enemy of Plato and of speculation—quite the contrary; but he wished to harmonize the Biblical realism and the verbal sense of the rule of faith with science—a *new* Irenæus, he wanted a consistent faith which would be purely ecclesiastical and purely scientific. Moreover all the heretical points of Origenism must be rounded off, in order that the latter may be thereby introduced in this form into the ecclesiastical faith (*speculative realism;* Methodius had read Irenæus). Above all the pessimism of Origen as regards the world (within the cosmology) must be set aside: Matter and the human body were approved by God and will therefore be glorified and remain eternal. In accordance

Origenism Modified.

with this the Origenistic teaching concerning the eternal creation of spirits, concerning the fall in a pre-existent state, concerning the character and purpose of the world, etc., were set aside. In the place of the same the *mystico*-realistic teaching of Irenæus concerning Adam (mankind) was reintroduced, but was still more mystically developed and brought into an alliance with the recapitulation-theory. Mankind before Christ was Adam (in need of redemption, but in the condition of children). Through the second Adam the Logos unites himself with us. But

Mankind Second Adam.

Methodius went a step farther; the new mankind as a whole is the second Adam. Every one should become Christ, inasmuch as the Logos unites itself with every soul as with Christ (the descent of the Logos from heaven and his death must be repeated for every soul—namely within). This comes to pass not so much through knowledge as through virginity and ascetism. The theoretic optimism was also balanced by the renunciation of the world expressed in

Extreme Regard for Virginity.

virginity. No ecclesiastic before Methodius had so prized virginity as he, so prized it as a means of mystic union with the Godhead (virginity is the end of the incarnation). In that the realism of the doctrine of faith was here bound up with the Origenistic speculation, the two-foldness of faith and the science of faith reduced to one, theoretical optimism (as regards the sensuous world) joined to the practical renunciation of the world, and everything made dependent upon the mystic union with the Godhead without a denial of the objective significance of Christ as the Redeemer (although this is pushed into the back-ground), the dogmatics of the future in its main outlines triumphed.

Logos-Doctrine Added to Rule of Faith.

That which Methodius had done for dogmatics as developed doctrine, the bishops did about the year 300 for the rule of faith, in so far as they introduced the scientific Logos-doctrine into the instructional symbol, thereby neutralizing the distinction between faith and scientific dogmatics and placing the chief contribution of Hellenic speculation under the protection of the apostolic tradition. The Oriental symbols of this time (symbol of Cæsarea, of Alexandria, of the six bishops against Paul, of Gregory Thaumaturgus, etc.) put themselves forward as the incontestible *apostolic faith* of the Church and are the philosophical constructions of the rule of faith: *The exegetical-speculative theology was introduced into faith itself.* This came to pass through the Logos-doctrine; the dogma was now found and established. A divine Being has *actually* appeared upon the earth, and his appearance is the key to cosmology and soteriology. However, these fundamental theses were accepted only in the widest circles. But men could not rest with this, so long as it was not definitely determined *how* the divine Being, who has appeared upon the earth, is related to the highest Divinity. Is the divine Being who has appeared upon the earth the Divinity himself, or is he a subordinate, second Divinity?

Exegetical Speculative Theology Added.

Are we redeemed by God himself unto God, or do we stand also in the Christian religion only in a cosmic system, and is our Redeemer only the subordinate God who is at work in the world?

Part 2.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL DOGMA.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOGMA AS DOCTRINE OF THE GOD-MAN UPON THE BASIS OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Walsch, Entw. einer vollst. Historie der Ketzereien, 1762 ff. Hefele, Conciliengesch. 2. Aufl., Bd. I–IV. Histories of the Roman Empire, by Tillemont, Gibbon, and Ranke. Réville, Die Religion z. Rom. unter den Severern (German by Krueger, 1888). Dorner, Entw. Gesch. d. L. v. d. Person Christi, 1845. H. Schultz, Die L. v. d. Gottheit Christi, 1881, Gass, Symbolik d. griech. Kirche, 1872. Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium, 2 Bdd., 1863 f.

New Religiousness Enters Church.

THE Christian religion in the 3d century made no compromise with any of the pagan religions and kept far away from the numerous intersections out of which, under the influence of the monotheistic philosophy of religion, a new *religiousness* developed itself. But the spirit of this religiousness entered into the Church and produced forms of expression in doctrine and cultus to correspond with itself. The testament of primitive Christianity—the Holy Scriptures—and the testament of antiquity—

the New-Platonic speculation—were by the end of the 3d century intimately and, as it seemed, inseparably united in the great churches of the East. Through the acceptance of the Logos-Christology as the central dogma of the *Church*, the Church doctrine was, even for the laity, firmly rooted in the soil of Hellenism. Thereby it became a mystery to the great majority of Christians. But mysteries were even sought after. Not the freshness and clearness of a religion attracted men—there must needs be something refined and complicated, a structure in Barroque style, to content those who at that time wished to have all the idealistic instincts of their nature satisfied in religion. United with this desire was the greatest reverence for all traditions, a sentiment peculiar to epochs of restoration. But, as always, the old became new by conservation and the new was placed under the protection of the old. What the Church utilized in doctrine, cultus and organization was "apostolic", or claimed to be deduced from the Holy Scriptures. But in reality it legitimized in its midst the Hellenic speculation, the superstitious views and customs of pagan mystery-worship and the institutions of the decaying state organization to which it attached itself and which received new strength thereby. In theory monotheistic, it threatened to become polytheistic in practice and to give way to the whole apparatus of low or malformed religions. Instead of a religion of pure reason and severest morality, such as the apol-

Church Doctrine Becomes Mystery.

Doctrine, Polity, and Cultus Referred to Apostles.

ogists had once represented Christianity to be, the latter became the religion of *the most powerful consecrations, of the most mysterious media and of a sensuous sanctity.* The tendency toward the invention of mechanically-atoning consecrations (sacraments) grew constantly more pronounced and offended vigorously thinking heathen even.

Adaptation of Local Cults, etc.

The adaptation of the local cults, manners and customs must needs lead finally to a complete secularizing and splitting of the Church (into national churches); but for the time the uniting force was stronger than the dividing. The acknowledgment of the same authorities and formulas, the like regard for the same sacramental consecrations, the horror at the coarse polytheism, and the tendency toward *asceticism* for the sake of the life beyond, formed, together with the homogeneous and well-compacted episcopal organization, the common basis of the churches. All these elements were not sufficient, however, to preserve the unity of the churches. If Constantine had not thrown about them a new bond by raising them to the Church of the empire, the split which one observes from the 5th century would have taken place much earlier; for the episcopal-metropolitan organization carried within itself a centrifugal element, and the asceticism in which all earnest thinkers found themselves at one, could not but dissolve the historic conditions upon which the religion rested, and destroy the communal veneration of God; besides, differences crept more and more into

Tendency to Split into National Churches.

the expounding of the authorities and doctrines, which rendered their internal harmony questionable.

Christianity Threatened with Complete Secularization.

Taking one's stand at the end of the 3d century one cannot avoid the impression, that ecclesiastical Christianity at that time was threatened with complete secularization and with external and internal dissolution. The danger from within just prior to the Diocletian persecution, Eusebius himself has established (H. E. VIII, i.). He admits—at least as regards the churches of the Orient—that they threatened to mingle with the world, and that pure paganism vaunted itself among them. The Diocletian persecution added the external danger, and it cannot be said that it was the strength of the Church alone which triumphed over the danger.

Bishops' and Theologians' Church.

Already at that time the Church was a bishops' and theologians' church. But the power which, as matters then stood, was alone able to support energetically the distinctive character of the religion—*theology*—came very near dissolving it and handing it over to the world.

In concluding "Part I" it was described how philosophic theology gained the victory within the Church *and how it naturalized its theses in the very formulas of the faith.* "Ebionism" and "Sabellianism" were conquered. The banner of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, however, was raised in spite of the shaking off of gnosticism. All thinkers still remained under the influence of Origen. But since the system of this man was in itself already

Origen's Influence Predominates.

heterodox, the development of the Alexandrian theology threatened the Church with further dangers. Origen had kept gnosis and pistis unmixed; he thought to link together in a conservative sense everything valuable and to bring to a kind of equilibrium the divers factors (cosmologic and soteriologic); he had given to his theology by a strict adherence to the sacred text a Biblical stamp and demanded throughout Scripture proof. With the epigonoi, however, occurred changes everywhere: (1) The pupils as well as the opponents of Origen endeavored to place pistis and gnosis again upon the same plane, to add some philosophy to the formulas of faith and to subtract something from the gnosis. Precisely thereby a stagnation and confusion was threatening, which Origen had carefully warded off. The faith itself became obscure and unintelligible to the laity; (2) The cosmologic and purely philosophic interests obtained in theology a preponderance over the soteriologic. In accordance therewith Christology became again in a higher degree a philosophic Logos-doctrine (as with the apologists) and the idea of the cosmic God as the lower, subordinate God alongside the highest God, threatened monotheism outright. Already here and there—in opposition to "Sabellianism"—*articles of faith* were being composed, in which there was no mention of Christ, but in which the Logos alone was glorified in a profusion of philosophic predicates as the manifested, but subordinate God; already the incarnation was cele-

Origenism Modified.

Logos Exalted at Expense of Historic Christ.

brated as the rising of the sun which *illumines* all men; already men seemed desirous of adapting phenomena and vice-regents to the Neo-Platonic idea of the *one* unnamable Being and his graded and more or less numerous powers, while they encircled all with a chaplet of philosophic artificial expressions; (3) Even the Holy Scriptures gave way somewhat in these endeavors; yet only in a formal manner and without forfeiting their value. The theology which was formed out of these elements (*e. g.* Eusebius of Cæsarea is its representative) let everything pass that kept within the bounds of Origenism. Its representatives considered themselves as *conservatives*, since they rejected every more precise definition of the doctrine of God (doctrine of the trinity) and of Christ as an innovation (antipathy toward precise definition of hitherto not precisely defined dogmas has always animated the majority of the Church, since precise definition is innovation), and since they exerted themselves solely for the sake of science and the "faith" to give form to the Logos-doctrine in a cosmologic sense and to subordinate everything inward and moral to the thought of the freedom of choice.

Eusebius of Cæsarea.

Neither thoughts of an heroic asceticism, nor realistic mysticism in the sense of Methodius, nor deductions from the heterodoxies of Origen could aid here. Theology, and with it the Church, seemed to be irretrievably swallowed up in the current of the times. But in the beginning of the fourth century there appeared a man who saved the Church seriously threat-

Constantine, Athanasius.

ened by inward strife and outward persecution—Constantine—so at the same time there appeared another man who preserved the Church from the complete secularization of its most fundamental faith—Athanasius. True, reactions against the Logos-doctrine in the direction of the complete alienation of the Son of God from the Father were probably at no time lacking in the Orient; but Athanasius (assisted by the West, the bishops of which however did not at first recognize the pith of the question) first secured to the Christian religion its own territory upon the preoccupied soil of Greek speculation and brought everything back to the thought of redemption through God himself, *i.e.* through the God-man, who is of *the same essence* with God. He was not concerned about a formula, but about a decisive basis for faith, about redemption unto a divine life by the God-man. Upon this surety alone, that the Divine which appeared in Christ has the nature of the Godhead itself, and only on that account is able to elevate us to a divine life, can faith receive its power, life its law and theology its direction. But while Athanasius placed faith in the God-man, which alone frees us from death and sin, above everything else, he at the same time gave to practical piety, which then well-nigh exclusively lived in monkish asceticism, the highest motive. He united the Ὁμοούσιος, which guarantees the deification* of human nat-

Redemption through God-Man Fundamental.

Highest Motive Given to Piety.

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* **Vergottung: The causing to partake of the Divine nature, restoration to the Divine likeness.**

Father of Ecclesiastical Orthodoxy.

Excludes Philosophers' Logos.

ure, in the closest relations with the monkish asceticism and lifted the latter out of its still subterranean, or insecure sphere into the public life of the Church. While he combated the formula of the λόγος-κτίσμα, the Neo-Platonic doctrine of a descending trinity, as pagan and as a denial of the essence of Christianity, he also in like manner combated energetically the tendency to worldly living. He became the father of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and the patron of ecclesiastical monasticism: He taught nothing *new*, new only was the *doing*, the energy and exclusiveness of his conceptions and actions at a time when everything threatened to dissolve. He was also not a scientific theologian in the strict sense, but he descended from theology to piety and found the fitting word. He honored science, even that of Origen, but he went beyond the intelligent thought of his time. While acknowledging its premises, he added to them a new element which speculation has never been able fully to resolve. Nothing was here more unintelligible to the thought of the day than the assumption of the essential oneness of the changeless and of the working Divinity. Athanasius fixed a gulf between the Logos, of which the philosophers thought, and the Logos, whose redeeming power he proclaimed. That which he expressed concerning the latter, while announcing the mystery emphatically and powerfully and in no way indulging himself in new distinctions, appeared to the Greeks an offence and foolishness. But he did not shun this reproach, rather did he circumscribe for the Christian faith within the already given speculation its own territory, and thus did he find the way to ward off the complete hellenization and secularization of Christianity.

In Orient Two Developments.

The history of dogma in the Orient since Nicæa shows two intermingled courses of development. In the first place, the idea of the God-man became definitely defined in every direction from the point of view of the redemption of the human race unto a divine life—the creed of Athanasius—(history of dogma in the strictest sense of the word). Secondly, the aim was to determine how much of the speculative system of Origen, *i.e.* of the Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία, would be endurable in the churches; in other words, in what measure the Sacred Scriptures and rule of faith would bear a speculative restatement and spiritualization. The treatment of both problems was rendered difficult by countless conditions (also political ones), but above all was it obscured and vitiated because the Church was never allowed to concede to itself a theological handling of dogma, and because at the same time the great majority of Christians in fact denounced every effort leading to new forms as an apostasy from the faith, since the same was an innovation. The semblance of the "*semper idem*" must ever be kept up, since the Church in its "apostolic inheritance" surely possesses every-

Theologians Discredited by Later Generations.

thing fixed and final. The theology and the theologians—even the best of them—came thereby during their lifetime and after their death into the worst predicament; during life they were considered innovators, and after death, when the dogma had progressed above and beyond them, they came often enough wholly into discredit, for the more precisely perfected dogma now became the standard which was applied even to the theologians of the earliest times. The Church found rest only when dogma-building ceased and when by the side of the completed dogma, a scholastico-mystical theology and a harmless antiquarian science succeeded which no longer touched the dogma, but either explained it as settled, or indifferently laid it aside. Thus was gained at last what the "conservatives" had always longed for. But vital piety had in the mean time withdrawn from the dogmas and regarded them no longer in truth as the sphere in which it lived, as its original and living expression, but looked upon them as the sacred inheritance of antiquity and as the primary condition to the enjoyment of the Christian benefits.

Conservatives Triumph.

Periods of the History of Dogma in the Orient.

Unification of Churches Impossible.

Constantine made possible a unity in the development of the Church into dogma (ecumenical synods as *forum publicum;* in place of the symbols of the provincial churches a homogeneous dogmatic confession was introduced); but the unification of the churches in the strict sense never became perfect, and the tendency to a peculiar individuality of the national churches grew stronger in direct contrast to Byzantinism, but it was overcome in the Occident, since there the old Roman empire took refuge in the Roman church. While the East crumbled to pieces and Islam finally wholly wrecked the creation of Alexander the Great, separating Greeks and Semites, the West and the East fell more and more apart. Yet till the end of the dogma-building period in the East, the West took the most active and often decisive interest in dogmatic decisions.

Orthodoxy Conquers.

I. Period from 318–381 (383): Precisely defining the full Divinity of the Redeemer: Athanasius, Constantine, the Cappadocians, Theodosius. Orthodoxy conquers through the firmness of Athanasius and a few men in the West, through the course of world-wide historic events (sudden end of Arius, Julian and Valens; appearance in the East of Theodosius from the West) and through the ability of the Cappadocians to place the creed of Athanasius—not without deductions, to be sure—under the protection of the Origenistic science.

Quarrel between Antioch and Alexandria.

II. Period from 383–451: The independent theologic science (*Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία*, Origen) was already violently combated; the ecclesiastical leaders abandoned it and threw themselves more and more into the arms of communal and monkish orthodoxy. The most violent quarrels, behind which the question of power hides itself, arose between Antioch and Alexandria over the Christological dogma. The correct doctrine conquered at Ephesus, 449; but, united with the tyranny of the Alexandrian patriarchs, it must needs share the fate of the latter and triumph over emperor and state. Nothing was left to the emperor but to proclaim the Occidental creed as the orthodox one (the Chalcedon), which at first was strange to the Orient and seemed, not without reason, to be heretical.

Council at Ephesus.

Sedition and Schism.

III. Period from 451–553: Sedition and schism in the Orient on account of the Chalcedon addition; monophysitism is exceedingly energetic; at first orthodoxy was at a loss. But speculative Platonism had exhausted itself; in its place had come even in the common science the Aristotelian dialectics and scholasticism; on the other side a mysteriosophy which knew how to make something out of every formula and every rite. These powers succeeded in interpreting the formula that was forced upon them (Leontius of Byzantium, the Areopagite). Justinian, rejecting this and that, codified the dogma as well as the law, and closed not only the school of Athens, but also those of Alexandria and Antioch. Origen and the theologians of Antioch were condemned. Theological science remained a science only of the second order—scholasticism and the cultus-mysticism, these indeed in their fundamental principle and aim heterodox, were outwardly however entirely correct. The Church did not renew the agita-

Justinian Codifies Dogma.

tion, for it has always wished peace, and piety had long since thrown itself into monasticism and the mysteries.

Monothe-letic Strife.

IV. Period from 553–680: The monotheletic quarrels, primarily partly after-play partly repetition of the old strife, were born not of conviction, but of politics. Here also the West must finally come to the rescue with a bloodless formula.

Image Controversy.

V. Period from 726–842: In truth the conflicts of this period (Image-contest) show already that the history of dogma is at end; but there existed still a conflict about what seemed to be the practical issue of the history of dogma, about the right of being allowed to perceive and venerate in a thousand sensuous objects the deification, the unification of the heavenly and earthly. Besides, here is seen plainly at the conclusion what *seems* a subordinate factor in the whole history of dogma, but is not, viz.: The fight between the state (the emperor) and the Church (the bishops and monks) for supremacy, in respect to which the formation of dogma and cultus is of the highest importance. The state must finally abandon the introduction of its state-religion, but in return for this concession it remains the victor in the field. The Church retains its cultus and its peculiar, practical fructifying of the dogma, but it becomes definitely dependent, a prop, a plaything, in certain ways, indeed also the palladium of the state and of the nation.

Church and State.

CHAPTER II.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTION OF SALVATION AND A GENERAL SKETCH OF THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

Herrmann, Gregorii Nyss. sententiae de salute adipisc., 1875. Schultz, Lehre v. d. Gottheit Christi, 1881. Ritschl, Die christl. Lehre v. d. Rechtfert. und Versöh., 2. Aufl. Bd. I. S. 3 ff.

Orthodox Conception of Salvation.

1. In the dogmatic conflicts from the 4th to the 7th century, it is clear that at that time men were contending about Christology with the consciousness that it contains the essence of the Christian religion. Everything else was asserted only in vague expressions and on that account had not the value of a dogmatic declaration in the strictest sense of the word. Accordingly for orthodoxy the following fundamental conception of salvation obtained: The salvation offered by Christianity consists in the redemption of the human race from a condition of perishableness and sin, consequent upon it, unto a divine life (*i.e.* on the one side deification,* on the other blissful enjoyment of God), which has already taken place through the incarnation of the Son of God and which accrues to humanity by reason of the indissoluble union with him. Christianity is that religion which frees from death and leads men to a participation in the Divine life and *essence, per adoptionem.* Redemption, therefore, is conceived

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* See page 199, note.

Redemption through Miraculous Transformation.

as the abolition of the natural state through a miraculous transformation (deification is the central thought); the religious benefit of salvation is definitely distinguished from the moral, and the *idea of atonement* accordingly remains rudimentary; for the present state only a provisional enjoyment of salvation is presupposed (calling, knowledge of God and of salvation, victory over the demons, helpful communications from God, enjoyment of the mysteries). Accordingly the fundamental confession is that of Irenæus: "We become divine for Christ's sake, since he also for our sakes has become human". This confession, rightly weighed, demands two principal dogmas, no more and no less: "Christ is ϑεὸς ὁμοούσιος, this ϑεὸς ὁμοούσιος has taken human nature into his own *being* and fashioned it into *oneness* with himself".

Dogmas Carried through after Struggles.

But these dogmas were carried through only after severe conflicts; they never gained a perfectly clear stamp and never obtained the exclusive dominion, which they demand. The reasons for this are as follows:

(1) The formulas which were required, being *new*, had the spirit of the Church against them, which suspected even the best of innovations;

(2) The pure exposition of *faith* is at all times the most difficult problem; but at that time it was especially hampered by apologetic, as well as by other foreign considerations;

(3) The orthodox formulas conflicted with every

philosophy; they proved an offence to disciplined scholastic thinking; but it was a long time before men recognized in the incomprehensible the characteristics of that which is Holy and Divine;

(4) The conception of the salvation obtained through the God-man was joined to the scheme of "natural theology" (moralism), *i.e.* grafted upon it; natural theology endeavored thenceforth to build upon the dogma and to bring itself into conformity with it;

(5) The mystical doctrine of salvation and its new formulas had not only no Scriptural authority in their favor, but conflicted also with the evangelical idea of Jesus Christ; New Testament ideas and reminiscences, Biblical theologomena in general of the most varied kind, have always surged about the growing and matured dogma and prevented their exclusive domination;

(6) The peculiar form of the Occidental Christology interfered as a disturbing element with the Oriental history of dogma. Thrown upon its own resources, the Orient would have been obliged to legitimize monophysitism; the Gospel, the Occident and the emperors prevented it from doing so. An incorrect formula triumphed, but it received a correct interpretation; *vice versa*, at the end of the fourth century, the correct formula of Athanasius triumphed, but under an interpretation which was influenced by the secular science of the Cappadocians. Each result had the historical consequence that the orthodox

Church remained in contact with Biblical theology and with science (scholasticism).

Doctrine of Salvation as Related to Morality.

2. Since the doctrine of salvation was kept strictly within the scheme of the mystico-realistic idea of redemption, it was in itself indifferent to the moral; but on every side men were sure that Christianity also embraced the highest morality. Accordingly the benefits of salvation were adjudged only to morally good men, but the morally good conceived as the product of the free agency of man and as the *condition* of sanctification to be fulfilled by him, whereby God at the most was conceived of as assisting (this concerns positive morality; the negative, asceticism, was regarded as the *direct* preparation for deification *). The dogmatic form of the Christian religion was, therefore, balanced by the idea of freedom of election (See already Clem. Alex. Protrep. 1, 7: *τὸ εὖ ζῆν εδίδαξεν ἐπιφανεὶς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα τὸ ἀεὶ ζῆν ὕστερον ὡς θεὸς χορηγήσῃ*), and this is only the shortest expression for the whole natural theology which the Church appropriated from the ancient philosophy and treated as the *self-evident* presupposition of its specific doctrine, reckoning upon a general understanding of the same. Consequently Greek Christianity oscillates between two poles, which are simply co-ordinate with each other. *Dogmas* in a strict sense exist only within the doctrine of redemption; on the other hand, there exist only *presuppositions* and *conceptions* (so far, deviations in simple mat-

Freedom of Election.

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* See page 199, note.

Biblical Realism and Verbalism.

ters are here not insupportable). But since the Greek natural philosophy stood in conflict in not a few points with the letter and spirit of the Holy Scriptures, and with the rule of faith (as, above all, the theology of Origen proves), problems must arise here also, which in an increasing measure were solved *in detail* in favor of Biblical realism and Biblical verbalism, contrary to reason and an idealistic view, even though *in general* the rationalistic-moral scheme remained unscathed (vid. dogmatics of John of Damascus; Sophronius of Jerusalem: ϑεωϑῶμεν ϑείαις μεταβολαῖς καὶ μιμήσεσιν). An entirely subordinate part was played by the primitive Christian eschatology alongside of the redemption-mysticism, rationalism and Biblicism; gradually, however, it also was aided by Biblicism (cf. the history of the Apocalypse in the Greek Church); men began again to add apocalyptic ideas to dogmatics, which however remained without any real effect. The valuable part also of the old eschatology, the expectation of the *judgment*, never played the part in Greek *theology*, which is due to this highly important remnant. In spite of the rejection of the Origenistic eschatology there remained in Greek dogmatics a slight trace of the conception of history as an *evolution*.

Natural Theology.

3. As a result of this examination it follows that after sifting the authorities and sources of information, (A) that one has to treat natural theology as presupposing the doctrine of redemption; this, however,

Doctrine of Redemption.

divides itself into the doctrine of *God* and the doctrine of *man*. Farther, (B) the doctrine of redemption itself must be treated in its historic *development* as the doctrine of the trinity and Christology. The conclusion forms (C) the doctrine of the mysteries, in which already in this life the coming deification * of the temporal is represented and can be enjoyed. To this should be added a sketch of the history of the origin of the orthodox system.

Doctrine of Mysteries.

Aristotelianism; John of Damascus.

Note: Only through Aristotelianism did the Greek Church after Origen arrive again at a dogmatic system, which was, however, by no means a universal system (John of Damascus). A knowledge of the history of Greek dogma is therefore to be gained, aside from the acts and decisions of synods, (1) from the numerous works on the incarnation of the Son of God, (2) from the catechetical writings, (3) from the apologetic treatises, (4) from the monographs on the "six days' work" and similar compositions as well as from the exegetical works, (5) from the monographs on virginity, monasticism, perfection, the virtues and the resurrection, (6) from monographs on the mysteries, cultus and priesthood, (7) from sermons. In using these sources this fact with others is to be considered, that the fathers frequently wrote διαλεκτικῶς, and that the official literature (synod literature) in an increasing measure bristles with falsifications and is permeated with conscious untruth and injustice.

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* See page 199, note.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE AUTHORITIES, OR SCRIPTURE, TRADITION, AND THE CHURCH.

See the Introductions to the Old and New Testaments. Jacobi, Die k. L. v. d. Tradition u. h. Schrift. 1. Abth., 1847. Holtzmann, Kanon u. Tradition, 1859. Söder, Der Begriff d. Katholicität d. K., 1881. Seeberg, Studien z. Gesch. d. Begriffs d. K., 1885. Reuter, Augustin. Studien, 1888.

Catholic Authorities.

THE extent and value of the Catholic authorities was already essentially established at the beginning of the 4th century, although perhaps not their mutual relation and the manner of their exposition. Underneath the great contrast between the more liberal theology and pure traditionalism lay also a different conception of the authorities, but this never found a statement. Changes took place during the period between Eusebius and John of Damascus, keeping pace with the growing traditionalism; but no one undertook to make an inventory, a proof that opponents of the method, worthy of notice, failed to palm off the existing state of the Church as the traditional (apostolic). The sects alone protested and continued to agitate.

Holy Scriptures Unique Authority.

1. *The Holy Scriptures* had a unique authority. To depend upon them alone was in reality not uncatholic; Scripture-proof one might always demand. But an entirely accepted agreement, even respecting

the extent of the Bible, did not exist (see the school of Antioch with its criticism of the canon). As regards the Old Testament the Hebraic canon only was, in theory, for a long time considered the standard in the Orient; nevertheless, in practice, the writings which were copied with the LXX had value. Only in the 17th century through Roman influence did the equalization of the canonical and deutero-canonical writings take place in the Orient, yet not in the form of an official declaration. In the Occident the uncritical view of Augustine gained the victory over the critical one of Jerome (synods at Hippo, 393, and Carthage, 397), which had only a slight after-effect. Into the Alexandrian canon, moreover, were also introduced apocalypses like Hermas and Esra.—Regarding the New Testament, Eusebius made rather a relative end to a highly insecure state of affairs. With the three categories which he adopted one could not content oneself, and the early decrees of provincial churches had an after-effect, especially in the Orient. Yet after the middle of the 4th century there prevailed (save in the Syrian churches) in the Orient an essential agreement in regard to the New Testament. Only the Apocalypse of John remained still for a long time excluded; slight fluctuations were not wanting. How the Occident came to accept the Epistle of James, of II. Peter and III. John is entirely in the dark. The Epistle to the Hebrews was received through the celebrated mediating-men of the 4th cen-

Augustine's View Accepted instead of Jerome's.

Essential Agreement by Middle of 4th Century.

tury. Augustine's views in regard to the extent of the New Testament has been the authoritative standard for the whole Occident (see also the so-called "Docret. Gelasii"). However, an ecclesiastical judgment on this question, excluding every doubt, did not take place until the Tridentine council.

Holy Scriptures Divine.

All predicates concerning the Holy Scriptures disappeared behind that of their *divineness* (works of the Holy Spirit); inspiration in the highest sense was now restricted to them. From their inspiration came the demand for *spiritualistic* (allegorical) exegesis, and also for *conforming* the content of the texts to each other as well as to the accepted dogmatic teaching. Yet the letter should also be holy and contain that which is most holy (against Origen); laymen, eager for miracles, and critics (Antiochians) took sides in favor of the letter and of history. A safe method was wanting: Opposing views were the spiritual exegesis of the Alexandrians, the historico-critical one of the Antiochians which sought for a fixed type, the literalistic, realistic one of barbarian monks and of sturdy theologians (Epiphanius). Very gradually a compromise was made in the Orient in regard to the most important Scripture passages and their interpretations. The Origenistic, and still more the Antiochian exegesis was repressed but not vanquished, the literalistic, realistic one, made palatable through mystic fancies, pushed forward (see John of Damascus, and his interpretation of Gen. 1-3.) The Occident became acquainted with the

Origenistic and Antiochian Exegesis Repressed in Orient.

spiritual, scientific method of the Cappadocians through Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Rufinus. Before and afterward there was a complete lack of system; regard for the letter went hand in hand with allegorical fancies and chiliastic interests. Jerome was too cowardly to teach his contemporaries the better view, and Augustine, although he learned from the Greeks, never rose above the latter and did not even reach them. He introduced into the Occident the Scripture-theology with its wavering three- and four-fold sense, and above all the strict Biblicism, although he himself knew that religious truth is an inward assurance to which the Scriptures can only *lead*, and that there exists a Christian freedom which is also independent of the Scriptures (*de doctrina Christiana*). Through Junilius especially the more methodical Antiochian exegesis exerted an influence over the Occident, without being able to remedy the lack of method and the tendency to apologetic renderings on the part of the commentators. After-all the Scriptures received in fact a position in the life of the Church in the Occident, different from their position in the Orient (formerly it was otherwise; see *e.g.* Cyril of Jerusalem); they occupied a more prominent place. This is to be explained primarily from the influence of Augustine and from the fact that ecclesiastical dogmatics in the Occident was never so assertive as in the Orient. Just as the extent of the Scriptures was never securely settled, so also their properties were not. The predicate of iner-

Jerome, Augustine.

Junilius Influences West.

Inerrancy; Two Testaments.

rancy had indeed to submit to gentle restrictions and men did not really come to a clear conception of the sufficiency of the Scriptures. In regard to the two Testaments there remained the same want of clearness as formerly (the O. T. is a Christian book as well as the N. T.—the O. T. throughout is a record of the prophecies—the O. T. is the book which contains, with certain restrictions and under definite encumbrances, the verities of the faith, and it has led and leads pedagogically to Christ).

Tradition.

2. *Tradition.* Scripture did not succeed (at least not in the Orient) in ridding itself of the conditions under which it originated, and in becoming a fully independent authority. The Church, its doctrines and institutions, was in itself the source of knowledge and the guarantee of the authority of the truth. Everything in it is fundamentally *apostolic*, because it is of apostolic origin. Hence it is plain why the making of an inventory of tradition could not take place. It remained *de facto* always elastic; what the apostolic Church found necessary is apostolic, therefore ancient. But at first one did not forego distinctions and proofs.

Faith of Church.

Tradition was above all the *faith* of the Church. The symbols were considered apostolic; yet only the Roman church proclaimed its creed as apostolic in the strictest sense (composed by the apostles). But the *content* of the Nicene and Chalcedon creeds was considered as apostolic, yes, as the legacy of the apostles κατεξοχήν and as the quintessence of the Holy

Scriptures. Yet the relation between Scripture and symbols remained elastic. In the Orient the so-called Constantinopolitan creed became the chief symbol; in the Occident the apostles' creed held the first place and was explained according to the former.

Polity and Cultus Apostolic.

But the regulations also of the organization and cultus were placed under the protection of apostolic tradition, and one pointed as proof to their general spread and also to the legends concerning the apostles. Besides, men began in the 4th century—not without influence from the side of Origen and Clement—to introduce the conceptions of an apostolic παράδοσις ἄγραφος, in the wholly uncertain content of which they even included dogmatic teaching—however, very rarely trinitarian and Christological watchwords—the understanding of which was not everybody's concern (thus especially the Cappadocians). But this gnostic conception of tradition (secret tradition), although it became more and more settled, was yet felt to be dangerous; use was made of it in dogmatic discussions only in extreme cases (*e. g.*, in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit), and it was otherwise applied to the mysteries and their ritual expositions.

Since it was understood that the decisive authority was vested in the Church itself by virtue of its union with the Holy Spirit (Augustine: "*ego evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*"), the questions must arise:

Through Whom Does Church Speak?

(1) Through whom and when does the Church speak?

Innovations.

(2) How are the innovations in the Church, especially within the realm of doctrine, to be interpreted if the authority of the Church is lodged entirely in its apostolicity, *i.e.* in its permanence? Both questions, however, were never distinctly put, and therefore only very vaguely answered. Fixed was it that the representation of the Church was vested in the episcopate (see Euseb. H. E.), although the strict theory of Cyprian had not at all become common property and the idea had never cropped out that the individual bishop is infallible. But already there was attributed a certain inspiration to the provincial synods. Constantine first called an ecumenical synod and declared its decisions to be without error. Slowly the thought of the infallible authority of the Nicene council crept in during the 4th century and was later on transferred to the following councils, in such a way, however, that one synod (3d) was stamped *post factum* as ecumenical, and the difference between them and the provincial synods remained for a long time unsettled (Was the synod of Arles ecumenic?). Through Justinian the four councils were placed upon an unapproachable height, and after the 7th council the principle established itself firmly in the Orient, that the sources of knowledge of Christian truth are the Scriptures and the decrees of the seven ecumenical councils. Even today men assume frequently in the Orient an air as if the Church did not possess or need any other.s

Episcopacy Represents Church.

Ecumenical Councils.

But this apparently simple and consistent development solved by no means all the difficulties, because councils were not always at hand and other authorities also had still to be taken into account. How should one act if the Church has not yet spoken? Does not an especial authority belong to the occupants of the great apostolic episcopal chairs, or to the bishops of the capitals?

How Act when Church has not Spoken?

Ans. 1. The Church also speaks through unanimous ancient testimonies. The citing of the "fathers" is important, even decisive. Whatever has universality and antiquity is true. Besides, the conception of "antiquity" grew ever more elastic. Originally the disciples of the apostles were the "ancients", then they counted also the 3d and 4th generations among the "ancients", then Origen and his disciples were the "ancient" expounders; finally the whole ante-Constantine epoch was considered classic antiquity. But since one could make use of rather little from this period, appeal was taken to Athanasius and the fathers of the 4th century, just as to the "ancients", and at the same time to numerous falsifications under the name of the fathers of the 2d and 3d centuries. At the councils one counted more and more only the voices of the "ancients" and employed very general explanations to confirm the new formulas and watchwords. Things came thus to be decided more and more according to authorities, which one indeed frequently first created. The council was therefore infallible, only and in so far as it did not teach anything else but the "fathers".

The infallibility was therefore primarily not a direct one.

Does Special Authority Belong to Apostolic Chairs?

Ans. 2. Augustine recalled to mind the especial authority of the apostolic chairs (also the Oriental) on the question concerning the extent of the Holy Scriptures. But in the Orient this authority was merged in that of the chairs of the capitals and therefore Constantinople moved to the front, being strongly attacked by the Roman bishop. The Roman chair alone was able not only to preserve its ancient authority in the Occident, but also to heighten it (only apostolic chair in the Occident, Peter and Paul, fall of the West-Roman empire, the centre for the remnant of Romanism in the West) and (thanks to the favorable circumstances of political and ecclesiastical history) to fortify the same also in the Orient, under great fluctuation to be sure. To the Roman bishop was always attached an authority peculiar in kind, without its being possible to define the same more closely. It only ceased in the Orient, when Orient and Occident possessed nothing more whatever in common. But before the same became extinct the Roman bishop, in league with the eastern Roman emperor, had gained the point that in the Orient attempts at a primacy of any bishop, especially the Alexandrian, should be suppressed, to which suppression the Christological contests contributed. The great chairs of the patriarchs in the Orient, weakened through schisms, partially deprived of their real importance, stood in theory in equal

Chairs of Capitals.

positions toward one another. Their occupants also represented in their co-operations a kind of dogmatic authority, which however was defined neither in itself, nor in its relation to the ecumenical councils. They form simply a *relique* of antiquity.

Councils Not Authoritative.

From statements made it follows, that the ability to transmit new revelations to the Church did not belong to the councils; rather are the same rendered legitimate through the preservation of the apostolic legacy. Therefore did the declaration and adoption of new formulas (of the ὁμοούσιος, of the oneness of the trinity, of the two natures, and so on) cause such great difficulties. When at last the Nicene doctrine gained the victory, it was accomplished only because the Nicene creed itself had become a piece of antiquity and because one endeavored, poorly enough, to deduce from the Nicene all later formulas by giving out (as Irenæus had once done) as *prescribed*, together with the text, also a definite exposition of the same. The ability of the councils even to *explain* the doctrines authentically had not been clearly declared in the Orient; therefore the excuse has only seldom been made for the earlier eastern fathers, that at their time the dogma had not been explained and definitely formulated. Whereas a western man (Vincent of Lerinum) in his Commonitorium, after having asserted the criteria of the true tradition (that which has been believed everywhere, always and by all), and after having warned men against the heresies of otherwise ortho-

Apostolic Legacy.

Vincent of Lerinum; Organic Progress in Doctrine.

dox fathers, admitted an "organic" progress in doctrine (from the more uncertain to the more certain) and proclaimed the councils as agents in this progress ("*excitata hæreticorum novitatibus*"). Augustine expressly taught, that so long as unequivocal decisions on a question had not been given, the bond of union between dissenting bishops should be maintained. The Roman bishop has always acted according to this rule, but has reserved for himself the decisions and the time for the same.

Idea of Tradition Vague.

The conception of tradition is therefore entirely vague. The hierarchical element does not play *in theory* the first part. The apostolic succession has even in the Occident not been in theory of such great importance for the confirming of tradition. At the councils, since the time they were called, the authority of the bishops as bearers of tradition was exhausted. Still, perhaps that is saying too much. Everything was very obscure. But in so far as the Greek Church has not changed since John of Damascus, the Greek even at the present time has a perfectly definite consciousness of the foundation of religion. By the side of the Holy Scriptures, the foundation of religion is the Church itself, not as living power, but in its immovable doctrines and time-honored orders. The Scriptures also are to be explained according to tradition. But the tradition is primarily always two-fold,—the public one of the councils and fathers, and the secret one which confirms the mysteries, their ritual and its interpretation.

Church Guarantee of True Faith.

3. *The Church.* As guarantee of the true faith, and administrator of the mysteries, the Church above all came into consideration. Furthermore, men reflected about it when they thought of the Old Testament and false church of the Jews, of heresy and the organization of Christianity, as also of the presumption of the Roman bishop (Christ alone is the head of the Church). Again, the Church was represented in catechetical instruction as the communion of the true faith and virtue, outside of which there could not easily be a wise and pious person, and the Biblical declaration regarding it was that it was the only and holy one, guided by the Holy Spirit, Catholic in opposition to the numerous impious unions of the heretics. Very evidently men identified thereby the empirical church with the Church of the faith and virtue, without, however, coming to a closer reflection on *corpus verum et permixtum* and without drawing all the consequences which the identification demanded. In spite of all this the Church was not primarily a dogmatic conception, belonging to the department of the doctrine of salvation itself; or it became so only when men thought of it as the institution of mysteries, from which, moreover, the monk was permitted to emancipate himself. Through the restrictions under which the Greeks viewed the duties of the Church and through the natural theology, is this disregard to be explained. The Church is the human race as the totality of all individuals who accept salvation. The doctrine of salvation exhausted

Empirical Church and Church of Faith Identified.

Dogmatic Idea of Church Not Fixed.

itself in the conceptions: God, humanity, Christ, the mysteries, the individual. The conception of the Church as the mother of believers, as a divine creation, as the body of Christ was not worked out dogmatically. The mystical doctrine of redemption also and the doctrine of the eucharist did not assist the Church to a dogmatic position (it is wanting, for example, in John of Damascus). Its organization, thorough as it is, was not perfected beyond the grade of bishops and was seldom treated dogmatically. The Church is not the bequest of the apostles, but of Christ; therefore its importance as an institution of worship takes the first rank.

Western Church Idea Developing.

All this has reference to the Oriental Church. In the Occident, through the Donatist contest, the foundation was laid by the Church for new and rich conceptions. The Church itself was at the end of the early period divided into three great parts: The western Church, the Byzantine, the Semitic eastern; and the latter was cleft into manifold parts. Each part considered itself the one Catholic Church and extolled its particular palladia.

A. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION, OR NATURAL THEOLOGY.

Natural Theology.

Natural theology with all the fathers was essentially the same thing; but it shows shades according as Platonism or Aristotelianism predominated and according to the measure in which the letter of the Bible exerted an influence.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS AND CONCEPTIONS OF GOD, THE CREATOR, AS DISPENSER OF SALVATION.

Doctrine of God.

THE main principles of the doctrine of God, as the apologists and anti-gnostic fathers had established them, remained firm and were directed particularly against Manichæism, but were hardly touched by the development of the doctrine of the trinity, since the Father as *ρίζη τῆς ϑεότητος* alone came into consideration here. Yet with the growing Biblicism and the monkish barbarism, anthropomorphic conceptions forced themselves more and more into theology. Concerning the question of man's ability to know God, Aristotelians (Eunomius, Diodorus of Tarsus, especially since the beginning of the 6th century) and Platonists contended with each other, and yet were fundamentally agreed. That man knows God only through revelation, more exactly through Christ, was generally allowed, but to this declaration as a rule no further consequences were given and men ascended from the world to God, making use of the old proofs and supplementing them with the ontological argument (Augustine). Neo-Platonic theologians assumed an immediate, intuitive perception of God of the highest order, but they nevertheless per-

Knowableness of God.

fected very precisely the scholastic form of this knowledge (the Areopagite: Negation, exaltation, causality).

Negative Attributes Emphasized.

The loftiest expression for the being of God was as yet that he is "not-the-world", the spiritual, immortal, apathetic Substance (the Ὄν), to which alone real being belongs (Aristotelians thought of cause and purpose, without correcting radically the Platonic scheme). His goodness is perfection, unenviousness and creating will (additions leading to a better conception by Augustine: God as love, which frees men from self-seeking). The attributes of God were treated accordingly as expressions of causality and power, in which the purpose of salvation was not taken into account (Origen's conception became tempered, *i.e.* corrected). By the side of the naturalistic conception of God as the Ὄν stood the moralistic one of Rewarder and Judge; upon this also the idea of redemption had hardly any noticeable influence (less than with Origen), since "reward" and "punishment" were treated as one. Yet Augustine recognized the worthlessness of a theology which places God only at the beginning and the end and makes men independent of him, instead of acknowledging God as the Power for good and the Source of the personal, blessed life.

Moral Attributes.

Cosmology of Fathers.

The cosmology of the fathers may be thus stated: God, who has carried in himself the world-idea from eternity, has through the Logos, which embraces all ideas, in free self-determination created in six days out of nothing this world, which has had a beginning and will have an end; it was created after the pattern of an upper world, which was brought forth by him, and has its culmination in man in order to prove his own kindness and to permit creatures to participate in his bliss. In this thesis the heresies of Origen were set aside (especially his pessimism). Still men did not succeed in entirely justifying the verbal meaning of Gen. 1–3, and in the representation of an upper world (κόσμος νοερός), whose lesser copy the earthly is, there remained a significant piece of the Neo-Platonic-Origenistic doctrine, which was then greatly amplified, after the Areopagite, by the Platonizing mystics. But the pantheistic heresies were scarcely felt thereafter, if only in some way the verbal meaning of Gen. 1–3 seemed to be preserved. The theodicy—still always necessary on account of Manichæism and fatalism—sought to hold its ground through empirical considerations, but since it too must be natural theology it revealed its ancient root in an oft-estranging casuistry and in doubtful claims. Men referred to the necessity and fitness of the freedom of the creature which must have as a consequence wickedness and evil, to the harmlessness of evil for the soul, to the unreality of wickedness and to the value of evil as a means of purification.

Gen. I-III.

Theodicy.

Doctrine of Spirits.

In regard to the heavenly spirits the following points were settled: That they were created by God, that they are free and lack material bodies, that

Veneration of Angels.

they have passed through a crisis in which a part have fallen, that God uses the good spirits as instruments in governing the world, that the existence of wickedness in the world is to be traced back to the wicked spirits, whom God allows to have their way and who are incorrigible and have almost unlimited power over the world which only the cross can break and who are going to receive damnation (against Origen). After the 4th century, however, the polytheistic tendency became stronger and stronger toward angels and demons, and already by about 400 A. D. the piety of monks and laymen was nourished more by these than by God. While the synod of Laodicea about 360 declared angel-worship to be idolatry, still the veneration of angels became more firmly established (guardian-angels, faith in their intercession) and was ecclesiastically fixed at the 7th council, 787 (προσκύνησις). It contributed much toward this, that the "scientific" theology in the form of the Neo-Platonic mysticism, after about 500, incrdased the esteem given to angels, and that they were received into the system as most important factors (but see already the Alexandrian theologians): The angels in graded ranks are, on the one side, the unfolding of the heavenly, on the other, the mediators between the heavenly and men. To the earthly hierarchy with its grades, agencies and consecrations, corresponds a heavenly, graded hierarchy with heavenly sacrifices, intercessions, etc.; in divine worship both unite (vid. the Areopagite and his expounders). Thus

Ecclesiastical Theosophy.

arose—truly after long preparation—a new ecclesiastical theosophy which was purely pagan and which was finally a shamefaced expression for jugglering the idea of creation and redemption and for reviving the fantastic pantheism which the bizarre theosophy of perishing antiquity had created: Everything that exists streams out from God in manifold radiations and must, since it is remote and isolated, be purifi and returned to God. This has taken place in *necessary processes* which were so represented that all needs, even the most barbaric, were taken into consideration, and all authorities and forms were respected. But the living God, besides whom the soul possesses nothing, threatened thereby to disappear.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS AND CONCEPTIONS OF MAN AS THE RECIPIENT OF SALVATION.

Doctrine of Man.

THE common conviction of the orthodox fathers may be stated somewhat as follows: Man, created after the image of God, is a free self-determining being. He has been endowed with reason, in order to decide in favor of the good and to enjoy immortal life. Having indulged himself and still ever indulging himself in sin, misled, or of his own free will, he has missed this destination without, however, having forfeited the privilege and power of a virtuous life and the capability of immortality.

Through the Christian revelation, which comes to the aid of the darkened reason with full knowledge of God, that ability has been strengthened and the immortality restored and proffered. Upon good or evil therefore the judgment decides. The will has, strictly speaking, no moral quality. In regard to details there were varying opinions: (1) What was the original inheritance of man, and what his destination? (2) How far does nature go, and where does the gift of grace begin? (3) How far-reaching are the consequences of sin? (4) Is mere freedom characteristic of the being of man, or does it inhere in his nature to be good? (5) Into what elements is the human personality to be divided? (6) In what does the Divine likeness consist? and so forth.

Points under Consideration.

The various answers are all compromises; (*a*) between the religious-scientific theory (doctrine of Origen) and Gen. 1–3; (*b*) between the moralistic considerations and a regard for the redemption through Christ; (*c*) between dualism and the recognition of the body as a necessary and good organ.

Idea of Natural Freedom Central.

1. The idea of inborn freedom is central; with it reason is included. It constitutes the Divine image, which therefore means *independence* as regards God. Whether there belongs to the *nature* of man only the sensuousness of the creature, or whether he is endowed with reason and even immortality, remained in controversy. However, the controversy was quite immaterial, since the glorious nature of man was after all ever considered a gift of grace,

and this gift of grace was considered by the majority as natural. The being of man was represented as trichotomous, by others as dichotomous. The Greek-Origenistic conception of the body as a prison was finally officially rejected—man is rather, even as a spiritual being, a microcosm and the body is also God-given — but the same never ceased to have an after-effect, because the positive morality was always obliged to give way to the negative (asceticism), *i.e.*, because it received in the conception of the *opera supererogatoria* an ascetic cast. The later Neo-Platonic mysteriosophists, indeed, knew how to make good use of the idea of the glorification of the body, but in truth the corporeal was still considered by them as something to be "absorbed," even though they no longer dared to shake the verbal meaning of the formula of the "resurrection of the body".

Greek-Origenistic Conception Rejected.

Concerning the origin of individual souls (the soul is no part of God; but in reality many theosophists after all considered it as such) the *pre-existent* view of Origen was expressly condemned, 553, but the *traducian* theory was not able to carry the day; rather did the *creation* theory (continued creation of individual souls) become dominant.

Origin of Souls.

As regards the God-likeness, men still continued in the antinomy, that goodness and purity can be the product only of human freedom; that, however, the likeness imprinted by creation cannot reside in the *possibilitas utriusque*, but in a *determination* of reason and freedom, and that it has in part

Original State in Question.

been lost. Accordingly the conceptions also regarding the primitive condition of man were as hazy as by Irenæus. On the one side, the perfection of man was said to have been practically realized at the beginning and was later restored by Christ; on the other, the primitive condition was said to have been the child-like state out of which man had first to develop himself unto perfection and which he therefore in reality could never lose, but only improve (thus especially and emphatically the Antiochians). The Cappadocians still taught in the main much like Origen; but later men were forced to bind themselves strictly to Genesis, and the speculative conceptions were cultivated as much as the rationalistic ones of the Antiochians. Doubts about the primitive condition of man resulted in indefinite conceptions of asceticism, which have never been cleared up in the Greek Church: Some saw in asceticism the natural constitutional condition of man, others (especially the Antiochians) conceived of it as something superterrestrial and superhuman.

Theories Regarding Origin of Sin.

2. It was acknowledged that the human race since its origin, *i.e.* since Adam (express rejection in the 6th century of the doctrine of Origen as to the fall in a pre-existent state), has turned away from the good (cause: Not a created sinful power, not matter, not the Divinity, not inheritance of the sin of Adam—Adam was for the majority the type, not the progenitor of sinners,—but abuse of freedom by reason of demoniac betrayal, and transmission of

bad customs. Besides, indeed, with the majority the unsubdued thought still remained in the background, that the inducement to turn from God comes with a certain necessity from the sensuous nature and the creature infirmities of man; that is, from a conjoining of the man and his liability to death—be it natural (the Antiochians), or acquired through mistakes, or inherited. One finds, therefore, in the same fathers the contradictory expressions, that goodness is natural to man and that sin is natural to him). Genesis and Rom. 5 forced the Greeks more and more to give to the fall of Adam, against their empirico-rationalistic theory, a world-historic importance. But the Augustinian doctrine of hereditary sin they have not accepted during all the centuries; they have even declared it plainly to be Manichæism. Therefore, since they were prevented from supporting the Origenistic doctrine, and since the Bible forbade the consequent rationalism of the Antiochian theologians, they remained involved in nothing but uncertainties. Most of them proclaimed universal mortality (hereditary death), the darkening of knowledge (therefore polytheism) and a certain weakening of freedom on account of the fall of Adam, enlarging the latter even to almost complete loss of freedom when they thought of the work of Christ, but hardly mentioning it when they wrote against the Manichæans. But since they never intended to put in the place of the moral idea of sin the religious, and since the philosophumenon, evil is

Genesis and Romans V.

No Definite Doctrine.

the non-being, never entirely left their memory, and since they always felt the consequences of sin more severely than sin itself—to which consideration their conception of the work of Christ also led them—they were never able to give to the gravity of sin, *i.e.* to *guilt*, a satisfactory expression: Sin is a bad single deed; it is accident and again fatality; it is the consequence of the liability to death; but it is not the dreadful power which destroys union with God.

Natural Theology Dominates.

The influence of natural theology (and of the rationalism and mysticism akin to it), pre-eminent in the doctrine of God and man, upon the actual dogmatic teaching was fundamental:

Redemption Naturalistic.

(1) Man is led through redemption to that destination which he can also reach by virtue of his freedom (danger, that of looking upon redemption merely as an assistance);

Man Related to God only as Creature to Creator.

(2) Man, as the image of God, an independent being also as regards God, can have no other relations to him than as to the Creator and Judge; God himself is not his life, but the law of God is his rule of conduct (danger, that of looking upon the Gospel and salvation as knowledge and law, upon punishment as the greatest misfortune, and upon repentance as the cause of pardon);

Doctrine of God Rationalized.

(3) The doctrines also regarding God, the Redeemer, must needs be treated according to the rationalistic scheme (rationality of the doctrine of the trinity, of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, etc.);

(4) In the last analysis man can gather nothing

Historical Christ Depreciated.

from history; but to history, indeed, belongs the λόγος ἔνσαρκος; the view therefore was not entirely rejected, that there is a standpoint from which the historical Christ, since he is only an assisting teacher, has no meaning: Man, who through gnosis and asceticism has become a moral hero, stands free by the side of God; he loves God and God loves him; in him will a Christ be born. The most vital piety of the Greek fathers and the most energetic attempt to make themselves at home in religion, have even been the least safeguard against their losing the historical Christ. Still it was a danger which only threatened. Divinity has descended, God has become man in the historical Jesus; faith in this immense fact—"the newest of all the new, yes, the only new fact under the sun" (John of Damascus)—as well as the mystery and terror of death restricted all rationalism. *Man must be redeemed and has been redeemed.*

B. THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION THROUGH THE PERSON OF THE GOD-MAN IN ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE NECESSITY AND REALITY OF REDEMPTION THROUGH THE INCARNATION OF THE SON OF GOD.

Object and Value of Incarnation.

THE incarnation of God alone balanced the whole system of natural theology. Because men believed

Athanasius' Theory of Incarnation.

Two Results Secured.

in its reality, they also asserted its necessity. They referred it to death, to the dominion of demons, to sin and error, and not seldom in this connection they made, regarding the wickedness of man, assertions which recall Augustine. But when a definite theory was given, the idea of the abolition of perishableness and of the sting of death alone held out; for the doctrine of freedom excluded an expiation of sin and, on the other side, brought home the thought that heart-felt repentance before God frees from sin (thus, *e.g.* Athanasius, de incarn. VII.). After Irenæus, Athanasius first propounded a definite theory of the incarnation (l. c.). He bases it, on the one hand, upon the goodness of God, *i.e.*, upon his self-assertion and honor; on the other, upon the *consequences* of sin, *i.e.* perishableness. These the Logos only is able to remove, who also originally created everything out of nothing. Regarding the means, Athanasius has recourse to all the Biblical conceptions (sacrificial death, expiation of guilt, etc.); but he only carries out strictly the thought, that in the act of incarnation itself lies the changing from the doom of death to ἀφθαρσία, in so far as the physical union of the human with the Divine (the dwelling of God in the flesh) elevates humanity into the sphere of bliss and of the ἀφθαρσία. The consequence of the incarnation is, therefore, primarily a transformation into the imperishable (renewal of the Divine likeness), but secondarily also the restoring of the knowledge of God, in so far as the *earthly* appearance of Divinity (in Christ) makes Divinity recognizable to the dullest eye and thereby eradicates polytheism. Athanasius, in asserting this double result, was also able to explain the particular result of the incarnation: Only those are benefited by it who know God and who regulate their lives according to this knowledge. The apotheosis of human nature (participation in God through son-ship) and not knowledge was to Athanasius the main point. Therefore his whole concern was with the exact determining of the question, how the Divine which became man was constituted, and into what connections with humanity he entered. On the contrary the Arians and, later, the Antiochians placed the principal stress upon the knowledge; they persevered in the rationalistic scheme. On that very account they had not in general a decided interest in the two questions, and when they had, they answered them in another way. It is plain that the great dogmatic contentions have their root herein: Substantial participation in God, or knowledge of him which assists freedom—Christ the Divinity, or the intelligent Reason of the world and the Divine Teacher—Christ the inseparable God-man, or the inspired man and the dual Being. Athanasius had on his side the highest Greek piety, his opponents the more intelligible formulas and, in part, the letter of the Bible.

Deification of Humanity Main Point.

Root of Dogmatic Contentions.

Why Did God Become Man?

No other Greek father has answered the question why God became man so clearly as Athanasius.

Gregory of Nyssa.

Next to him comes the Platonist, Gregory of Nyssa (large catechism), since in general the whole conception of doctrine is possible only upon the basis of Platonism. Gregory at some points strengthened the deductions, in many instances, however, he followed Methodius. In contending with Jews and pagans he shows that the incarnation is the *best* form of redemption; he conceives the whole sinful state as *death*, and gives, therefore, to this conception a wider scope (all turning away from God to the non-existent sensuous is death); he viewed the incarnation as fully accomplished first in the resurrection of Christ (Origenistic declaration: Redemption presupposes separation from the body); he expressly taught that Christ did not assume the nature of an individual man, but, as second Adam, human nature itself, so that according to this mystic-Platonic view, *everything* human has blended with the Divinity; he conceived of the whole strictly as a physico-pharmacological process: Humanity became thoroughly penetrated by the leaven of Divinity (the counter-weight is the demand for the spontaneous fulfilling of the law); he brought the sacraments into the closest relation with the incarnation. But, finally, he gave a pantheistic turn to this realistic and, to all rationalism, apparently hostile idea, which deprives it of its peculiarity and is quite in accord with a rationalistic conception: Christ's incarnation is an act of cosmic importance; it reaches as reconciliation and restitution over the whole world from the highest

Incarnation Only Fully Accomplished in Resurrection.

Physico-Pharmacological Process.

Pantheistic Element.

angels down to the deepest depths. Thus it dissolves, as with Origen, into a necessary cosmical process; it becomes a special case of the general omnipresence of the Divine in creation. In the cosmos the alienation from God is set forth in the same manner as the return to him. Gregory assisted in transmitting to futurity this pantheistic idea, which he himself indeed never quite clearly thought out so as to separate it from its historical conditions. The pantheistic doctrine of redemption appears in after times in a double form (pantheistic monophysites, the Areopagite and his disciples, etc.): Either the work of the historical Christ appears as a special instance, *i.e.* as a symbol of the general purifying and sanctifying activity which the Logos in common with the graded orders of super-sensuous creatures, and at the same time for them, continually effects by means of holy agencies—or instantly with the thought of the incarnation the union of each individual soul with the Logos is conceived of, in which there is repeated what occurred in regard to Christ. A third form still is the view, that the humanity of Christ was a heavenly one, *i.e.* that the Logos always carried humanity within itself. Even unconcealed pantheism (nature as a whole is of one essence with Divinity) was not wanting.

Double Form of Pantheistic Doctrine.

But all this lay only in the background, while the thought that Christ took upon himself humanity as generally conceived spread in the East and West, and destroyed the idea of a moral union of the Divinity

Redemption Referred to Sin and Death.

with an individual man, from which, of course, the certainty of our participation in God cannot be inferred. Those who taught this moral union (Antiochians) ordinarily conceived redemption, not as a restitution, the necessity of which they did not exactly feel, but as a leading up to a new state, as the close of the Divine pedagogy. Whereas the theologians following Athanasius and Gregory always conceived of the incarnation as a necessary restitution and referred it therefore to sin and death. Accordingly they firmly maintained, so far as they were not misled by pantheism, that the incarnation was an historical deed of unfathomable Divine compassion, by means of which humanity has been restored to Divine life.

Adjustment of Facts in Jesus' Life to Redemption Theory.

Supplement. Men attempted to fit the facts of the history of Jesus into the work of redemption, which indeed was a success as regards the resurrection, but not wholly so in any other single point. The death on the cross remained in particular unintelligible, although Pauline points of view were continually repeated; for by the incarnation everything had really been given and death could at the most be but the conclusion of the "becoming flesh" (the sacrificial view moreover has seldom since Origen been farther fertilized according to the scheme of the Greek mysteries). Nevertheless there can be no doubt that death was considered a blissful mystery, before which one should bow down, and it is after all a question whether the dogmatic reticence here of the Greeks is less worthy in contrast with the bold reckon-

Satisfactio et Placatio Dei.

ing and bargaining of the Occidental theologians. The latter since Tertullian and Cyprian have ever considered the endurance of death as a service, the value of which should be appraised in juristic formulas; they have looked upon death as *satisfactio* and *placatio dei* and applied to it the view gained by the contemplation of the legal scheme of atonement (abolition of suffering and punishment for guilt through the *expiation*, *i.e.* through the *merit* of Christ's death which pacified an angry God. Calculating the value to God of Christ's death: Ambrose, Augustine, the great popes). Moreover since Ambrose they consistently advanced to the assumption, that the expiation (the merit) of Christ was made as *man*, since humanity is the debtor and since any services rendered can be ascribed only to the man, who, to be sure, received his worthiness from his Divinity. Thereby the West alienated itself from the East: Here is God who has taken humanity into union with his being, in consequence of which his constitution as Redeemer; yonder is man, the propitiator, whose endurance of death has a Divine value. But the West, it is true, did not possess as yet a strict theory. It also still accepted the gnostic-eastern conceptions that a ransom was paid to the devil, who thereby was defrauded.

Ambrose, Augustine, the Great Popes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOMOUSION OF THE SON OF GOD WITH GOD HIMSELF.

Principal sources: The Church historians of the 4th and 5th centuries and the works of the fathers of the 4th century. Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, 1882; Möhler, Athanasius, 1827; Zahn, Marcell., 1867; Hahn, Bibliothek d. Symbole, 2. Aufl.

Homousios of Father and Son.

Is the Divine, which has appeared upon the earth and reunited man with God, identical with the highest divine Being who rules heaven and earth, or is the same semi-divine? That was the decisive question of the Arian controversy.

1.—*From the Beginning of the Controversy until the Council of Nicæa.*

Lucian, Adoptionism.

At Antioch, 268, the Logos-doctrine had been carried through, but the ὁμοούσιος was rejected. Yet the legacy of Paul of Samosata did not perish. Lucian, the most learned exegete of his time, took it up and founded a popular, influential exegetico-theological school, which for a long time held aloof from the Church, but later made its peace with the same, and became the foster-mother of Arianism. Lucian started from adoptionism; the high value which he placed upon the *development* of Christ (προκοπή) proves this. But he condescended to introduce the hypostatic Logos, still as λόγος-κτίσμα, as created, capable and in need of development, which is to be sharply distinguished from the eternal, impersonal Logos of God. The ego in Christ is therefore a heavenly pre-existent Being (no longer man, as with Paul)—by this admission Lucian made his peace with the dogma and the Origenists—but human qualities were attributed to the same, the incarnation became a mere assuming of the flesh, and by means of the Aristotelian dialectics and Biblican exegesis a doctrinal principle was now propounded in which the unbegotten Creator (the "Eternal") was placed in sharp contrast with all created beings, consequently also with the Logos-Christ, and theology became "technology", that is, a doctrine of the unbegotten and the begotten was worked out in syllogisms founded upon the holy codex, without genuine interest in the thought of redemption, yet not without moral energy, and this was spread abroad by disciples closely allied and proud of their dialectics and their exegetical art.

Theology Becomes Technology.

Arius.

To these Arius also belonged, who at a ripe age became deacon and presbyter in Alexandria. There, at that time, a tendency was represented in the episcopate which mistrusted the μαθήματα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας and put aside the thought of the difference between Father and Logos. Although Arius had for some time combated Christological errors along with his bishop Alexander, yet about the year 318 he began to differ with the latter, and the bishop found it necessary about 320 to condemn and depose Arius and some of the other clergy, at a synod held

Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Constantine, Hosius.

in Alexandria, on account of their Christology. But he stepped into a wasp's nest. The followers of Lucian and above all the influential Eusebius of Nicomedia took decidedly the part of Arius, and the majority of the Oriental bishops were indeed in sympathy with him (also Eusebius of Cesarea). Letters were written on both sides to gain assistance; synods also were held. Arius was able under protest to take up again his work in Alexandria. When Constantine, 323, became ruler also of the Orient, the contest spread to all the coast provinces of the East (Thalia of Arius; derision of Jews and heathen). The emperor sought at first to reconcile both parties by a letter delivered by the court-bishop, Hosius, of Cordova (the dispute is an idle, unbecoming quarrel). But the letter had no effect, and Hosius, who championed the Tertullian-Cyprian doctrine of the trinity, probably at that very time came to an agreement with Alexander. Through him the emperor also was gained over and the Nicene decision prepared for. Following his advice, Constantine called a council at Nicæa.

Alexander's Formula.

Alexander's doctrine (vid. his two letters and the *epist. Arii ad Euseb.*) was, as a matter of fact, essentially identical with the later one of Athanasius; but it was not clear in its formulations. Especially did he hardly raise the ὁμοούσιος to a rallying-cry, since the same was repudiated in the East. Hosius probably introduced it as a translation of the Western *unius substantiae.* Alexander's formulas were:

ἀεὶ θεός, ἀεὶ υἱός, ἅμα πατήρ, ἅμα υἱός, συνυπάρχει ὁ υἱός ἀγεννήτως τῷ θεῷ, ἀειγενής, ἀγενητογενής, οὔτ' ἐπινοίᾳ οὔτ' ἀτόμῳ τινὶ προάγει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀεὶ θεός, ἀεὶ υἱός, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ υἱός. Alexander asserted the eternal co-existence without beginning of the Father and the Son (influence of Irenæus?) He included the Son in the being of the Father as a necessary constituent part; he refuted the tenets, that the Son is not eternal, that he was created out of nothing, that he is not *φύσει* God, that he changes, that he has passed through a moral development and is only adopted Son. He consciously contended for the common faith in the Church, for the Divinity of Christ, and he rejected above all the dialectics about "begotten" and "unbegotten". He quoted in favor of his view the Scripture proofs (John 1: 1–3; 1: 18; 10: 30; 14: 8, 9 and 28; Math. 3: 17; 11: 27; I. John 5: 1; Col. 1: 15, 16; Rom. 8: 32; Heb. 1: 2 *seq.*; Prov. 8: 30; Psa. 2: 7; 110: 3; 35: 10; Isa. 53: 8). He was fond of using the favorite expression of Origen: The Son is the perfect reflection; but even the following expression does not satisfy him: *ἐν αὐτῷ χαρακτηρίζεται ὁ πατήρ.* He approaches Sabellianism, but desires to reject it strongly, and asserts that the Father is nevertheless greater than the Son who belongs to his being. He wants to see the "coming forth" of such a Son revered as a mystery: It is a question of faith, not of speculation. Still he often uses unintelligible, confused and contradictory expressions, among which even *πατρικὴ θεογονία* is not wanting,

Rejected Dialectics about Begotten and Unbegotten.

Approaches Sabellianism.

which contrast unfavorably with the plain, clear sentences of Arius, for whom it was an easy task to show that the doctrine of Alexander was neither protected against dualism (two ἀγένητα), nor against gnostic emanationism (προβολή, ἀπόρροια), nor against Sabellianism (υἱοπάτωρ), nor against the representation of the corporeality of God, and had the characteristics of a chameleon and was Biblically untenable.

Arius' Doctrine.

Arius taught the following (see his own letters and the letters of his friends, the fragments of the Thalia, the characterization in Alexander and Athanasius, the writings of the later Arians):

God Alone Eternal.

(1) The one God, besides whom there is no other, is alone unbegotten, without beginning, eternal; he is inexpressible and incomprehensible; furthermore he is the cause and creator of all things. In these attributes consists his nature (the unbegotten Generator). His activity is in *creating* ("to beget" is only a synonym). Everything which is, has been created—not out of the nature of God (otherwise he would not be simple and spiritual), but out of his own free will. Accordingly God has not always been Father, else the created would be eternal; the created also can never receive the essence of God; for this precisely is uncreated.

Within Him Dwell Wisdom and Logos.

(2) Within this God dwell, as inseparable *powers*, Wisdom and Logos; there are beside many created *powers*.

Time When Son Was Not.

(3) Before the world was, God created out of his own free will an independent Being (οὐσία, ὑπόστασις),

as an instrument for the production of the other creatures, who according to Scripture is called Wisdom, Son, Likeness, Word; like all creatures he was created out of nothing and had a beginning. There was therefore a time when this Son was not. He is only called inappropriately "Son"; the other creatures are also called thus by Scripture.

Son Distinct from Father.

(4) This "Son" therefore is, according to his being, an independent magnitude, totally distinct from the "Father". He has neither *one* being with the Father, nor like qualities of nature (otherwise there would be two Gods). Rather has he a free will and is capable of changing. But he has resolved permanently upon the good. Thus by virtue of his choice he has become unchangeable.

Son not Very God.

(5) The "Son", then, is not very God, and he has Divine qualities only as acquired and only in part. Because he is not eternal, his knowledge also is not perfect. To him, therefore, is not due like honor with the Father.

Son Differs from Creatures.

(6) Still he differs from all creatures; he is the κτίσμα τέλειον, through whom everything has been created; he stands in an especial relationship of grace to God. Through God's communication and his own progress, he has become God, so that we may *call* him "only begotten God".

Son Truly Incarnated.

(7) This Son has truly assumed a human body. The attributes, which the historical Christ manifested, show that the Logos to which they belonged is a being capable of suffering and is not perfect.

Holy Spirit Subordinate to Son.

(8) By the side of and below the Son stands the Holy Spirit; for the Christian believes in three separate and different οὐσίαι (ὑποστάσεις); the Holy Spirit was created through the Son.

Scripture Proof.

(9) Scripture proofs for these doctrines were: Deut. 6: 4; 32: 39; Prov. 8: 22; Ps. 45: 8; Math. 12: 28; Mk. 13: 32; Math. 26: 41; 28: 18; Lk. 2: 52; 18: 19; John 11: 34; 14: 28; 17: 3; Acts 2: 36; I. Cor. 1: 24; 15: 28; Col. 1: 15; Phil. 2: 6 *seq.;* Heb. 1: 4; 3: 2; John 12: 27; 13: 21; Math. 26: 39; 27: 46, etc. Dialectically the sophist Asterius above all defended this doctrinal conception. With strict Arianism the tradition coming from Paul and Lucian had most weight; with the more liberal party (Eusebius of Cesarea) the doctrine of subordination as taught by Origen.

Athanasius' Opposing Doctrine.

Athanasius' doctrine, in its dogmatico-scientific delineation not important, was great in its victorious perseverance in the faith. It comprises really only *one tenet: God himself has entered into humanity.* It is rooted wholly in the thought of redemption. Judaism and paganism have not brought back humanity into communion with God: *Only God* could deify us, *i.e.*, adopt us as his sons. He who denies that Christ is very God, is still a Jew or a heathen. Athanasius has in fact no longer a Logos-doctrine; he is a Christologian. He thinks only and always of that *Christ* who is God. He did not care for a formula; even the ὁμοούσιος is not so often used by him as one might think. His main principles are the following:

Christ is Wholly Unlike Creatures.

(1) If Christ is God—and that he must be as Redeemer—then he has as such nothing creature-like in him and belongs in no sense to created existences. Athanasius makes just as strict a distinction between created and uncreated as Arius, but he sets the Son aside as belonging to God in opposition to the world.

Old Logos-Doctrine Done Away with.

(2) Since the Divine in Christ is not created, it can also not be postulated of the world and the creation of the world; besides, God needs no mediation for the creation of the world. Consequently the idea of the Divine, who has redeemed man, is to be separated from the idea of the world; the old Logos-doctrine was done away with. Nature and revelation were no longer considered identical. The Logos-Son is the principle of salvation, not the principle of the world.

Son Belongs to Godhead.

(3) But since Divinity is a unity (μονάς) and the Son does not belong to the world, he must belong to this very unity of the unbegotten Power which is the Father.

Name Father Implies Son.

(4) The very name "Father" signifies that there is present in Divinity a second being. God has always been Father; he who calls him this, names the Son also; for the Father is Father of the Son, and not properly Father of the world, for it has been created; uncreated, however, is the Divine trias, existing in unity.

Son Begotten Out of Being of God.

(5) Consequently the Son is γέννημα τοῦ πατρός, begotten out of the being of God, as the light from the

sun, through an inner necessity. He is the likeness proceeding from the divine Being. "To be begotten" means nothing else than to have complete participation by nature in the whole nature of the Father, without the Father thereby suffering loss in any way.

Son Eternal, Essentially God.

(6) Therefore the Arian assertions are false; the Son is rather (*a*) alike eternal with the Father, (*b*) out of the being of the Father, (*c*) in all parts as to nature equally endowed with the Father, and he is all this *because he has one and the same essence with the Father and forms with him a strict unity*—"essence", however, in regard to God means nothing else than "being". It is not true that the Father is one Being in himself and the Son another in himself, and that these two have like qualities—that would annul the unity of the Divinity, but the Father is the Divinity; this Divinity, however, contains *within itself* as self-sufficient and self-efficient product a "going forth" which also possessed from eternity, and not by virtue of a communication, the same divine nature—the true Son, the likeness proceeding from the divine Being. Father and Son are one Being, which includes in itself the distinction between ἀρχή and γέννημα, consequently between principle and derivation and, in this sense, a subordination, which however has nothing to do with the subordination of the created—this is the meaning of the ὁμοούσιος in Athanasius.

(7) All creature-qualities which the Scriptures

Creature-Qualities Belong to His Human Nature.

ascribe to Jesus Christ have reference merely to his human nature. The exaltation also refers to the same; *i.e.* to our exaltation; for the union of the God-Logos with human nature was from the beginning a substantial and perfect one (Mary as θεοτόκος): The body became *his* body. Proverbs 8: 22 *seq.* also has reference to the incarnate Logos.

Arianism, Athanasianism.

Both doctrines are formally in this respect alike, that in them religion and theology are most intimately mingled and grounded upon the Logos-doctrine. But Arianism is a union of adoptionism with the Origenistic-Neo-Platonic doctrine of the subordinate Logos which is the spiritual principle of the world, carried out by means of the resources of the Aristotelian dialectics; the orthodox doctrine is a union of the almost modalistically colored dogma, that Jesus Christ is God in kind, with the Origenistic doctrine of the Logos as the perfect likeness of the Father. In the former, the principal stress was placed upon the cosmological and rational-ethical side (descending trinity, enlightening and strengthening of freedom); in the latter, upon the thought of redemption, but under a physical conception. In the former, the formulas are apparently free from connivance and contradictions; but the speculative mythology, strictly viewed, is as bad as possible; furthermore, only as cosmologians are the Arians monotheists; as theologians and in religion they are polytheists; finally in the background lie deep contradictions: A Son who is no Son, a Logos which is no Logos, a monotheism which does not exclude polytheism, two or three οὐσία who are to be adored, while really only one differs from the creatures, an indefinable being who only becomes God in becoming man, and who is neither God nor man. Besides, there was no vigorous religious interest, and also no real philosophical interest, much more was everything hollow and formalistic, even

Contradictions in Arianism.

a puerile enthusiasm for sporting with husks and shells and a childish self-sufficiency in setting at work unmeaning syllogisms. The opponents were quite right: This doctrine leads back to paganism. A relative value only is due to it, when, coming in contact with uncultured and barbarian nations, it was obliged to strip off its philosophical garments and in that way was able to pass itself off essentially as adoptionism, as the veneration of Christ by the side of God based upon Biblical passages (German adoptianism). The orthodox doctrine, on the contrary, possesses its lasting value through its maintenance of the faith that in Christ God himself has redeemed mankind and brought us into communion with himself. But, since the God in Christ was conceived as "*alter ego*" of the Father, and since redemption was conceived in a mystico-physical form, there resulted,

Orthodox Doctrine, Value and Defects.

1. Formulas, the direct gainsaying of which is evident (one = three), and ideas, which cannot be conceived, but only asserted in words. Thereby in the place of the *knowledge* of God which Christ had promised, was put a mystery, and this was to be recognized as the most profound knowledge. By the side of the miracle, as characteristic of religion, was placed the miracle of ideas as characteristic of the true theology;

Inconceivable Formulas.

2. The assertion that the Person in Christ is the Logos, one being with God, could be maintained only when one reversed the interpretations of all evangelical reports concerning him, and understood his history docetically. Therefore, the introduction of the absurd, and the abandonment of the historical Christ in his most valuable traits, is the consequence of the orthodox doctrine. But the claim that Jesus Christ has led men back to God, and given to them Divine life, was still maintained. This conviction of faith was saved by Athanasius against a doctrine which, upon the whole, did not appreciate the inward nature of religion, which sought in religion only instruction, and finally found satisfaction in an empty dialectics.

Contradict Scripture.

Due to Scientific Theology.

It is easy to see that with Arius, as well as with Athanasius, the contradictions and weaknesses flow from the reception of Origenism, that is, from the scientific theology. Without this, that is, without the doctrine of the pre-existent, hypostatical Logos, Arianism would have been adoptionism, or pure rationalism, and Athanasius would have been forced either to turn to modalism, or to relinquish the idea of the Divine "nature" of Christ.

Homousios Triumphs at Nicæa.

At the synod of Nicæa (325) the homousios (Hosius) finally conquered, thanks to the awkward tactics of the Arians and Eusebians (Origenistic middle party), to the decisiveness of the orthodox and to the determination of the emperor. Into the Cæsarean creed the watch-words *γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί* were inserted, the Arian formulas expressly condemned, and this creed was made the law of the Church. Almost all the bishops (300? 318?) submitted, Arius and a few companions were excommunicated and their followers persecuted. Athanasius attended this synod as deacon, probably not without taking an important part.

2.—*Until the Death of Constantius.*

Victory Premature.

The victory had been gained too quickly. Neither formally, nor essentially had it been sufficiently worked out, therefore the contest had really only begun. Men saw in the homousios an unbiblical, new formula, the making of two Gods, or the introduction of Sabellianism, and, in addition, the death of clear science. Among the opponents who together came forward as conservatives, two parties now became clearly prominent, the Arians and the Origenists (Eusebians) to whom the indifferents joined themselves. But they were united in the contest against orthodoxy (principal champion against it was Eusebius of Nicomedia).

Athanasius Banished.

Constantine soon understood that he would have to come to an agreement with the anti-Nicene coalition, which after 328 became anti-Athanasian, for the young bishop was the most decided Nicene. Personal differences arose at a time when the ambition and power of the ecclesiastics could finally reckon upon the highest gratification. In 335 Athanasius was declared deposed at Tyre, and in 336 he was banished by the emperor to Trier. The solemn reception of Arius into the Church was frustrated by his death. In 337 Constantine died, really approving the promulgating, under the cover of the Nicene creed, of hostile doctrines.

Constantius Favors Arians.

His sons divided the empire. Athanasius (337) returned. But Constantius, the ruler of the East, rightly understood that he could not govern with orthodoxy, and he did not feel himself bound, like his father, to the Nicene creed. He deposed the orthodox bishop of the capital; Eusebius of Nicomedia took his place. In Cæsarea an Arian, Acacius, succeeded Eusebius; Athanasius was deposed, but he anticipated his banishment by flight to Rome (339), leaving Egypt in wild disorder. The Eusebians were not masters of the situation, but the West was true Nicene and the stronghold of Oriental orthodoxy. The Eusebians did not wish to break with the West; they were, therefore, obliged to try to quietly push aside the Nicene creed, replacing in mere pretence the homousios by better Biblical formulas and demanding the carrying out of the deposition of Athanasius. It was of great advantage to the Orientals that a strict Nicene and a friend of Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, did not sanction the common foundation of the teaching, the philosophical-Origenistic Logos-doctrine, but declared the Logos to be the Power of God, which only at the incarnation had become divine Person and "Son", in order to return to the Father when once he had finished his work (the Orientals saw in this doctrine "Sabellianism"). Julius of Rome and Athanasius declared Marcellus to be orthodox, and proved thereby that they were concerned alone about redemptive faith and laid aside the formulas set up by the Orientals at Antioch (341), although the latter now formally renounced Arianism and established a doctrine which *could* be taken for Nicene.

Marcellus of Ancyra.

Council of Sardica.

Political reasons compelled Constantius to be obliging to his orthodox brother, Constans, the ruler of the West. The great council of Sardica (343) was intended to restore unity of faith in the empire. But the Occidentals refused the preliminary demand of the Orientals to acknowledge the deposition of Athanasius and Marcellus, and proclaimed after the

Synods at Milan.

exodus of the Orientals (to Philippopolis) the deposition of the leaders, taking their position rigidly upon the basis of the Nicene creed. The opponents reiterated the 4th Antiochian formula. Constantius himself seems to have mistrusted them for a time; he certainly feared to irritate his brother who was endeavoring to gain the supremacy. The Orientals reiterated once more in a long formula their orthodoxy (Antioch, 344) and the minimum of their demands. Although the West at the Milan synods (345–347) rejected the doctrine of Photinus of Sirmium, who from the doctrine of his master, Marcellus, had developed a strictly adoptian conception (the Logos never became a person), it yet remained otherwise firm, while in the East political bishops already meditated peace with Athanasius. The latter was restored by Constantius, who was hard pressed by the Persians, and he was greeted with great rejoicings in Alexandria (346). About 348 it appeared as if orthodoxy had conquered; only Marcellus and the *word* ὁμοούσιος seemed still to give offence.

Constantius Sole Ruler.

But the death of Constans (350) and the defeat of the usurper Magnentius (353) changed everything. If Constantius during the last years was obliged to bow before a few bishops, his own subjects, who had ruled his brother, he now as sole ruler was determined to govern the Church and pay back the humiliations. Already in 351 (2d Sirmian synod) the Oriental bishops had returned to action. At the synods of Arles (353) and Milan (355) the Western

Synods of Arles and Milan.

episcopate was obliged to come to terms. At first nothing further was demanded of it than the condemnation of Athanasius, but this meant a divergence on the question of faith, and the bishops allowed it to be forced upon them (a few exceptions: Paulinus of Trier, Lucifer of Cagliari, Eusebius of Vercelli; also Hosius, Liberius, Hilarius had to go into exile). Athanasius anticipated his deposition by flight into the desert (356). Union seemed restored, but it was as state ecclesiasticism, against which orthodox Western bishops fiercely inveighed, now only remembering that emperor and state should not meddle with religion.

Aetius and Eunomius.

The union of the victors was only a seeming one, for it became apparent that it did not go beyond negations. Strict aggressive Arianism again came forward in Aetius and Eunomius and wanted to carry through the "anomoian" doctrine (*ἀνόμοιος καὶ κατὰ πάντα καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν*). In opposition to this, semi-Arianism placed itself in sharp contrast (the "unchangeable likeness", *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*). These homoiusians (Georgius of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebaste, Eusebius of Emesa, Basilius of Ancyra) had learned that the Son must be, as to being, of *like essence* with the Father; as scientific men (cosmologians) they did not wish to abandon the cosmic potentiality of the Logos and the descending trinity. They understood how, with the Scriptures as a basis and in connection with Christology, to so formulate their doctrine that it made an im-

Homoiusians: Georgius of Laodicea, Eusebius of Emesa, Basilius of Ancyra.

pression even upon Nicene Occidentals, who, to be sure, were still half idiots in scientific theology. The third party was that of the politicians, who applauded that formula which had the best prospect of settling the contest (Ursacius and Valens: ὅμοιος κατὰ τὰς γραφάς). The period from 357–361 is the time during which the emperor, openly dropping the Nicene creed, sought for a Christological imperial formula, and proposed with all energy to carry it through at the synods. Here, finally, only the "ὅμοιος κατὰ τὰς γραφάς" could be presented; for with this unmeaning formula, the Arians, semi-Arians and even the orthodox could make friends, since it directly contradicted no doctrine. The Sirmian synods had not as yet accomplished what they ought, and they even showed a passing tendency to strict Arianism. At Ancyra (358) the semi-Arians rallied powerfully. Two great contemporaneous synods in the East and West (at Seleucia and Rimini) were expected to proclaim the 4th Sirmian formula, a dogmatico-political masterpiece of the emperor. But when the one assumed a homoiusian, the other an orthodox attitude, they were terrorized, kept in suspense, and the homoiusian imperial creed was forced upon them in exchange for concurrence in the expulsion of strict Arianism (synods at Nice and Constantinople 360). Afterward all homoiusians were nevertheless banished from the influential positions, so that, in spite of the expulsion of Aetius, an Arianism, moderated

From 357–361 Constantius Openly Favors Arianism.

Semi-Arians, Synods at Seleucia and Rimini.

through want of principle, actually established itself in the Church as the state religion.

3.—*Until the Councils at Constantinople*, 381, 383.

Death of Constantius, Julian Emperor.

In the year 361 Constantius died. Julian succeeded him, and accordingly, instead of the artificial union, the real parties succeeded again to their rights. But the homoiusians were no longer the "middle party", no longer the "conservatives" in the old sense; for in opposition to Arianism, they had deepened and strengthened their doctrine (conservatives possess elasticity). Conservative and conciliatory were the homoians who inclined toward Arianism. Here the change in the Orient—at first, indeed, only in the minds of the most prominent theologians—is shown. *The homoiusians*, disciples of Origen, distinguished alike for ecclesiastical feeling, *asceticism and pure science, capitulated to the homousios*, an alliance which Hilarius zealously urged forward.

Orthodox Bishops Return from Exile.

Julian permitted the banished bishops, therefore also Athanasius, to return. The synod of Alexandria (362) marks the turning-point in so far as Athanasius there admitted that the Nicene creed *sans phrase* should be valid; that is, he expressly renounced the phrase "*one being*" (*one* hypostasis) and thus allowed such an interpretation of the ὁμοούσιος as made it "*one essence*" (instead of "*one*

Lucifer.

Apollinaris of Laodicea and the Three Cappadocians.

being"), which constituted therefore *three* hypostases. But this concession and the great leniency toward those who once had signed the 4th Sirmian formula provoked the displeasure of some of the prominent Occidentals (Lucifer) and martyrs of the faith. In the West one felt that the old doctrine (the substantial unity of the Deity is the rock and the plurality is the mystery) had been inverted (the trinity of the divine Persons is the rock and the unity is the problem), and Athanasius himself was not able to add real friends to his new scientific friends in Asia Minor, Cappadocia and Antioch; for now the science of Origen had been rescued for orthodoxy. The great theologians, Apollinaris of Laodicea and the three Cappadocians, started from Origen and the ὁμοιούσιος; but they recognized the ὁμοούσιος now and were able to carry on their philosophical speculations with it and by the side of it; for one could say that there are three hypostases, and still be orthodox. By creating a firm terminology, they succeeded at the same time in producing apparently clear formulas. Οὐσία now received the middle sense between the abstract idea of "being" and the concrete idea of "individual being"; so, however, that it very strongly inclined to the former. Ὑπόστασις received the middle sense between person and attribute (accident, *i.e.* modality), in such a way, however, that the conception of person was the stronger. Πρόσωπον, since it sounded Sabellian-like, was avoided, but not rejected. The unity of the Deity,

Origenistic Trinity-Speculation Rehabilitated.

Spring-Time of Orthodoxy.

which the Cappadocians were concerned about, was not the same as Athanasius and the Occidentals had in mind. *Μία οὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν* became the formula. In order to render clear the real difference in the Persons within the unity of the Deity, Gregory of Nyssa added to them *τρόποι ὑπάρξεως* (*ἰδιότητες χαρακτηρίζουσαι, ἐξαίρετα ἰδιώματα*), and indeed to the Father the *ἀγεννησία* (not as being, but as mode of being [*σχέσις*] of the Father), to the Son the *γεννησία*—even the older homoiusians had been here more reserved than Gregory—and to the Spirit *ἐκπόρευσις*. The Origenistic-Neo-Platonic trinity-speculation became rehabilitated. The Logos idea again came to the front. The unity of the Deity was again proved from the monarchy of the Father, not from the *ὁμοούσιος*. Thus "science" formed its alliance with the Nicene doctrine. While in the beginning scientists—also among the heathen—acknowledged Arius to be in the right, now men became champions of the Nicene doctrine, to whom even a Libanius extended the palm branch. They stood upon the soil of a scientific contemplation of the world, were in accord with Plato, Origen and Libanius, and refuted Eunomius amidst the applause of the philosophers. At the same time it was a victory of Neo-Platonism over Aristotelian dialectics. Thus orthodoxy in union with science had from about 370–394 a beautiful spring-time, followed, however, by destructive storms, or, rather, by the blight of traditionalism. Men dreamed the dream of an eternal union between faith and science. True, it was not undisturbed. The old-faith orthodoxy in the Occident and in Antioch remained distrustful, even repellent. In Antioch a kind of schism broke out between the old and the new scientific orthodoxy. The latter considered the former Sabellian, although it could hardly shake off the suspicion of teaching "homoiusian".

Political Events Favor Homousios.

But not only did science prepare the victory for the homousios, the course of the world's events did so as well. In Valens the Orient obtained a powerful Arian emperor. The orthodox and homoiusians had to go into exile, and they drew nearer to each other. They again sought support from the orthodox West. Liberius of Rome was not disinclined, and Basilius of Cæsarea was after 370 in vigorous activity. Yet Damascus of Rome returned to the old harsh standpoint, and it needed several synods (in the seventies) to convince him of the orthodoxy of the new orthodox Orientals. These at last signed (at Antioch 379) the formulas of faith of Damascus, without, however, being able to settle the schism in Antioch. But the subscription was already a sequence of the world-historical events that in the year 375 in the West the youthful Gratian, wholly devoted to the Church and orthodoxy (Damascus, Ambrose) succeeded the tolerant Valentinian, and after 378 became sole ruler (Valens died at Adrianople contending against the Goths). In the year 379 the orthodox Spaniard Theodosius was elevated to be co-regent and emperor of the Orient. He was

Gratian Succeeds Valentinian.

Theodosius Becomes Emperor in Orient.

Council of Constantinople.

determined to govern the Church like Constantius, but in the sense of *strict* Occidental orthodoxy: The celebrated edict of Thessalonica showed this in the year 380 (issued by the emperor immediately after his baptism *). He deprived the Arians of all their churches in Constantinople and forbade the heretics in general to worship in the cities. But he soon perceived that he could rule in the Orient only with *Oriental* orthodoxy, that he dare not apply the severe standard of the West, and that he must win half-friends entirely over. He called, therefore, in 381 an Oriental council at the capital and appointed as presiding officer Meletius, that is, the leader of the new orthodox party in Antioch. Thereby he of course gave offence to the Occidentals and Egyptians, but secured to himself the Cappadocians and the Asia Minor theologians. At the synod the contrast was so strongly expressed that a rupture was near at hand (the new presiding officer, Gregory Nazianzen, had to resign). But finally the synod (150 bishops) proclaimed the Nicene doctrine *sans phrase*, the complete homoousion of the three Persons, and also expelled the Macedonians. In fact, however, "equality of being" conquered in the sense of "equality of es-

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* "*Cunctos populos . . . in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Alexandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis, hoc est, ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub pari maiestate et sub pia trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen iubemus amplecti, reliquos vero dementes vesanosque iudicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos*".

Creed of Constantinople.

Ecclesiastical Legend-Making.

sence", not unity of essence. But the symbol, which, since about 450 in the Orient and 530 in the Occident, is considered to be that of this synod and obtained the highest consideration in the Church and which has supplanted the Nicene as being only a mere nominal enlargement of it, is not the symbol of this synod, which, moreover, was only by a *quid pro quo* afterward stamped as ecumenical. The so-called Constantinopolitan creed is older; it is the baptismal symbol of Jerusalem, probably edited by Cyril soon after 362 when he accomplished his transition from semi-Arianism to the Ὁμοούσιος. In it the "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός" is wanting, and it contains a formula about the Holy Spirit which does not proclaim the orthodox doctrine, but avoids the question at issue (τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποίον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν). How it came into the records of the synod (through Cyril? Epiphanius?) and how it afterwards became the symbol of the council is quite obscure. Still ecclesiastical legend-making has here exercised a strange justice in appending to the synod of the newly orthodox bishops a symbol in which the anti-Arian anathemas and Nicene watch-words are wanting. In reality under the cover of the ὁμοούσιος men indeed continued in the Orient in a kind of *homoiusianism*, which is to this day orthodox in all their churches.*

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* Concerning the symbol see my article in Herzog's R. Encyclop. 2. Aufl.

Occident Displeased with Council.

The Occident was highly displeased with the course of the synod, since, among other things, it had acknowledged the orthodoxy of men who in Rome were strongly suspected. Representations were made, a schism was threatened. But the Orient was no longer disposed to bend further under the dogmatic rule of Rome, and Theodosius, keeping the two halves of the empire separate, remained firm and prudent, and avoided consenting to a general council, which Gratian (Ambrose) wished to call. In the year 382 they drew nearer together, since in Rome, as well as in Constantinople, synods were contemporaneously in session, and since these showed themselves more conciliatory regarding personal questions—to this point the controversy had narrowed down inasmuch as the Antiochian schism continued. But, above all this, circumstance greatly contributed to a reconciliation; the spiritual leader of the Occident, Ambrose, went to school to the science of the Cappadocians and became powerfully influenced by it.

In 381 Nine-Tenths of Orient Arian.

In the year 381 perhaps nine-tenths of the Orient was Arian. Theodosius endeavored to frighten them, later, however, also to win them (synod of 383 at Constantinople; even Eunomius was invited). But soon he abandoned the gentle method and Ambrose seconded him in the West. One dare assume that most of the Arian and semi-Arian Greek bishops did submit; only the extreme left remained firm (Eunomius). More rapidly than Hellenism did Arian ism die out among the Greeks. True, the orthodox laymen, always conservative, considered the orthodox formula more as a necessary evil and an inexplicable mystery than as an expression of their faith. The victory of orthodoxy was a triumph of priests and theologians over the indeed deeply rooted faith of the people; but it did not make this faith any clearer.

SUPPLEMENT: THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AND OF THE TRINITY.

Doctrine of Holy Spirit. 1. Since the early days, alongside of a belief in the Father and Son, there was a belief in the Holy Spirit; but what the latter was, or what significance it has, became wholly obscure after the declining of Montanism and the retiring of the combination "spiritus-ecclesia". The scientific theology of the apologists did, in general, not know what to do with it, and even in the 3d century the majority viewed the Holy Spirit as a power. **Irenæus, Tertullian.** However, already Irenæus and Tertullian tried to honor it as a divine power within the Deity. Tertullian admitted it as "God" and as "Person" into his descending but consubstantial trinity (*filio subiectus*). Now the Neo-Platonic speculation, science, also found three Divine hypostases necessary. **Origen.** Origen in accordance with and following the Bible took the Holy Spirit into his theology as the third constant Being; to be sure as a creature subordinate to the Son, governing the smallest sphere, the circle of the sanctified. The manner of disposing of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit by Tertullian and Origen, wholly analogous to their treatment of the Logos-doctrine, shows that in general there did not exist a specific Christian interest in this point of doctrine. That Sabellius also was obliged to take into view the Holy Spirit is only a proof that the claims of the general scientific doctrine of the trinity and of the Biblical formulas could no longer be passed over.

Sabellius.

Church Did Not Take up Question till 4th Century.

Nevertheless within the churches and among the majority of the bishops no notice was taken of these scholarly advances, even by the beginning of the 4th century; the Nicene creed itself merely gives a place to the belief in the Holy Spirit, without addition or explanation. Athanasius during the first decade never thought of it. Whoever considered it Divine in the full sense deemed it a power; he who conceived it as personal, took it for something quite subordinate: In fact it was really only a word and it remained such within the trinity even afterward.

Arians Discuss Question.

Athanasius then Also.

The Arians solicited the farther formulation of the doctrine, since, by the concession of the inferiority of the Holy Spirit, they were able to support easily the subordination of the Son. Exactly for this reason, however, the orthodox became thoughtful. Athanasius, after about 358, gave his attention to the Holy Spirit and never wavered a moment in regard to the formula: Since he must be worshipped, he is θεὸς ὁμοούσιος like the Son, and belongs in no

Inserted in Nicene Creed.

sense to the world (*epp. ad Serap.*). At the synod of Alexandria this doctrine of the Holy Spirit was placed under the protection of the Nicene creed: He who denies it is a hypocritical Arian (the attempts, it is true, to discriminate between the agency of the Holy Spirit and that of the Son, remained empty words). But thus strongly did the Occident agree to this formula—in the Orient not only the Arians but also the semi-Arians saw in it a manifest innovation; even those who in the doctrine of the Son accepted the homousios refused to acknowledge the *novum*, and took under Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, a firm stand. Yet more—even the Cappadocians, although they countenanced the formula, and confessed the lack of all tangible tradition, advised the greatest caution and considered it necessary to keep back the formula at first as a mystery, appealing to the fact that it was indeed sustained only by a παράδοσις ἄγραφος. In their embarrassment in assigning to the Holy Spirit a proper kind of being in relation to the Father, they decided to attribute to him, according to John, the eternal ἔκπεμψις and ἐκπόρευσις.

Occident Forces Doctrine on Orient.

But after 362 the theologians in the Occident were indefatigable in imposing upon the half-won Oriental brethren the Holy Spirit as θεὸς ὁμοούσιος, and, in union with the Cappadocians, they succeeded. It is true that still in the year 381 the Macedonians (pneumatomachoi) were invited to the synod, but only to hear their condemnation and to be expelled. The anathemas of Damascus strengthened the situation. Henceforth one was no longer permitted to teach that the Holy Spirit is subordinate to the Son; indeed, since to the Greek the Father remained the root of the Deity, the homousios of the Spirit seemed safely secured only when he is traced back to the Father alone, the Son thereby not being taken at all into account.

Cappadocians' Doctrine of Trinity.

2. The Cappadocians, and before them their great teacher Apollinaris, established the orthodox doctrine of the trinity (vid. page 260): *One* Divine essence in *three* Subjects, the equal nature of which contained in their consubstantiality is distinctly stamped in their qualities and activities; their differences in the characteristics of their mode of being; but the Father alone is αἴτιον, the two others αἰτιατά, yet not as the world is (really Tertullian had already used the formulas "nature" and "person"; to him, however, the trinity was still entirely a trinity of revelation, not of immanence). By means of the trinity, so they now said, Christianity is distinguished from the pagan polytheism and the "stark" Jewish monotheism.

Oriental Doctrine of Trinity Has Subordination Element.

Ever since the appearance of the homoiusians, regard for Christology exerted in the Orient an influence upon the establishment of the doctrine of the trinity (there also nature and person; ὁμοίωμα originated there, and also the turning to account of the analogy of the conceptions "humanity" and "Adam" in their relation to the individual man.) A subordination and Aristotelian element remained in the trinity-doctrine of Oriental orthodoxy, and in the later Christological contest the latter was drawn into sympathy with it (however not strongly; for it had grown already too stubborn). A few Apollinarian monophysites worked after 530 upon the conceptions "nature" and "person" in Christology in an Aristotelian way, and thus also arrived in the doctrine of the trinity at tritheism or at modalism (φύσις = ὑπόστασις; Askusnages, Johannes Philoponus, Peter of Kallinico; against these Leontius of Byzantium and John of Damascus). The latter, in opposition to tritheism, gave to the dogma of the trinity a turn approaching the Occidental conception (the ἀγεννησία is formally declared equivalent to the γεννησία, the ἐν ἀλλήλοις of the three Persons is strongly emphasized, thereby the περιχώρησις, but not συναλοιφή and σύμφυρσις; the difference existing only for the ἐπινοία); this conception, however, remained without effect, since in the most decisive point it allowed the fine subordinationism to continue: John also taught that the Spirit proceedeth *alone from the Father* (*i.e. through* the Son). The Father, therefore, remains the ἀρχή of the Deity. Consequently it is one spiritual picture which the Orient, and again another which the Occident, formed of the trinity; in the former the Father remained the root of the two αἰτιατά; the full reciprocity of all three Persons appeared to the Orientals to jeopardize the monarchy, and especially the deduction of the Spirit from the Son to jeopardize the homousion. Here Photius (867) struck in, search-

Oriental and Occidental Conceptions Dissimilar.

Photius; Immanente Processio.

ing for a dogmatic point of dispute, and reproached the Occidentals, who taught the *immanente processio* of the Spirit from the Father *and Son*, with innovations, even with Manichæan dualism, and heightened this reproach with the still severer charge of falsifying the holy symbol of Constantinople by the addition of "*filioque*". This word was really an innovation therein that had originated in Spain. A contest broke out which has never been settled, and in which to the Greek even the "*δια τοῦ υἱοῦ*" became suspicious. The Occidentals, however, were obliged to cling to their doctrine, because, according to their spiritual picture of the trinity, they found the true faith expressed only in the full unity, therefore also only in the full reciprocity of the Persons. The Greeks did not understand this, because secretly they always remained cosmologically interested, just as the doctrine of the trinity, under incessant scientific treatment, has remained the vehicle which the philosophy of antiquity has handed down to the Slavic and Germanic nations: It contains the Christian idea of the revelation of God in Jesus and the testament of the ancient philosophy in a most peculiar mixture.

Contest between East and West: Filioque.

Augustine Doctrine of Trinity.

In the Occident the doctrine of the trinity had not as a rule been treated as an object of speculation. The *unity* was the safest thing, discrimination between substance and person was understood more in the sense of a (through the jurisprudence) current *formal* distinction. Augustine in his great work, "*de trin-*

itate", intended to give expression to *this* conception of the trinity by means of (Neo-Platonic) science, but he was guided also by his religious consciousness which knew only *one* God.* The consequence was a complete obliteration of every remnant of subordinationism, the changing of the Persons into relations (the old Occidental modalism merely veiled); but at the same time there arose such a mass of contradictory and absurd formulas as to cause a shudder even to the author himself, now exulting in the incomprehensible and now skeptical (the three together are equal to one; the absolute simple must be understood as triple; the Son takes an active part in his generation; *sunt semper invicem, neuter solus;* the economical functions, also, are never to be thought of as separate—therefore: *dictum est "tres personae", non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur*). This confession and the analogies which Augustine makes use of regarding the trinity (they are altogether modalistic) show that he himself never could have hit upon the trinity, if he had not been bound to tradition. His great work, in which naturally also the procession of the Spirit from the Father and Son is emphasized—for in every act all three are concerned—became the high school for the technicological cultivation of the intellect and the mine of scholastic divinity in the Middle Ages. Through Augustine, first the Spanish church, then others also,

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* In regard to Augustine's relation to the establishment of the Oriental doctrine of the trinity, see Reuter, Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch. V. 375 *seq.* and VI. 155 *seq.*

permitted themselves to be induced to proclaim the *filioque*.

Paradoxical Formulas.

The paradoxical formulas of the Augustinian doctrine of the trinity, which deny every connection with the history of revelation and with reason, but possess their truth in the endeavor to sustain complete monotheism, became wide-spread in the Occident and were comprised in the so-called *Symbolum Athanasianum*, which arose gradually during the early part of the Middle Ages, and was on its reception (8th to 9th century) proclaimed as holy Church doctrine.* "He who will be saved must believe them", *i.e.* must submit to them. In the Athanasian creed as a symbol stands foremost the transformation of the trinity doctrine, as an inwardly-to-be-adopted thought of faith, into an ecclesiastical law, upon the observance of which salvation depends. With Athanasius the ὁμοούσιος was the decisive thought of faith; with the Cappadocians the intellectually over-subtle theological dogma; with the later Greeks the hallowed relic; with the later Occidentals the ecclesiastical law which demands obedience.

Symbolum Athanasianum.

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* On the "Athanasianum" see Köllner, Symbolik I. 53 *seq.* and the works of Foulkes (1871), Swainson (1875), Ommaney (1875), Lumby (1887).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PERFECT EQUALITY AS TO NATURE OF THE INCARNATE SON OF GOD AND HUMANITY.

Sources: The fragments of Apollinaris, the writings of Athanasius, of the Cappadocians and of the Antiochians.

Humanity of Christ.

THE question of the Divinity of Christ was only preparatory to the question of the *union* of the Divine and human in Christ. Into this problem the whole of dogmatics flowed. Irenæus, and afterward Athanasius, had established the Divinity of the Redeemer with respect to redemption, *i.e.* upon that assumption.

But the question of the *union* presupposed not only a precise conception of the Divinity, but also of the *humanity* of the Redeemer. True, in the gnostic contest the reality of the σάρξ of Christ had been secured (Tertull., *de carne Christi*); yet a fine docetism had in spite of it continued to exist, and that not only with the Alexandrians but also with *all* teachers. Scarcely one of them thought of a perfect human self-consciousness, and not a single one attributed to the human nature of Christ all the limitations which surround our nature. Origen certainly—and not as the first—attributed to Christ a human *soul* and a free will; but he needed a connection between the God-Logos and matter, and he has shown definitely in his Christology—in so far as he did not separate the Jesus and the Christ—that the most evident docetism remains active when one conceives the σάρξ, because wholly material, as without quality and capable of every attribute.

Theories About Incarnation.

With the Origenistic theologians, and among the Christian people generally, existed at the beginning of the 4th century the most varied conceptions regarding the incarnation and humanity of Christ. Only a few thought of a human soul and many thought of the flesh of Christ as heavenly, or as a transformation of the Logos, or as a vesture. Crass docetic conceptions were softened by Neo-Platonic speculative ideas (the finiteness a moment within the unfolding Deity itself). No one in the Orient really thought of *two* natures; *one* eternal God-incarnate nature, *one* nature having become God-incarnate, a Divine nature having been changed for a time into human nature, a Divine nature dwelling in the human, *i.e.* clothed in the covering of humanity—these were the prevailing conceptions, and the answers were just as confused to single questions (Was the flesh born of Mary, or the Logos with the flesh? Was the Christ made man, or did he assume human nature? How much can be wanting to this nature and it still be considered human?) and to the Biblical considerations (Who suffered? Who hungered? Who died? Who acknowledged his ignorance? The God or the man, or the God-man? Or in reality are not all these πάθη only apparent, *i.e.* economic?). A more or less fine docetism was also

Various Questions.

in concreto taught in the Occident. But by the side of it, after Tertullian and Novatians, stood upon the basis of the symbol the juristic formula: *Two* substances, *one* person. This formula, as though it were a protection and boundary thought, was never further investigated; but it was destined to become some day the saving *phrase* in the conflicts of the Orient.

Unity of Personality Fundamental.

The *unity* of the supernatural personality of Christ was here the common starting-point. How to provide a place for humanity in it was the problem, which in its sharpness and gravity Apollinaris of Laodicea first discerned. The Arians had given the impulse, since they conceived the humanity of Christ merely as σάρξ in order to express the full unity of the personality of the Redeemer and at the same time to be able to attribute to their half-divine Logos the limited knowledge and capability of suffering found in the Christ. They threw it up to the orthodox, that their doctrine leads to two Sons of God, or to two natures (which were still considered identical). Apollinaris now recognized that this reproach was justified; he made the problem of his theology: (1) To express just as strict a unity in the person of Christ as Arianism did in its Logos clothed merely with the σάρξ, (2) To unite with it the *full* humanity of Christ. Here is the problem which occupied the Church of the 3d century, and indeed Apollinaris surveyed it in its whole range as the chief problem of Christian theology, as the nucleus of all expressions of

Apollinaris.

Criticises Orthodox.

Also Arians.

faith, and he treated it accordingly with the greatest ingenuity and with a dialectics that anticipated all terminologies of the future. With the orthodox (Athanasius) he found fault, because they, in order to escape the objections of the Arians, and in spite of their better intentions, constantly discriminated in Christ between what the man and what the God did; thereby is the duality established and redemption is made dependent thereon; for Christ must so have been made man, that everything which is valid of humanity is also valid of the Deity and *vice versa* (true, Athanasius never used the expression δύο φύσεις like Origen; but he was obliged against his will to divide the unity of the λόγος σαρκωθείς in its application). He censured the Arians because they also take away the comfort of redemption in so far as Christ did not assume entire humanity, but only the flesh. He himself, holding fast to the idea of unity as to a rudder, but not rejoicing like an Aristotelian in the mystery of the faith, as did Athanasius, established the doctrine that the God-Logos had taken unto himself human flesh and a human soul (which constitute human nature as nature), but not a human Logos, *i.e.*—as we should now express it—not that which in man constitutes the (individual) person, therefore not free will. With the thus-constituted human nature, however, the Logos was able to fuse into a *complete* unity, because there never existed two subjects; for the rocks which Apollinaris had recognized as dangerous were:

(1) The idea of two Sons, *i.e.* the separating of the man and the God, the Jesus and the Christ ("two natures are two Sons"),

(2) The conception that Jesus was an ἄνθρωπος ἔνθεος,

(3) The idea that he had a free, changeable nature.

Proves his Doctrine Soteriologically, Biblically, Speculatively.

The subject must be removed from the human nature of Christ, otherwise one would arrive at a double-being (hybrid, minotaur); whereas his conception renders the μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη clear. This Apollinaris proved soteriologically (what the man did God must have done and suffered, otherwise the same has no power to save: ἀνθρώπου θάνατος οὐ καταργεῖ τὸν θάνατον; the Deity became through Christ the νοῦς and λόγος of the entire humanity; the human nature became through Christ the σάρξ of the Deity), Biblically—he was a very able exegete—and speculatively (the human nature is always the thing moved, the Divine is the mover; this relationship comes in the λόγος σαρκωθείς to its perfect development and manifestation; Christ is the heavenly Adam, who consequently possesses incarnation potentially; in a hidden way he always was νοῦς ἔνσαρκος; his flesh is ὁμοούσιος to his Divinity, because he was fitted for incarnation; therefore is the incarnation in no way accidental and differs from all mere inspiration; the Logos is always Mediator—μεσότης—between Deity and humanity; however, one does not know how far Apollinaris went here).

Mystery of Two=One.

If the mystery two = one (see the parallel to the mystery, three = one) is at all to be described, then the doctrine of Apollinaris, measured by the presuppositions and aims of the Greek conception of Christianity as religion, is *perfect*. For this reason, too, he found faithful disciples, and all monophysites, yes, even the *pious* Greek orthodox are at the bottom Apollinarists: The acceptance of an individual human personality in Christ does away with his power as Redeemer, just as the idea of two unmixed natures robs the incarnation of its effect. For that reason Apollinaris struck out the human νοῦς like all Greek believers before and after him—he, however, openly and energetically.

Synod of Alexandria, 362. Apollinaris Secedes.

But the demand for a *complete* human nature once proclaimed could no longer be passed over in silence: One could still say according to Apollinaris, that the human νοῦς would not be saved; the doctrine of God also appeared to totter, if God was made to have suffered. Therefore the *full* humanity was already acknowledged at the Synod of Alexandria, 362, and the Cappadocians rose against their revered teacher, who was obliged (375) to withdraw from the Church, but formed a church of his own; the West also condemned him. The full homousios of Christ with humanity was exalted to a doctrine. Certainly the gospel reports had a part therein; but that which the Cappadocians were able to set up in opposition to Apollinaris were only wretched formulas, full of contradictions: There are two natures, and yet only one; there are not two Sons, but the Divinity

The Cappadocian Formulas.

acts in Christ in one way, the humanity in another; Christ had human freedom, but acted under Divine necessity. In reality the Cappadocians thought like Apollinaris, but they had to make a place for the "perfect man", while the *Greek piety* did not demand this consideration. The sovereignty of faith had dictated the doctrine to Apollinaris; he added to the Athanasian ὁμοούσιος the corresponding Christology; like Athanasius he hesitated at no sacrifice for the sake of his faith. His opponents, however, in upholding the *full* humanity (human subject) did after all a great service to the Church of the future. They were now obliged to try and reconcile the contradictions (not two Sons, and yet two independent natures). In what form that was to issue no one knew as yet.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTINUATION: THE DOCTRINE OF THE PERSONAL UNION OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN NATURE IN THE INCARNATE SON OF GOD.

Sources: The writings of Cyril and of the Antiochians, the acts of the councils, Hefele, Conciliengesch., Bd. I. and II.

Nestorian Contro-versy.

1. *The Nestorian Controversy.*—How can the complete God and the complete man be united in one being? The most zealous opponents of Apollinaris were his compatriots, and in part also his philosophical sympathizers, the Antiochians. They deduced from the formula, "complete God and complete man",

Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

the consequence of two different natures. Diodorus of Tarsus and above all Theodore of Mopsuestia, distinguished for their sober theology, excellent exegesis and severe asceticism, were thorough Nicenes, but they at the same time rightly recognized that complete humanity without freedom and changeableness is a chimera; consequently Deity and humanity are contrasted and cannot by any means be fused into one (incapable of suffering, capable of suffering). In accord therewith they constructed their Christology, which was therefore not fashioned according to soteriological conceptions, but rather by the evangelical picture of Christ. Christ consists of two separate natures (no ἕνωσις φυσική); the God-Logos assumed the nature of an individual man, that is, he dwelt therein; this indwelling was not substantial, and also not merely inspirational, but κατὰ χάριν, *i.e.* God united and joined (συνάφεια) himself to the man Jesus in an especial manner, yet analogous to his union with pious souls. The Logos dwelt in Christ as in a temple; his human nature remained substantially what it was; but it developed itself gradually to a perfect condition and constancy. The union was therefore only a relative one (ἕνωσις σχετική) and it was in the beginning only relatively perfect; it is in itself a moral union; but by the verification and exaltation *one* adorable subject was finally and forever exhibited (χωρίζω τὰς φύσεις, ἑνῶ τὴν προσκύνησιν). Theodore uses the later formula: "*Two* natures, *one* person"; but with him the unity of the person is merely

Two Separate Natures.

Two Natures, One Person.

one of names, of honor and adoration; in no sense a substantial unity. He has quite distinctly *two persons*, because *two natures* (person = nature) and, besides, for believers an adorable πρόσωπον. Of an incarnation, therefore, one may not definitely speak, but only of an assumption of the man on the part of the Logos. The functions of Jesus Christ are to be strictly distributed between the Deity and humanity. To call Mary θεοτόκος is absurd.

Anthropos Entheos.

This doctrine is distinguished from that of the Samosatians only by the *assertion* of the personality of the God-Logos in Christ. In truth is Jesus—*invito Theodoro*—nevertheless an ἄνθρωπος ἔνθεος. That the Antiochians contented themselves with this was a consequence of their rationalism. However deserving of acknowledgment their spiritual conception of the problem is, still they were farther removed from the conception of redemption as a new birth and as forgiveness of sin, than the representatives of the realistic idea of redemption. They knew of a Perfecter of humanity who conducts it through knowledge and asceticism unto a new κατάστασις, but they knew nothing of a Restorer. But since they did not docetically explain away, or by accommodation set forth the human qualities of Christ, they held before the Church the picture of the historical Christ, at a time when the Church was obliged to depart in its formulas of doctrine farther and farther from the same. True, a picture could have no great effect in which they emphasized the points of empty freedom and capacity of suffering equally with wisdom and asceticism.

Cyril of Alexandria.

Their opponents, the Alexandrians, relied upon the tradition which embarrassed the Antiochians, that Christ possessed the Divine physis and that he really became man; their deductions lacked till 431, and even later, apprehensible clearness; but that could not be otherwise; and their faith was all the surer. Cyril of Alexandria, in many respects deserving of little esteem, strove for the fundamental idea of piety, like Athanasius, and had tradition on his side. This piety demanded only a strong and sure declaration of the mystery, nothing more (*σιωπῇ προσκυνείσθω τὸ ἄρρητον*). Upon the *theoretical* statement of the faith Cyril never wasted many words; but he was immediately in danger of transgressing the limits of his idea of faith, whenever he sought to explain the mystery, and his terminology was indefinite. His faith did not proceed from the historical Christ, but from the *God* who was made man. This God was incorporated in the *complete human nature, and yet he remained the same.* He did not transform himself, but he took humanity into the unity of his being, without losing any of the latter. He was the same afterwards as before, the *one* subject. What the body suffered, *he* suffered. Therefore Cyril used with special preference the following phrases: *εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός*, namely, the God-Logos, *ἰδίαν ποιεῖν τήν σάρκα οἰκονομικῶς*, *μεμένηκεν ὅπερ ἦν*, *ἐκ δύο φύσεων εἷς*, *συνέλευσις δύο φύσεων καθ' ἕνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον ἀσυγχύτως*

Theory of Incarnation.

καὶ ἀτρέπτως. Hence: ἕνωσις φυσική (καθ' ὑπόστασιν and μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη). The difference between φύσις and ὑπόστασις Cyril hardly touched upon. Yet he never said ἐκ δύο ὑποστάσεων, or ἕνωσις κατὰ φύσιν. With him φύσις and υπόστασις coincide as regards the Divine nature; as regards the human nature they do not. *He rejected the idea that Christ became an individual man*, although he acknowledged all the constituents of humanity in Christ. Christ is the Logos which has assumed *human nature;* only thus can he be the Redeemer. Before the incarnation there were, according to Cyril, *two* natures, thereafter only *one*, to wit: The God-incarnate, which is distinguished as θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ. The Deity's capacity for suffering is, to be sure, not the consequence of the unity; but the Logos suffers in *his own* flesh. Nevertheless he is θεὸς σταυρωθείς and Mary is θεοτόκος. For that reason, also, can the σάρξ *Christi* in the eucharist give Divine life; for the same is filled with the Deity.

Logos Assumes Human Nature.

Cyril Really Monophysitic.

This conception is at the bottom pure monophysitism; but it does not wish to be so, and, in *asserting* the humanity of Christ as not to be explained away, it guards against the consequent monophysitic formula. Cyril was really orthodox, that is, he taught what lay as a consequent in the orthodox doctrine respecting Christ. But the contradiction is apparent—both natures were to be present, unabridged and unmixed, inclusive of a human Logos, and yet there should be but *one* God-incarnate nature, and the human part is subjectless. It is also apparent that the picture of the real Christ cannot be maintained by this view: Docetic explanations must necessarily be admitted (*i.e.* accommodation). But this doctrine is after all more valuable than that of the Chalcedon creed, because by it faith can make it clear to itself that Christ assumed the *complete* human nature, substantially united it with himself and elevated it to the Divine. The controversy broke out in Constantinople through the vain, blustering, but not ignoble bishop Nestorius (428), who, hated by the Alexandrians as an Antiochian and envied for his chair, stirred up hatred imprudently by his sermons and by his attacks upon those favoring Cyril, and specially by branding the word ϑεοτόκος and the like as heathenish fables. He sought now to eradicate the "rottenness of Arius and Apollinaris"; as a Christologian, however, he by no means stood at the extreme left of orthodoxy, like Theodore. He stirred up an agitation in the capital; the monks and the imperial ladies were against him, and Cyril now took a hand in it. The formulas which each used did not sound very differently—Nestorius himself was rather inclined to agree, with reservations, to the ϑεοτόκος; but behind the formulas there lay a deep dogmatic and ecclesiastico-political contrast. Cyril fought for the one God-incarnate nature, and for primacy in the Orient. He was able to gain over for himself the Roman bishop, to whom at that time the bishop of Constantinople seemed a more power-

Nestorius.

Cœlestius.

ful rival than the one of Alexandria. Cœlestius, also personally irritated at Nestorius, repudiated his own Christological view which approached very nearly to that of Nestorius, joined the anathematization of Cyril and demanded of Nestorius a recantation. Cyril, hurling counter-anathemas against Nestorius, compelled the calling of a general council by the emperor who favored him. But he was able to direct the general council at Ephesus (431) in such a manner, that from the beginning it began to split. The decrees of the Egyptian-Roman party were recognized afterwards as the decrees of the council, while the emperor did not originally recognize either these, or the decrees of the Antiochian party. Cyril allowed no new symbol to be established, but caused the deposition of Nestorius and the declaration of his own doctrine as orthodox. Contrarywise the Council which was held by the Antiochian sympathizers deposed Cyril. The emperor at first confirmed both depositions and as regards Nestorius the matter rested there. He died in exile. But Cyril, influential at court, succeeded in maintaining himself, and in order not to lose his influence, he even formed in the year 433 a union with the Antiochians, whose ambiguous creed stood, according to the text, nearer to the Antiochian theology. Yet for that very reason Cyril remained master of the situation, and he knew how to strengthen more and more the Alexandrian doctrine and the ecclesiastical domination.

Council of Ephesus.

Nestorius Dies in Exile.

Eutychian Contro- versy.

2. *The Eutychian Controversy* (vid. Mansi, Acts of the Councils, VI., VII.).—Cyril died in the year 444, and there were people in his own party who had never forgiven the union of 433 which he made through the desire to rule. Dioscuros became his successor; he was not equal to him and yet he was not unlike him. Dioscuros endeavored to carry out the scheme of his predecessor in the chair of Alexandria, to make of Egypt a domain, to rule the Church of the Orient as pope and to actually subject to himself emperor and state. Already Theophilus and Cyril had relied upon the monks and the masses in this matter, and also upon the Roman bishop, who had an equal interest in suppressing the bishop of Constantinople. They had, furthermore, relaxed the union with Greek science (contest against Origenism), in order not to displease the great power of the age, *pious barbarism.* Dioscuros seemed to really gain his object under the weak emperor Theodosius II. (council of Ephesus, 449); but close upon the greatest victory followed the catastrophe. This was brought about by the powerful empress Pulcheria, and her consort Marcian, who recalled to mind once more the Byzantine state-idea of ruling the Church, and through Leo I., who at the decisive moment relinquished the traditional policy of the Roman chair to assist Alexandria against Constantinople, made common cause with the emperor and bishop of the capital and overthrew Dioscuros. But at the moment of his fall, the opposition between the hith-

Dioscuros.

Empress Pulcheria.

Leo I.

erto united powers (emperor and pope) was destined to come out. Both wanted to take advantage of the victory. The emperor was not willing to surrender the Church of the Orient to the pope (who had been called upon for assistance), although he set up the dogmatic formula of the pope as the only means of saving the Oriental Church; and the pope could not endure that the patriarch of the capital should supplant the other patriarchs of the Orient, that this church as a creature of the emperor should be at the latter's beck and call, and that the chair should be placed on a level with that of St. Peter's. In consequence of the Chalcedon council the state indeed momentarily triumphed over the Church, but in giving to the same its own dogmatic formula, which had more than half the faithful against it, it split the empire, laid the foundation for the secession of large provinces, south and north, strengthened its most powerful adversary, the bishop of Rome, at a moment when by the fall of the West Roman empire the latter was placed at the head of the Occident, and thus prepared a condition of affairs, which limited the Byzantine dominion to the eastern Mediterranean coast provinces.

Council of Chalcedon.

These are the general circumstances under which the Eutychian controversy occurred, and thereby is declared what an important part politics had in it.

Eutyches.

Through the union of 433 the Christological question had already become stagnant. According to the interpretation of the formula, everybody could be taken for a heretic. The Alexandrian doctrine, which really tallied with the faith of the Orientals, made in fact more and more progress in spite of the energetic counter-efforts of the honest and best-hated Theodore; and Dioscuros carried himself like a chief bishop over Palestine and Syria. The emperor surrendered the Church to him outright. Dioscuros persecuted the Antiochian sympathizers, endeavored to exterminate the phrase "two natures", and even allowed creeds to pass which sounded suspiciously Apollinaristic. But when the old Archimandrite Eutyches in Constantinople expressed his Cyrillian Christology in terms like the following: "My God is not of like essence with us, he has no σῶμα ἀνθρώπου, but a σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον", personal opponents (Domnus of Antioch, then Eusebius of Dorylæum) took this occasion to denounce him to the patriarch Flavian, who, himself no decided Christologian, profited by the opportunity to get rid of an ecclesiastic favored by the court. At a synod in Constantinople (448) Eutyches was condemned as a Valentinian and Apollinarist, although he after some hesitation acknowledged the formula: "Out of two natures, one Christ". From both sides, the court, the capital and the Roman bishop were now set in motion. Dioscuros saw that the moment for settling the question of power had come, but not less did Leo I. While the former obtained from the emperor the calling of a council and was being equipped for it

Condemned at Constantinople, 448.

with unheard-of sovereignty as the true pope, the latter now saw—in spite of the decision of his predecessor, Cœlestius, in favor of Cyril—in Eutyches the worst heretic, in Flavian his dear, persecuted friend, and sought to frustrate the council by numerous letters to influential persons and he wrote to Flavian the celebrated epistle, in which, as respects Christology, he veered toward the Tertullian-Augustinian conception. In this letter the doctrine of two natures is strictly carried out ("*agit utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est, verbo scil. operante quod verbi est et carne exsequenti quod carnis est*"), and the old Occidental, juristic expedient expounded, that one must believe in *one* Person, which has two separate natures (substances) at its disposal,—an expedient which is truly neither monophysitic nor Nestorian, since it sharply distinguishes between the Person and the two natures, and therefore really introduces three magnitudes; but it certainly stands nearer to Nestorianism and does not do justice to the decisive interest of faith, but excludes every *concrete* form of thought and consequently satisfies neither piety nor intellect. Besides this Leo knows only the heresies of docetism and Samosatianism. Leo certainly acknowledges in his letters the interest of *our* redemption; but he gave an interpretation which Cyril would have strongly repudiated.

Leo's Celebrated Letter.

Council of Ephesus, 449.

In August (449) the great council of Ephesus assembled under Dioscuros' direction. Rome was at first treated as non-existent, then humbled in the persons of its legates, who, moreover, acted with uncertainty. Dioscuros put through the resolution that the matter must stop with the synods of Nicæa and Ephesus (431), which expressed the old creed: "After the incarnation there exists *one* incarnate nature"; no symbol was established; Eutyches was reinstated and, on the basis of the Nicene creed, the chiefs of the Antiochians; but at the same time Flavian, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodoret, and Domnus of Antioch were deposed; in short, the Church was thoroughly purified from "Nestorianism". All this was done with almost unanimity. Two years later this unanimity was declared as enforced by many bishops who had taken part (*latrocinium Ephesinum*, says Leo). Dioscuros certainly, with the aid of his fanatical monks, terrorized the synod, but a far stronger pressure was afterwards necessary at Chalcedon. Dioscuros in reality raised the faith of the Orient to a fixed standard, and the incomparable victory which he enjoyed had, unless foreign powers (the state, Rome) should interfere, the guarantee of permanence. But Dioscuros roused against himself the pope and the Byzantine state-idea, and did not calculate upon the wide-spread aversion to the right wing of his army, the masked Apollinarists. He rehabilitated Eutyches, without expressly condemning the doubtful terms which he and his followers habitually used.

Eutyches Reinstated.

Latrocinium Ephesinum.

Marcian and Leo.

On the 28th of July (450) Pulcheria and Marcian succeeded Theodosius; until then Leo had vainly endeavored to raise opposition to the council. Now Marcian, who was determined to break the independence of the Alexandrian bishops, stood in need of him. Leo desired the condemnation of Dioscuros and the acceptance of his own didactic epistle *without a council;* but the emperor was obliged to insist upon one, in order to bring about a wholly new order of things. Such a one could succeed only if a new dogmatic formula were established, which placed the Egyptians in the wrong and still did not yield the point to the Antiochians. Politics counselled the formula of the Occident (Leo's) as the only way out.

Council of Chalcedon.

The council really took place at Chalcedon in 451; to the pontificial legates were conceded the places of honor; Leo had instructed them to derogate nothing from the dignity of Rome. The greater part of the 500 to 600 bishops were like-minded with Cyril and Dioscuros, highly opposed to all Nestorianism, hostile to Theodoret; but the emperor dominated the council. It was settled that Dioscuros must be deposed and a dogmatic formula in the sense of Leo's accepted, since the decree of 449 was annulled as having been "extorted". But it was just as sure that the memory and doctrine of Cyril must not be sacrificed.

Dioscuros Deposed.

Dioscuros therefore was deposed after a most shameful process, not as an heretic, but on account of his disobedience and irregularities. The majority of the bishops disavowed their past before the face of the imperial commissioners and abandoned Dioscuros and the decree of 449; but only by false representations and threats did the bishops allow themselves to be induced to acknowledge the canon of Leo, which every Oriental could not but understand as Nestorian, and to sanction the doctrine that also after the incarnation there were *two* natures existent in Christ. Even at the last hour it was attempted—although in vain—to exalt to a dogma a merely *notional* distinction between the natures. At the 5th sitting the decrees of 325, 381 and 431 were confirmed and their sufficiency acknowledged, but it was remarked, that on account of the heretics (who, on the one side, rejected the θεοτόκος and, on the other, desired to introduce a σύγχυσις and κρᾶσις of the natures, "irrationally inventing only *one* nature of the flesh and the Deity and considering the Divine nature as capable of suffering") it was necessary to admit the letters of Cyril to Nestorius and the Orientals, as well as the letter of Leo. The declaration reads: τοὺς δύο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως φύσεις τοῦ κυρίου μυθεύοντας, μίαν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀναπλάττοντας, ἀναθεματίζει (this was the sacrifice of the thoughts of the heart). Ἑπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτόν, then it reads: ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν . . . ἐν δύο φύσεσιν (ἐκ δύο φύσεων is a later correction, favorable to monophysitism) ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωρίζομεν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης

Letters of Cyril and Leo Admitted.

δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης, οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον, ἀλλὰ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ, θεὸν λόγον.

Full Humanity Secured.

By this distinction between nature and person the power of the mystery of faith was paralyzed, a conceivable mystery established, and yet the clearness of the Antiochian conception of the humanity of Jesus was after all not reached. The formula is negative and cold; the pious saw their comfort, the ἕνωσις φυσική, vanish. How shall *our nature* profit by what occurred in the *Person of Christ?* The hated "moralism", or the mysticism of the union of the Logos with every human soul, seemed to be the consequence. And, besides, one was expected to believe in a φύσις ἀνυπόστασις, of which hitherto in the Orient only a few had known anything! The gain in having now secured the *full* humanity of Jesus as an incontestible article of faith, invaluable for the future, was too dearly bought. Peace was also *not* restored. Emperor and pope were at variance over the 28th canon, even if they did not allow the matter to come to a rupture, and the Church of the Orient fell into dissolution.

Monophysite Controversies.

3. *The Monophysite Contests and the 5th Council.* (Mansi, T. VII–IX; Loofs, Leontius von Byzanz, 1887).—The century between the 4th and 5th councils shows the most complicated and confused relations; during the time the dogmatic situation also constantly changes, so that a short survey is

impossible. Therefore only a few principal points can be here stated.

Opponents of Chalcedon Creed.

(1) The opponents of the Chalcedon creed, the monophysites, were superior to the orthodox in spiritual power and activity. In Egypt, parts of Syria and Armenia, they kept the upper hand, and the emperors succeeded neither by threats nor by concessions in gaining them over for any length of time; these provinces rather alienated themselves more and more from the empire and joined the monophysitic confession with their nationality, preparatory to founding independent national churches hostile to the Greek. In the main persevering steadfastly in the doctrine of Cyril and rejecting the farther-reaching Apollinarian-Eutychian formulas, the monophysites showed by inward spiritual movements that in their midst alone the dogmatical legacy of the Church was still alive. The newly-awakened Aristotelianism, which as scholasticism took the place of Platonism, found among them learned defenders, who (John Philoponus), to be sure, approached in their speculation very near to tritheism. In regard to the Christological question there were two main tendencies (Gieseler, Comment. qua Monoph. opin. illustr., 2 Part., 1835 *seq.*). These (Severus, Severians, "Agnoetians", "Phartolatreans") were really opposed to the Chalcedon creed only as a formal innovation, but agreed even to a notional distinction between the two natures in Christ, and, still more, were zealously anxious to

keep the natures unmixed and to lay stress upon the creature-ship and corruptibility (in theory) of the body of Christ as well as upon the limits of knowledge of the soul of Christ, so that they offended even the orthodox. They might have been won, if the Chalcedon formula, *i.e.* the epistolary teaching of Leo, had been sacrificed. The others, on the contrary (Julian of Halicarnasses, "Aktistetes," "Aphthartodoketes"), rejecting it is true the transformation of the one nature into the other, drew all the consequences of the ἕνωσις φυσική: From the moment of the *assumptio* the body also should be considered as imperishable and, indeed, as uncreated; all the attributes of the Deity were transferred to the human nature; accordingly all affections and restrictions, which one observes in the evangelical picture of Christ, were assumed by him freely κατὰ χάριν, but were not the necessary consequences of his nature. This conception, influenced solely by the idea of redemption, alone corresponds to the old tradition (Irenæus, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, etc.). Finally there were also such monophysites—yet certainly they were not numerous—as advanced to a pantheistic speculation ("Adiaphorites"): The creature is in a mysterious manner altogether consubstantial with God; the ἕνωσις φυσική in Christ is only the expression for the general consubstantiality of his nature and the Deity (Stephen bar Sudaili; the mystics; influence upon the Occident; Scotus Erigena). Since the 5th Council and still more since

Henosis Phusike.

Adiaphorites.

the advent of Islam, the monophysitic churches have pined away in isolation, the wild national and religious fanaticism and the barren phantasy of the monks have delivered them over to barbarism.

Henotikon of Zeno.

(2) Since coercion had no effect, a few emperors sought, in order to maintain the unity of the empire, to suppress temporarily the Chalcedon creed (Encyclica of Basiliscus, 476), or to avoid it (Henotikon of Zeno, 482). But the consequence of this policy always was that they won over only a part of the monophysites and that they fell out with Rome and the Occident. Thus arose, on the account of the Henotikon, a thirty-five years' schism with Rome (484–519), which served only to make the pope still more independent. The emperors could not reach a decision to sacrifice either Rome or the Orient, and finally they lost both. In the year 519 the Chalcedon creed was fully restored, in alliance with Rome, by the emperor Justin, who was influenced by his nephew Justinian. But the *theopaschite* contest (enlargement of the trishagion by the addition: ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δὶ ἡμᾶς, *i.e.*, the validity of the formula: "One of the trinity was crucified": They are not identical, for the one was a cultish innovation and could be understood in a Sabellian way, while the other is good orthodoxy) shows, since 518, that in the Occident every Cyrillian explanation of the Chalcedon creed was regarded with suspicion, while the orthodox in the Orient would tolerate the Chalcedon creed only with a Cyrillian interpretation,

Theopaschite Controversy.

hoping thereby still always for a reconciliation with the monophysites.

Leontius of Byzantium.

(3) While in the 5th century the Chalcedon orthodoxy had upon the whole no noted dogmatic representative in the Orient—the strongest proof that it was foreign to the spirit of the Orient—several appeared after the beginning of the 6th century. The formula had not only in time become more venerable, but the study of Aristotle above all furnished weapons for its defence. The scholasticism not only permitted the retention of the Chalcedon distinction between nature and person, but even also welcomed it and gave to the formula still *a strong Cyrillian interpretation.* This was brought about by the Scythian monk, Leontius of Byzantium, the most eminent dogmatist of the 6th century, the forerunner of John of Damascus, and the teacher of Justinian. He pacified the Church by a philosophically conceivable exposition of the Chalcedon creed and buried the dogma in scholastical technicalities. He is the father of the Christological new-orthodoxy, just as the Cappadocians were the fathers of the trinitarian new-orthodoxy. Through his doctrine of the *enhypostasis* of the human nature, he paid, in the form of a fine Apollinarianism, full regard to the idea of redemption.

Justinian's Policy.

(4) Henceforth the policy of Justinian, the royal dogmatist, must be understood as a religious policy. By unexampled luck he had brought the whole empire under his sway, and he wished in like manner to

settle finally the law and the dogmatics of the empire. The following points of view guided him: (*a*) Strict adhesion to the *verbal text* of the Chalcedon creed as a capital decision equal in standing to those of Nicæa, Constantinople and Ephesus, (*b*) Strict Cyrillian interpretation of the symbol (the emperor was inclined to go as far as aphthartodoketism), in order to gain over the monophysites and to follow his own inclination. The means to it were: (*a*) Numerous imperial religious edicts in the sense of the Christology of Leontius, (*b*) Public religious discourses, (*c*) The carrying out of the theopaschitic formula, (*d*) Suppression of every more liberal and more independent theology; therefore, on the one side, that of Origen, who had many sympathizers among the monophysitic monks, especially in Palestine, and, on the other side, of the Antiochian theology, which also still possessed numerous adherents (as the emperor had closed the school at Athens, so he intended likewise to close all Christian scientific schools; only the scholastic should remain), (*e*) Enforced naturalization of the new-orthodoxy in the Occident. The execution of these plans was rendered difficult: (1) By the secret monophysitic co-regency of the empress Theodora, (2) By the refusal of the Occident to consent to the rejection of the Antiochians, *i. e.* of the "three articles" (person and writings of Theodore, anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret, letter of Ibas to Maris). In the later condemnation of the Antiochians, the Occident (Facundus

Means Used.

Difficulties Encountered.

of Hermiane) rightly recognized an attempt to do away with the doctrine of the two natures, as Leo had meant it, and to substitute in its place a fine monophysitism. However, the emperor found in Rome a characterless pope (Vigilius), who, in gratifying the emperor, covered himself with disgrace and jeopardized his position in the Occident (great schisms in the Occident). The emperor obtained the condemnation of Origen and of the "three chapters"; he restored the dogmatic ideas of the two Ephesian councils of 431 and 449 without touching the Chalcedon creed, and he caused all this to be sanctioned by obedient bishops at the 5th council in Constantinople, 553. But in spite of the fact that one could now speak with Cyril of *one* God-incarnate nature (by the side of the doctrine of the two natures) and that the spirit of Oriental dogmatism had thus gained the victory, the monophysites would not be won; for the Chalcedon creed was too much detested and the antagonisms had long since become national.

Origen and "Three Chapters" Condemned, 553.

Monergistic and Monotheletic Controversies.

4. *The Monergistic and Monotheletic Controversies, the 6th Council and John of Damascus* (Mansi, T. X. and XI.).—With the decisions of the 4th and 5th councils, the doctrine of *one* will in Christ would agree, as well as the doctrine of *two* wills. In fact before the 6th century, no one had spoken of two wills in Christ; for the Antiochians also had said, as once Paul of Samosata, that the human will was entirely blended with the Divine will (unity of will, not singleness of will). But

the theology of Leontius tended on the whole toward the doctrine of two wills. Yet it would hardly have come to a controversy—the dogma had already, since 553, been surrendered to theological science (scholasticism) and the cultus (mysticism)—if politics had not taken possession of the question.

Emperor Heraclius, Sergius.

The patriarch of the capital, Sergius, counselled the powerful emperor Heraclius (610–641) to strengthen his reconquered territory in the south and east by making advances to the monophysites with the formula: The God-man, consisting of two natures, effected everything with *one* God-incarnate energy. Upon this basis a union was really formed in 633 with many monophysites. But opposition arose (Sophronius, afterward bishop of Jerusalem), and Sergius in union with Honorius of Rome now sought to do justice to all by giving out the watchword: One should be silent in regard to the energies (that Christ had only *one* θέλημα was still considered self-evident). Thus also ran an imperial edict, the *ekthesis* (638). But not only in the Occident were the consequences of the doctrinal letter of Leo remembered, but in the Orient the ablest theologians (Maximus the Confessor) were also so attached to the Chalcedon creed through Aristotelian scholasticism, that they classed the *will* with the *nature* (not with the Person) and therefore demanded the duality. Now even *monotheletism* was condemned at a Roman synod, 641 (Pope John IV.). The Orientals, who rejected the ekthesis, fled to Carthage and

Honorius, Sophronius.

Monotheletism Condemned at Rome.

Rome and prepared, in union with the pope, a formal revolution. This, indeed, was thwarted (the question was as to the freedom of the Church in relation to the state; the effort continued in the image controversy). Yet the emperor found himself obliged to surrender the ekthesis, replacing it by the *typos* which forbade, under severe penalties, the controversy over *one* or *two* wills. But Rome did not consent to this either. At the Lateran synod, 649 (Martin I.), which many Orientals attended, the conspiracy continued against the emperor, who dared to give orders to the Church. The two-will doctrine was formulated in strict language, but, strangely enough, the right of the correctly understood sentence: *μία φύσις τοῦ ϑεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη* was conceded. A large number of Constantinopolitan patriarchs of the latter days were condemned. Martin showed signs, like a second Dioscuros, of ruling and stirring up the churches of the Orient, but the emperor Constans, the sovereign of the pope, succeeded in subduing him (653). Dishonored and disgraced, he died in the Chersonesus. Maximus the Confessor also had to suffer. Constans soon found in Rome more accommodating popes, and remained until his death (668) master of the situation, making the *typos* of importance and putting forward the reasonable expedient, that the two natural wills had become, in accordance with the hypostatic union, *one* hypostatic will.

Two-Will Doctrine at Rome, 649.

The reaction which followed in Constantinople is

Constantine Pogonatus, Agathon.

Council of Constantinople, 680.

not perfectly clear. Perhaps because one needed no longer to pay regard to the monophysites, perhaps because "science" was favorable to the doctrine of two wills, perhaps because men desired to fetter, through dogmatic concessions, the uncertain Occidental possessions and bind them more firmly to the capital, the emperor Constantine Pogonatus made advances and sought to entice the powerful pope Agathon to new negotiations. The latter sent a doctrinal epistle as Leo I. once had, which proclaimed the infallibility of the Roman chair and the dyotheletism. At the 6th council in Constantinople (680) it was carried through after diverse proposals of intermediation and under protest, which however finally ceased, *i.e.* the formal consequences of the decree of 451 were deduced (two natural θελήματα and two natural energies ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως in the *one* Christ; they were not to be considered as contradictory, for the human will follows and does not resist nor contradict, rather is it subject to the Divine and almighty will; the human will is not suspended, but, on the other hand, a communication takes place: It is the will of the God-Logos, just as the human nature, without suspension, nevertheless became the nature of the God-Logos). At the same time many of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs and pope Honorius were condemned. Thus Rome again dictated its formula, balanced the 5th council by the 6th and insinuated itself into the Orient. But the agreement was of short duration.

Already at the second Trullan council in 692 the Orient took a strong position against Rome in matters of cult—and these were already the more decisive things.

Image Controversy, John of Damascus.

The *formulas* of the Byzantine dogmatics are Occidental; but the spirit, which in 431 and 553 had expressed itself, retained in the *interpretation* of the formulas the upper hand, and the cultus and mystic-system have always been understood monophysitically. On the one side, this was shown in the image-controversy, on the other, in the Christological dogmatics of John of Damascus. In spite of the dyophysitical and dyotheletical formula and the sharp distinction between nature and person, a fine Apollinarianism, or monophysitism, has been here preserved, in so far as it is taught that the God-Logos assumed human nature (not of a man) in such a manner that the same was first individualized by the God-Logos. That is the intermediate thing already recognized by Leontius, which has no hypostasis of its own, yet is also not without one but possesses in the hypostasis of the Logos its independence. Furthermore, the distinction between the natures was adjusted by the doctrine of the περιχώρησις and the idiomae-communication. The μετάδοσις (οἰκείωσις, ἀντίδοσις) of the attributes of the two natures, the Damascan will so definitely conceive that he speaks of an εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν μέρων περιχώρησις. The flesh indirectly became truly God and the Deity pervades the deified flesh.

C.—THE TEMPORAL ENJOYMENT OF REDEMPTION.

CHAPTER X.

THE MYSTERIES AND MATTERS AKIN TO THEM.

Traditionalism, Ritualism.

ALREADY in the 6th century the dogmatic development of the Greek Church was concluded and even before that each advance was obliged to contend against aversion and suspicion. The reason for it lay in the traditionalism or, more correctly, in the *ritualism*, which more and more gained the upper hand.

Enjoyment of the Mysteries.

This ritualism also has a tender, religious, even Christian root. It originated in the endeavor to point out and realize the enjoyment of an already present salvation, which springs from the same source from which the future redemption flows—from the God-incarnate Person of Christ—and which, therefore, is the same in kind as the latter. Originally men thought, touching the present enjoyment of salvation, more of *spiritual* blessings, of knowledge, of the strengthening of freedom unto good works, etc. But since the future redemption was represented as a mysterious deification*, it was only consistent that they should consider the knowledge also as mysterious and to be communicated by holy consecrations, and that, in accordance with the idea of a future *physical* union with the Deity, they should

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* See page 199, note.

endeavor to verify for the present time also the way unto, and foretaste of, this divineness.

Mathesis becomes Mystagogia

This tendency, however, leads directly over to the paganizing of Christianity or, rather, is already a symptom of it. The μάθησις becomes μυσταγωγία; the latter, however, originally a shadowy union of the spiritual and sensuous, tends more and more to magic and jugglery. In this the *ritual* is the chief thing; nothing, however, is more sensitive than a ceremony; it does not bear the slightest change. In so far now as the formulas of faith lost more and more their significance as μάθησις and became in ever higher degree constituents of the ritual, expressing at the same time the meaning and purpose of it, *i.e.*, to make divine, they permitted no longer of any change. Wherever the dogma appear valuable only as a relic of olden times, or only in ritualistic ceremony, there the history of dogma is at an end. In its place comes the *mystagogic theology*, and indeed the latter, together and in close union with scholasticism, took already in the 6th century the place of the history of dogma. The mystagogic theology, however, has two sides. On the one side, in creating for itself upon the earth a new world and in making of things, persons and times mysterious symbols and vehicles, it leads to the religion of necromancy, *i.e.* back to the lowest grade of religion; for to the masses, and finally even to theologians, the spirit vanishes and the *phlegma*, the consecrated matter, remains. As the Neo-

Mystagogic Theology.

Platonic philosophy degenerated into religious barbarism, so also Greek Christianity, under the influence of the expiring antiquity which bequeathed to it its highest ideals and idols, became image-worship. On the other side, the mystagogic theology retains for the "knowing ones" its primitive pantheistic germ, the fundamental thought that God and nature, in the deepest sense, are one, and that nature is the unfolding of the Deity. The Christian mystagogic theologians also more or less clearly thought out and retained these ideas. Through speculation and asceticism one can emancipate oneself from all mediums, mediators and vehicles. Mysteriosophy takes the place of the mysteries; these, like everything concrete and historical, become for the knowing ones pure symbols, and the historical redemption through Christ especially is explained away.

Pantheism, Fetishism.

It is not strange that two such different forms as pantheism and fetishism, although balanced by ritualism, should be the final product of the development, since both were lodged already in the beginning of the movement and are blood-relations; then they have their root in the conception of the substantial unity of God and nature. The history of the development of the mysteries and of the theology of mysteries, strictly taken, does not belong here, therefore only a few hints will follow.

Mysteries, Symbolical Ceremonies, etc.

1. At the beginning of the 4th century the Church already possessed a great array of mysteries, the number and bounds of which, however, had by no

Six Mysteries of the Areopagite.

means been definitely determined. Among them baptism, together with the accompanying unction, and the eucharist were the most esteemed; from these also some of the other mysteries have been evolved. Symbolic ceremonies, originally intended to accompany these mysteries, became independent. Thus confirmation had its origin, which Cyprian already numbered as a special "*sacramentum*", Augustine pointed it out as *sacramentum chrismatis*, and the Areopagite called it μυστήριων τελητῆς μύρου. Later men spoke also of a mystery of the sign of the cross, of relics, of exorcism, of marriage, etc., and the Areopagite enumerates six mysteries: φωτίσματος, συνάξεως, εἶτ᾽ οὖν κοινωνίας, τελετῆς μύρου, ἱερατικῶν τελειώσεων, μοναχικῆς τελειώσεως and μυστήρια ἐπὶ των ἱερῶς κεκοιμημένων. The enumeration was very arbitrary; mystery was anything sensuous whereby something holy might be thought or enjoyed. They corresponded to the heavenly mysteries, which have their source in the trinity and incarnation. As each fact of revelation is a mystery, in so far as the Divine has through it entered into the sensuous, so in turn is each sensuous medium, even a word or action, a mystery, so soon as the sensuous is a symbol or vehicle—there has never been a strict distinction between them—of the Divine. The effects of the mysteries were celebrated in the highest terms as union with the Deity; but since they cannot restore lost communion with God (only Christ and freedom are able to do that), strict dogmatics was able to say very little about them. The true effect is purely one of feeling, *i.e.* is experienced in the fantasy: Men saw, heard, smelt, and felt the celestial, but a disturbed *conscience* they could not comfort with the mysteries, nor did one hardly try to do so.

Mysteriosophy: Antiochian and Alexandrian.

On this basis, since the coarse instinct of the masses pressed forward, mysteriosophy was developed. Its roots are as old as the gentile Church and two converging developments may be discerned, the Antiochian and the Alexandrian. The first (Ignatius, the Apostolic Constitutions, Chrysostom) attaches itself to the cult and priests, the second to the true gnostic, *i.e.* to the monk. The first sees in Divine worship and in the priest (bishop) the true bequest of the God-incarnate life of Christ and binds the layman, viewed as entirely passive, to the cultus hierarchical system, by which one becomes consecrated to immortality; the second desires to form independent *virtuosos* of religion. The Alexandrian mysteriosophy is heterodox, but it did not neglect a single phase of the positive religion, rather did it make use of them all by the side of the graduated advancing knowledge (sacrifice, blood, reconciliation, atonement, purification, perfection, means of salvation, mediator of salvation); true, viewing them all as *transition stages*, in order to gain through speculation and asceticism a standpoint from which each vehicle and sacrament, everything holy which appears under a sensuous cover, becomes profane, because the soul now lives in the most holy and because in each man a Christ should be born; *παρούσης τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐ τὰ τῆς εἰκόνος.*

Dionysius Areopagita.

The two mysteriosophies, the hierarchical and the gnostic, converge in the mysticism of the great unknown Dionysius Areopagita (preliminary stages are represented by Methodius, Gregory of Nyssa, Macarius), who, on the one side, viewed the cult and priesthood as an earthly parallel to the heavenly hierarchy (to the graded world of spirits as the unfolding of the Deity), on the other, adopted the individualism of the Neo-Platonic mysticism. Through Maximus Confessor this combination became the power which ruled the Church, tried to monarchize it, and inoculated it with the monkish resistance to the state—the only form in which the Greek Church was or is able to assert its independence.

Mystery of the Eucharist.

The peculiar character of mysteriosophy, as a speculation regarding the making of the Divine perceptible to the senses and the making of the sensuous Divine, could in no mystery be more strongly expressed than in the *eucharist* (Steitz, Abendmahlslehre d. griech Kirche, i. d. *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, Bd. IX–XIII.). This, long since recognized as the ground upon which the sublimest spiritualism can extend its hand to the most massive sensualism, became so developed, that by it the Christological formula, the fundamental dogma, appeared alive and comprehensible. Without giving to the speculation on the Lord's Supper a *strictly* instructional cast, the same was so treated in general, especially after

Transubstantiation.

Cyril of Alexandria, that it was considered as the mystery which rests directly upon the incarnation and perpetuates the mystery of the θέωσις. All other mysteries, in so far as they also contain the blending into one of the heavenly and earthly, exist in reality only by reason of the Lord's Supper. Here only is given an express *transmutation* of the sensuous into the divine body of Christ; for this conception gained more and more ground, abolished symbolism and finally carried its point altogether. The transubstantiation of the consecrated bread into the body of Christ is the continuation of the process of the incarnation. Thereby pure *monophysitic* formulas were used in relation to the Lord's Supper—highly characteristic—and gradually the conception even made its way, that the body into which the bread is transformed is *per assumptionem* the very body of Christ, borne by the virgin, of which formerly hardly any one had thought since the older theologians also understood under σάρξ Χριστοῦ something "pneumatic". But as the Lord's Supper as a sacrament was united in the closest manner with the dogma of the incarnation and the Christological formula (hence the sensitiveness of this formula), so was it likewise connected as a sacrifice with the death on the cross (repetition of the sacrifice on the cross; however, the conception has not been so definitely expressed in the Greek Church as in the Occident). Accordingly it re-enacted the most important historical events, not as a remembrance, but as a continu-

Repetition of the Sacrifice on the Cross.

ation, *i.e.* a repetition, whereby those facts were deprived of their meaning and significance. At the same time the immoral and irreligious thirst after "realities" changed the sacred act into a repast, in which one bit the Deity to pieces with the teeth (thus already Chrysostom; completion of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper by John of Damascus).

Image-Worship, Superstition, Polytheism.

2. The whole development of Greek Christianity into image-worship, superstition and poorly veiled polytheism may, however, also be conceived as the victory of a religion of the second order, which is always prevalent in the Church, over the spiritual religion. The former became legitimized and was fused with the *doctrina publica*, although theologians enjoined certain precautions. As the pagan temples were reconsecrated and made into Christian churches, so was the old paganism preserved as angel-, saint-, image- and amulet-worship. The religion whose strength had once been the abomination of idols, finally surrendered to idols and became in a certain measure morally obtuse. True, the connecting links are found in the *doctrina publica* itself; for,

Religion of Second Order.

(1) This was constructed out of the material of the Greek philosophy; but this philosophy was intertwined by a thousand threads with the mythology and superstition, (2) It sanctioned the Old Testament, though originally prescribing a spiritual interpretation of it; but the letter of the Old Testament, which in fact expressed a subordinate religious stage of development, became more and more powerful

and made advances to the inferior tendencies of the Church, which it then appeared to legitimize, (3) The acts of baptism and the Lord's Supper, conceived as mysteries, opened in general the doors and windows to the inroad of the mystery-nuisance, (4) The faith in angels and demons, handed down from antiquity and protected by the *doctrina publica*, grew more and more powerful, was fostered in a crude form by the monks, in a spiritual form by the Neo-Platonic theologians, and threatened more and more to become the true sphere of piety, behind which the inconceivable God and the (in consequence of the Church doctrine) just as inconceivable Christ was hidden in the darkness, (5) The old idea that there are "saints" (apostles, prophets, ecclesiastical teachers, martyrs) had already very early been cultivated in such a manner that these saints interceded and made atonement for men and took now more and more the place of the dethroned gods, joining themselves to the angel-hosts. Among them Mary stepped into the fore-ground and she—she alone—has been specially benefited by the trend of the development of the dogma. A woman, a mother now appeared near the Deity, and thereby at last was offered the possibility of bringing to recognition the thing after all most foreign to original Christianity—the Holy, the Divine in female form—Mary became the mother of God, the one who bore God*, (6) From the

Worship of Saints.

Of Virgin Mary.

Of Relics.

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* Concerning angel-worship, in so far as the angels serve as mediators of the benefits of salvation, see the Areopagite; concerning the spread of angel-worship (especially of the idea of guardian angels) as early as the

earliest times, death had been sacred to Christians as the birth-hour of true life; accordingly everything which had any connection with the death of Christian heroes obtained a real sanctity. The antique idol and amulet business made itself at home, but as relic- and bone-worship in the most disgusting form; in the contrast between the insignificant, frightful form and its religious worth Christians made plain to themselves the loftiness of their faith, and the more unæsthetic a relic appeared, the higher must be its worth to those who recognized in the disembodiment and obliteration of all sensuous charms, the guarantee of its holiness, (7) Finally the Church opened its doors to that boundless desire to live in a world of miracles, to enjoy the holy with the five

Belief in Miracles, Consulting of Oracles, etc.

4th century, see Didymus, *de trinit.* II., 7.— The worship of saints (churches consecrated to a certain saint) was already by about the year 300 highly developed; but in the 4th century counter efforts were not wanting (also not concerning angel-worship; see the synod of Laodicea). The Gallic priest Vigilantius especially fought against it, as also against the worship of relics. But the most eminent teachers (Jerome) declared against Vigilantius and worked out a "theology of saints", reserving to God the λατρεία, but conceding to the saints τιμὴ σχετική (προσκύνησις). The relic business, already in bloom in the 4th century, rose however only in the monophysitic age to its full height. Finally each church had to have its relics, and the 7th canon of the 7th council confirmed and solemnly sanctioned the ecclesiastical use of relics. But the principal part in this religion of the second order was played by Mary. She alone became a *dogmatical* magnitude, θεοτόκος, a watch-word like ὁμοούσιος: "The name of the bearer of God represents the whole mystery of the incarnation" (John of Damascus in his homilies on Mary). Gen. 3:3 was referred to her and an active participation of Mary in the work of redemption was taught (especially following Cyril of Alexandria; yet, see already Irenæus and Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome). Mary obtained a sacred history from conception to ascension, a duplicate of the history of Christ (legends and feasts of Mary); she was considered an indispensable mediator. Still with the Greeks she did not become "queen of heaven" and "mother of sorrows" as with the Latins (Benrath, Z. Gesch. der Marienverehrung i. d. Stud. u. Krit. 1886; Gass, Symbolik der griech. Kirche, S. 183).

senses, to receive miraculous hints from the Deity. Even the most cultured Church fathers of later times did not know how any longer to discern between the real and unreal; they lived in a world of magic and loosed completely the tie between religion and morality (aside from asceticism), joining the latter thereby the more closely with the sensuous. The ceremonies out of the gray past of religion, little modified, came to the surface again: Consulting of oracles of all kinds, judgments of God, prodigies, etc. The synods, originally hostile to these practices, finally consented to them.

Image-Worship in Greek Church.

The newly gained peculiarity of the Greek Church found its plainest expression in *image-worship* and the *image-controversy.* After image-worship had slowly crept into the Church, it received a mighty invigoration and confirmation, unheard of in antiquity, by the dogma of the incarnation and the corresponding treatment of the eucharist (since the 5th century). Christ is εἰκών of God, and yet a living being, yes, πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν; Christ has rendered, through the incarnation, the Divine apprehensible to the senses; the consecrated elements are εἰκόνες of Christ, and yet, at the same time, the body of Christ itself. These ideas called up a new world for contemplation. Everything sensuous, which pertained to the Church, became not only a symbol, but also a vehicle of holy things; thus felt the monks and laymen and thus taught the theologians. But among sensuous things the *image* shows plainest the union of the holy with the material. Images of Christ, of Mary and of saints were already in the 5th (4th) century worshipped after the antique fashion; men were näive enough to fancy themselves now secure from paganism, and they transferred their dogmatical representation from the deified matter in an especial manner to the images, in which—the Aristotelian scholastics also was called in to aid—they were able to see the veritable marriage of earthly *matter* and the heavenly (holy) *form* (besides, the superstitious belief in images not painted by hand). Monasticism fostered image-worship and traded with it; scholastics and mystics gave it dogmatic form.

Monasticism.

But monasticism also advanced the struggle of the Church toward independence, in contrast with Justinian's state constitution which fettered the Church. In the 7th century the ecclesiastico-monkish resistance to Byzantium retreated behind dyotheletism, just as in the 5th and 6th centuries it had fled behind monophysitism; it grew more and more powerful and sought to gain ecclesiastical freedom, which the Occident already partly enjoyed. Powerful but barbarous emperors endeavored to put an end to this effort by substituting the army for priests and monks, and to break the independence of the Church by striking at its peculiarity—the *image-worship*. Thus originated the frightful *image-controversy*, which lasted more than a century. In it the emperors fought for the absolutism of the state, and had as an ally only a single power, the military;

Image-Controversy.

Council at Nicæa, 787.

for the remaining allies, namely, religious *enlightenment* and the primitive tradition of the Church, which spoke against the images, were powerless. The monks and bishops had on their side the culture, art and science of that time (John Damsc., Theodorus Studita), the Roman bishop and, furthermore, piety and living tradition; they fought for the central dogma, which they saw exemplified in the image-worship, and for the freedom of the Church. The latter they could not obtain. The outcome, rather, was that the Church retained its peculiarity, but definitely lost its independence with reference to the state. The 7th council at Nicæa (787) sanctioned image-worship (*ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν, οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει . . . ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει*). Its logical development in its principal points was obviously concluded. The Divine and Holy, as it descended through the incarnation into the sensuous, created for itself in the Church a system of sensuous-supersensuous objects, which offer themselves for man's gratification. The image-theosophy corresponds to the Neo-Platonic idea (joined with the incarnation-idea) of the One, unfolding himself in a multiplicity of graduated ideas (prototypes), reaching down even to the earthly. To Theodorus Studita the image was almost more important than the correct dogmatic watch-word; for in the *authentic* image one has the *real* Christ and the *real* holy thing—only the material is different.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.—SKETCH OF THE HISTORIC BEGINNINGS OF THE ORTHODOX SYSTEM.

Origen's Christian System.

1. A CHRISTIAN system upon the foundation of the four principles: God, world, freedom and Holy Scriptures, tending toward the *doctrina publica*, and making use of the total yield of the Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία, Origen bequeathed; yet it was in many details heterodox and as a science of the faith it was intended to outbid faith itself. Moreover the idea of the historical redemption through the true God, Jesus Christ, was not the all-controlling one.

Church not Content with System.

2. The Church could not rest satisfied with the system. It demanded, (1) The identity of the expressions of faith with the science of faith (especially since Methodius), (2) Such a restriction of the use of the Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία that the realistic sentences of the *regula fidei* and of the Bible should remain intact (the opponents of Origen: Epiphanius, Apollinaris, the monks, Theophilus, Jerome), (3) The introduction of the idea of the real and historical redemption through the God-man as the central idea (Athanasius and his followers). These demands, thoroughly carried out, broke down the system of Origen, which at the bottom was a philosophical system. But break it down, no one of the cultured Christians at first either would or could; for they estimated it as the

science from which one dare not depart and which the Christian faith needed for its defence.

Indistinctness and Freedom till 400.

3. In consequence thereof, indistinctness and freedom ruled till the end of the 4th century in the Oriental Church, into which, since Constantine, the old world had gained an entrance. To be sure, through Arius and Athanasius the idea of redemption had become a *critical* problem, and later it obtained recognition essentially in the conception which the Christian faith at that time demanded; but everything on the periphery was entirely insecure: A wholly spiritualistic philosophical interpretation of the Bible stood side by side with a coarse realistic one, a massive anthropomorphism by the side of a Christian-tinted Neo-Platonism, the modified rule of faith by the side of its letter. Between were innumerable shades; steersman and rudder were wanting, and the religion of the second order, thinly veiled paganism, forced itself by its own power, not only into the Church, but also into the Church doctrine. Right well did the Cappadocians (Gregory of Nyssa) maintain the science of Origen in the midst of attacks right and left, and they lived in the conviction that it was possible to reconcile ecclesiastical faith with free science. Ecclesiastically inclined laymen like Socrates acknowledged them to be in the right, and at the same time Greek theology penetrated into the Occident and became there an important leaven. But by the side of it there grew up, especially after the fall of Arianism, in close alliance with barbar-

ism a monkish and communal orthodoxy, which was very hostile to the independent ecclesiastical science, and the latter surely neglected no means of warding off the heterodox Hellenism. Were there not even bishops (Synesius), who either gave a different interpretation to the principal dogmas, or denied them?

Contest Against Origen's System.

4. Under such circumstances the situation narrowed down to a contest against Origen. His name signified a principle, the well-known use of the Ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία in ecclesiastical science. In Palestine it was the passionate, learned and narrow Epiphanius, who disturbed the circles of the monkish admirers of Origen, together with bishop John of Jerusalem. In Egypt the bishop Theophilus found himself obliged, in order to retain his influence, to surrender Origen to the monks and to condemn him. This is one of the most consequential facts in the history of theology. Of not less consequence was it, that the greatest theologian of the Occident (Jerome), living in the Orient, once an admirer of Origen, made common cause with Theophilus, in order to preserve his own ecclesiastical authority, and stamped Origen as a heretic. In the controversy into which he on that account fell with his old friend Rufinus, the Roman bishop took a part. Origen was also condemned in Rome (399) and Rufinus was censured. However, it did not come as yet to general ecclesiastical action against Origen. The controversy was lost sight of in the contest of Theophilus against Chrysostom. Even in the 5th and 6th century Ori-

gen had numerous admirers among the monks and laymen in the Orient, and his heterodoxies were partly hushed up by them, partly approved.

Christological Controversies in the 5th Century.

5. The great controversy about the Christological dogma in the 5th century next silenced all other contests. But the difference between the Alexandrians and the Antiochians was also a general scientific one. The former took their position upon tradition and speculation (concerning the realistically conceived idea of redemption), counting still on some adherents on the left wing who inclined toward the Origenistic Neo-Platonic philosophy and who were tolerated if they hid their heterodoxies behind the mysticism of the cult; the latter were sober exegetes with a critical tendency, favoring the philosophy of Aristotle, but rejecting the spiritualizing method of Origen. The heterodox element in the Alexandrians, in so far as they had not fully thrown themselves into the arms of traditionalism, pointed still in the direction of pantheism (re-interpretation of the *regula*); in the Antiochians it lay in the conception of the central dogmas. Forced to stand on guard against the old heresies which had wholly withdrawn to the East, the Antiochians remained the "antignostic" theologians and boasted that they carried on the battles of the Lord. The last of them, Theodoret, appended to his compendium of heretical fables a 5th Book: "*θείων δογμάτων ἐπιτομή*", which must be recognized as the first systematic effort after Origen, and which apparently had great influence upon John

Theodoret's Compendium.

of Damascus. The "epitome" is of great importance. It unites the trinitarian and Christological dogmas with the whole circle of dogmas depending upon the creed. It shows an attitude as obviously Biblical, as it is ecclesiastical and reasonable. It keeps everywhere to the "golden mean". It is almost complete and also pays especial regard once more to the realistic eschatology. It admitted none of the offensive doctrines of Origen, and yet Origen was not treated as a heretic. A system this epitome is not, but the uniform soberness and clearness in the treatment of details and the careful Biblical proofs give to the whole a unique stamp. It could not of course satisfy; in the first place, on account of the person of its author, and then because everything mystical and Neo-Platonic is wanting in its doctrinal content.

Mysteriosophy and Scholasticism.

6. After the Chalcedon creed all science came to a stand-still in the orthodox Church: There were no longer "Antiochians", or "Alexandrians"; free theological work died out almost completely. However, the century preceding the 5th council shows two remarkable appearances. First, a *mysteriosophy* gained more and more ground in the Church, which did not work at dogmas but stood with one foot upon the ground of the religion of the second order (superstition, cult), with the other upon Neo-Platonism (the pseudo-Areopagite); second, a *scholasticism* grew up, which presupposed the dogma as given and appropriated it by means of apprehensible distinc-

tions (Leontius of Byzantium). In the spirit of both tendencies Justinian carried on his religious politics. Relying thereon he closed the school of Athens, also the old ecclesiastical schools, the Origenistic and Antiochian. The 5th council sanctioned the condemnation of Origen (in 15 anathemas his heterodox sentences were rejected) and the condemnation of the "three chapters". Henceforth there was no longer a theological science going back to first principles. There existed only a mysticism of cult (truly, with a hidden heterodox trend) and scholasticism, both in certain ways in closest connection (Maximus Confessor). Thereby a condition was reached for which the "conservatives" at all times had longed; but through the condemnation of Origen and the Antiochians one was now defenceless against the massive Biblicism and a superstitious realism, and that was a result which originally men had not desired. In the image-worship, on the one side, and the fussy literal translation of Gen. 1–3, on the other, is revealed the downfall of theological science.

Origen's Teaching Condemned by 5th Council.

7. As to the *μάθησις*, the Cappadocians (in addition to Athanasius and Cyril) above all were considered authoritative; as to the *μυσταγωγία*, the Areopagite and Maximus; as to *φιλοσοφία*, Aristotle; as to the *ὁμιλία*, Chrysostom. But the man who comprehended all these, who transferred the scholastico-dialectic method, which Leontius had applied to the dogma of the incarnation, to the whole compass of "the divine dogmas" as Theodoret had established them,

Cappadocians, Areopagite and Maximus, Aristotle and Chrysostom Authorities.

John of Damascus and Greek Orthodox System.

was John of Damascus. Through him the Greek Church gained its orthodox system, but not the Greek Church alone. The work of John was none the less important for the Occident. It became the foundation of mediæval theology. John was above all a scholastic. Each difficulty was to him only a challenge to artfully split the conceptions and to find a new conception to which nothing in the world corresponds, except just that difficulty which is to be removed by the new conception. The fundamental question also of the science of the Middle Ages was already propounded by him: The question of nomialism and realism; he solved it by a modified Aristotelianism. All doctrines had already been provided for him; he finds them in the decrees of councils and the works of the acknowledged fathers. He considered it the duty of science to work them over. Thereby the two principal dogmas were placed within the circle of the teachings of the old anti-gnostically interpreted symbol. Of the allegorical explanation of the Holy Scriptures a very modest use is made. The letter of Scripture dominates on the whole, at any rate much more decidedly than with the Cappadocians. In consequence of this, the natural theology is also closely concealed; highly realistic Scripture narrations, which are piously received, twine themselves around it. But what is most perplexing —the strict connection which in Athanasius, Apollinaris and Cyril unites the trinity and the incarnation, in general, the dogma which is associated with

John Requires Faith in Innumerable Dogmas.

the benefit of salvation, is entirely dissolved. John has innumerable dogmas, which must be believed; but they stand no longer clear, under a consistent scheme. The end to which the dogma once contributed as a means still remained, but the means are changed; it is the cult, the mysteries, into which the 4th book also overflows. Consequently the system lacks an inward, vital unity. In reality it is not an explanation of faith, but an explanation of its presuppositions, and it has its unity in the *form* of treatment, in the high *antiquity* of the doctrines and in the *Holy Scriptures.* The dogmas have become the sacred legacy of the classical antiquity of the Church; but they have sunk, so to speak, into the ground. *Image-worship*, *mysticism* and *scholasticism* dominate the Church.

BOOK II.

EXPANSION AND RECASTING OF THE DOGMA INTO A DOCTRINE CONCERNING SIN, GRACE AND THE MEANS OF GRACE UPON THE BASIS OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Baur, Vorl. üb. d. christl. DG., 2. Bd., 1866. Bach, Die DG. des MA., 2 Bde., 1873 *seq.* Schwane, DG. der mittl. Zeit, 1882. Thomasius-Seeberg, Die christl. DG., 2. Bd., 1. Abth., 1888.

Basal Elements of History of Dogma in Occident.

THE history of dogma in the Occident during the thousand years between the migration of the nations and the Reformation was evolved from the following elements: (1) From the distinctive peculiarity of Occidental Christianity as represented by Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, etc., (2) From the Hellenic theology introduced by the theologians of the 4th century, (3) From Augustinianism, *i.e.* from the Christianity of Augustine, (4)—in a secondary degree—From the new needs of the Romano-Germanic nations. The *Roman* bishop became in an increasing measure the decisive authority. The history of dogma in the Middle Ages is the history of the dogma of the *Roman* Church, although theology had its home, not in Italy, but in North Africa and France.

Augustine's Work.

2. The carrying out of spiritual monotheism, the disclosure of individualism and the delineation of the inward process of the Christian life (sin and grace) indicate the importance of Augustine as a pupil of the Neo-Platonists and of Paul. But since he also championed the old dogma and at the same time brought forward new problems and aims for the Church as the kingdom of God upon the earth, his rich mind bore within itself all the tensions whose living strength determined the history of dogma in the Occident. Even the system of morality and the sacramental superstition, which later almost absorbed Augustinianism, were placed by Augustine among the first principles of his doctrine of religion. As a new element, Aristotelianism was added during the later Middle Ages, and this strengthened the aforesaid system of morality, but on the other hand it beneficially limited the Neo-Platonic mysticism.

Ecclesiastical Discipline and Theology.

3. The piety of Augustine did not live in the old dogma, but he respected it as authority and used it as building-material for his doctrine of religion. Accordingly dogma in the Occident became, on the one side, *Church discipline and law* and, on the other, far-reaching *transformations within theology itself*. The consequence was that during the Middle Ages, in spite of all changes, men surrendered themselves to the illusion of simply persisting in the

dogma of the 5th century, because the new was either not recognized as such, or was reduced to a mere administrative rule in the indeed still controverted authority of the Roman bishop. The Reformation, *i.e.* the Tridentine council, first put an end to this state of affairs. Only since the 16th century, therefore, can the history of *dogma* in the Middle Ages be separated from the history of *theology*, and described.

Pietism, Sacraments, Scientific Theology.

4. Especially to be observed are, (1) The history of pietism (Augustine, Bernard, Francis, so-called reformers before the Reformation) in its significance for the recasting of dogma, (2) The doctrine of the sacraments, (3) Scientific theology (Augustine and Aristotle, *fides et ratio*) in its influence upon the free cultivation of doctrine. Back of these developments there lay in the later Middle Ages the question of *personal surety of faith* and of *personal Christian* character, which was repressed by the active power of the visible Church. The latter was the silent coefficient of all spiritual and theological movements until it became plainly audible in the contest over the right of the pope.

Divisions in History of Dogma of Sin, etc.

5. Division: (1) Occidental Christianity and Occidental Theology before Augustine, (2) Augustine, (3) Provisional Adjustment of Præ-Augustinian and Augustinian Christianity until Gregory I., (4) The Carolingian Revival, (5) The Clugnian-Bernardine Epoch, (6) Epoch of the Mendicant Orders, of Scholasticism and of the Reformers before the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

OCCIDENTAL CHRISTIANITY AND OCCIDENTAL THEOLOGIANS BEFORE AUGUSTINE.

Nöldechen, Tertullian, 1890. O. Ritschl, Cyprian, 1885. Förster, Ambrosius, 1884. Reinkens, Hilarius, 1864. Zöckler, Hieronymus, 1865. Völter, Donatismus, 1882. Nitzsch, Boethius, 1860.

Tertullian, Augustine and the Popes.

1. Occidental Christianity, in contradistinction to Oriental, was determined by *two personalities*—Tertullian and Augustine—and, in addition, by the policy, conscious of its aim in serving and ruling, of the Roman Church and its bishops.

Christianity of Tertullian.

2. The Christianity of Tertullian was determined through contrast by the old, enthusiastic and strict faith and the anti-gnostic rule of faith. In accordance with his juristic training he endeavored to secure everywhere in religion legal axioms and formulas, and he conceived the relationship between God and man as that of *civil law*. Furthermore his theology bears a *syllogistic-dialectical* stamp; it does not philosophize, but it reasons, alternating between arguments *ex auctoritate* and *e ratione*. On the other hand, Tertullian frequently strongly impresses one by his *psychological observation* and indeed by an *empirical psychology*. Finally his writings manifest a *practical*, *evangelical* attitude, determined by the fear of God as the Judge, and an insistance upon *will* and *action*, which the speculative Greeks lacked.

In all these points and in their mixture his Christianity became typical for the Occident.

Naturalized in Occident by Cyprian.

3. The Christianity of Tertullian, blunted in many respects and morally shallow ("*de opere et eleemosynis*"), yet clerically worked out ("*de unitate ecclesiae*"), became naturalized in the Occident through Cyprian, the great authority of Latin Christendom; side by side with it that Ciceronian theology with apocalyptical additions, represented by Minucius and Lactantius, maintained itself. Religion was "the law", but after the Church had under compulsion declared *all* sins pardonable (Novatian crisis), religion was also the ecclesiastical penitential institute. No theologian, however, before Augustine was able to really adjust "*lex*" and "*venia*". In Rome and Carthage they labored at the strengthening of the Church, at the composing of an ecclesiastical rule of morals possible of fulfilment, and at the education of the community through divine service and penitential rules. The mass-Christianity created the clergy and the sacraments, the clergy sanctified the mongrel religion for the laity. The formulas were almost entirely Tertullianic, yet his spirit was being crushed out.

Occident Receives Origenistic Theology and Monasticism from Orient.

4. The Occident and the Orient were already separated in the age of Constantine, but the Arian contest brought them again together. The Occidental orthodoxy supported the Oriental and received from it two great gifts: *Scientific* (Origenistic) *theology* and *monasticism.* These were in reality a single

gift, for monasticism (the ideal of divinely inspired celibacy in close union with God) is the practical application of that "science". Thus the Occidental theology of the last half of the 4th century is represented by two lines which converge in Augustine: The line of the Greek scholars (Hilary, Victorinus Rhetor, Rufinus, Jerome) and the line of the genuine Latin scholars (Optatus, Pacian, Prudentius). In both lines, however, must Ambrose be named as theologically the most important forerunner of Augustine.

Ambrose, Victorinus, Augustine; Boethius, the Areopagite.

5. The Greek scholars transplanted the scientific (pneumatic) exegesis of Philo and Origen and the speculative orthodox theology of the Cappadocians into the Occident. With the first they silenced the doubts in regard to the Old Testament and met the onset of Manichæism, with the second they, especially Ambrose, relaxed the tension which existed until after the year 381, between the orthodoxy of the Orient and that of the Occident. Through three successive contributions Greek speculation entered into the theology of the Occident, (1) Through Ambrose, Victorinus and Augustine, (2) Through Boethius in the 6th century (here Aristotelian), (3) Through the Areopagite in the 9th century. In Victorinus is already found that combination of Neo-Platonism and Paulinism, which forms the foundation of the Augustinian theology; in Ambrose is already conspicuous that union of speculation and religious individualism, which characterizes the great African.

Problem of Latin Church.

6. The real problem of the Latin Church was the application of the Christian law, and the ecclesiastical treatment of sinners. In the Orient they laid greater weight upon the effects of the cultus as a single institution and upon silent self-education through asceticism and prayer; in the Occident they had a greater sense of standing in religious relations to law, in which they were responsible to the Church, but also might expect from it sacramental and precatory assistance through individual appropriation. The sense of sin as open guilt was more strongly developed. This reacted upon their conception of the Church. As regards the development of the latter, Optatus (*de schismate Donatistarum*) was the forerunner of Augustine, as regards the stricter conception of sin, Ambrose.

Donatist Controversy.

The Donatist controversy, in which the Montanist and Novatian controversies were continued under a peculiar limitation, had its roots in personal quarrels; but it soon acquired an importance on principle. The Donatist party (in the course of development it became an African national party, assumed in opposition to the state, which oppressed it, a free, ecclesiastical attitude and even cultivated a revolutionary enthusiasm) denied the validity of an ordination administered by a traitor, and therefore also the validity of the sacraments which a bishop, consecrated by a traitor, administered (consequently the demand for re-baptism). It was the last remnant of the old demand that in the Church not only the institution, but above all the persons must be holy, and the Donatists were able to appeal for their theses to the celebrated Cyprian. At least a minimum of personal worthiness in the clergy should still be necessary, in order that the Church might remain the true Church. In opposition to it the Catholics drew the consequences of the "objective" Church idea. Optatus above all asserted that the truth and holiness of the Church resides in the sacraments, and that therefore the personal quality of the administrator is immaterial ("*ecclesia una est, cuius sanctitas de sacramentis colligitur, non de superbia personarum ponderatur*"); he furthermore showed, that the Church, in contrast with the conventicle of the Donatists, held the guarantee of its truth in its *Catholicity*. They also hit upon an evangelical principle in so far as they emphasized *faith* at the side and with the sacrament, in opposition to personal sanctity. Thus already prior to Augustine the foundation for the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Church and the sacraments was laid by Optatus. But Ambrose especially had emphasized faith in connection with a deeper conception of sin. Since Tertullian the conception of sin as *vitium originis* and as sin *against God* was known in the Occident. Ambrose extended the view in both directions and appreciated accordingly the importance of the Pauline idea of *gratia, justificatio*, and *remissio peccatorum* ("*illud mihi prodest, quod non justificamur ex operibus legis . . . gloriabor in Christo; non gloriabor,*

Optatus

Ambrose.

quia ivstus sum, sed gloriabor, quia redemptus sum"). It was of epochal significance that people in the Occident became attentive to Pauline ideas of sin and grace, law and gospel, at the very time when they externalized the conception of the Church and created a doctrine of the sacraments. Ambrose himself, it is true, was strongly influenced by the common Catholic views respecting law, virtue and merit.

Peculiarities of Occidental Christianity.

The more vital conception of God, the strong feeling of responsibility to the Judge, the consciousness of God as a moral Power restrained or relaxed by no speculations concerning nature, the conception of Christ as the man whose work for us possesses in the sight of God an infinite value, the *placatio* (*satisfactio*) *Dei* through his death, the Church as a pedagogical institution securely relying upon the means of salvation (the sacraments), the Holy Scripture as *lex Dei*, the symbol as the sure content of doctrine, the conceiving of the Christian life from the points of view of guilt, atonement and merit, even if conceived more ecclesiastically than religiously,—in these are represented the peculiarities of Occidental Christianity prior to Augustine. He affirmed and yet transformed them. Above all the soteriological question awaited a solution. By the side of Manichæan, Origenistic-Neo-Platonic and stoic-rationalistic conceptions of evil and of redemption there flickered

Augustine Affirms and Transforms Them.

also near the year 400 here and there in the Occident Pauline conceptions, which, as a rule, covered moral laxities, yet nevertheless in some representatives were expressions for evangelical convictions which did not harmonize with the times and would therefore of necessity be fatal to the Catholic Church (Jovinian). If one considers in addition that about the year 400 paganism was still a power, one can comprehend what a problem awaited Augustine! He would not have been able to solve it for the whole Occidental Church, had the latter not been still a *unit* at that time. The Western Roman empire still existed, and it almost seems as though its miserable existence had only been prolonged to make the world-historical work of Augustine possible.

CHAPTER III.

THE WORLD-HISTORICAL POSITION OF AUGUSTINE AS REFORMER OF CHRISTIAN PIETY.

Bindermann, der h. Aug., 3 Bde., 1844–69. Böhringer, Augustin, 2. Aufl., 1877 f. Reuter, August. Studien, 1887. Harnack, Aug.'s Confessionen, 1888. Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alex., 1886.

Elements in Augustinianism.

ONE may seek to construct Augustinianism from the premises of the current Occidental Christianity (see the previous chapter) or from the course of the training of Augustine (the pagan father, the pious Christian mother, Cicero's Hortensius, Manichæism, Aristotelianism, Neo-Platonism with its mysticism and skepticism, the influence of Ambrose and of monasticism), but neither of these methods of procedure, nor even both of them, will entirely accomplish the end in view. Augustine in religion discovered religion; he recognized his heart as the lowest, the living God as the highest good; he possessed an enchanting ability and facility for expressing inward observations: In this consist his individuality and his greatness. In the love of God and in the subdued grief of his soul he found that elation which lifts man above the world and makes him *another being*, while prior to him theologians had dreamed that man must become *another being* in order to be able to be saved, or had contented themselves with striving after virtue. He separated nature and grace, but bound together religion and morality and gave to the idea of the good a new meaning. He destroyed the phantom of the popular antique psychology and moralism; he discarded the intellectualism and optimism of antiquity, but allowed the former to revive again in the pious thought of the man who found in the loving God true existence; and in terminating Christian pessimism, he at the same time passed beyond it through the surety of *pardoning grace.* But more than all, he held before every soul its own glory and responsibility—God and the soul, the soul and its God. He rescued religion from its communal and cultus form and restored it to the heart as a gift and as a gracious life. Love, unfeigned humility and strength to overcome the world, these

Augustine Rediscovered Religion.

United Religion and Morality.

Made Religion a Thing of the Heart.

are the elements of religion and its blessedness; they spring from the actual possession of the loving God. "Happy are the men who consider Thee their strength, who from their heart walk in Thy steps". This message Augustine preached to the Christianity of his time and of all times.

Præ-Augustinian Piety.

1. The Præ-Augustinian piety was a wavering between fear and hope. *It lived not in the faith.* Knowing and doing good, it taught, brings salvation, after that man has received forgiveness for past sins through baptism; but man does not experience salvation. Neither baptism nor asceticism freed from fear; men did not feel strong enough to trust in their own virtue, nor guilty and believing enough to take comfort in the grace of God in Christ. Fear and hope remained; they were tremendous forces. They shook the world and built the Church; but they were not able to create for the individual a blessed life. Augustine advanced from sins to *sin* and *guilt*, from baptism to *grace*. The exclusiveness and firmness with which he affiliated the guilty man and the living God is the new teaching which distinguishes him from all his predecessors. "Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned"—"Thou, O Lord, hast created us in thy likeness, and our heart is restless till it finds its rest in Thee"—"*da quod iubes, et iube quod vis*"—"*eo, quod quisque novit, non fruitur, nisi et id diligit, neque quisquam in eo, quod percipit, permanet nisi dilectione*". This is the mighty concord which his ear caught from the Holy Scrip-

Fear and Hope.

Guilt and Grace.

tures, from the deepest contemplation of the human heart and from the speculation concerning the first and last things. In a spirit devoid of God *all* is sin; that the *Spirit* exists is the only good remaining. Sin is the sphere and the form of the inner life of every natural man. Furthermore, all sin is sin against God; for a created spirit has only *one* lasting relationship, namely that to *God*. Sin is the disposition to be an independent being (*superbia*); therefore is its form desire and unrest. In this unrest is revealed the never appeased *lust* and *fear*. The latter is evil, the former when striving after bliss (blessedness) is good, but when striving after perishable goods is evil. *We must strive to be happy* ("*infelices esse nolumus sed nec velle possumus*") —this striving is the life bestowed upon us by God which cannot be lost—but there is only *one* good, *one* bliss and *one* rest: "*Mihi adhaerere deo bonum est.*" Only in the atmosphere of God does the soul live and rest. But the Lord who created us has redeemed us. Through grace and love which have been revealed in Christ, he calls us back from distraction to himself, makes *ex nolentibus volentes* and bestows upon us thereby an incomprehensible new being which consists of faith and love. These originate in God; they are the means by which the living God imparts himself to us. But faith is faith in the "*gratia gratis data*", and love is joy in God blended with that humility which renounces all that is individual. The soul regards these favors as a perpetual

All Sin is Sin Against God.

Mihi Adhaerere Deo Bonum Est.

Gratia Gratis Data.

gift and a holy mystery, in which it acquires everything that God requires; for a heart endowed with faith and love acquires that justice which prevails before God and possesses that peace which exalts above unrest and fear. It cannot indeed for a moment forget that it is still entangled with the world and in sin, yet it always associates grace with sin. Sin and misery overcome by faith, humility and love—that is Christian piety. In the absorbing thoughts of faith which thus continually recur the soul is at rest and yet it ever strives irrepressibly upward.

Augustinian Piety Becomes Standard in Occident.

In this mode of feeling and thinking religion disclosed itself more deeply, and the Augustinian type of piety became the authoritative standard in the Occident till the Reformation, yes even till this day; however a *quietistic*, one might almost say a *narcotic* element is hidden therein which is not found in the Gospel.

Catholic Element in his Piety.

2. In the foregoing the piety of Augustine is only one-sidedly defined. There was also in his piety a *Catholic* spirit; yes, he first created that intermingling of the freest, individual surrender to the Divine with the constant, obedient submission to the Church as an institution endowed with the means of grace, so characteristic of Occidental Catholicism. In detail the following points are especially to be emphasized, in which he affirmed the "Catholic" element, and even enhanced the same: (1) First, he transformed the authority of the Church into a religious power and gave to practical religion a doctrine con-

Authority of the Church.

cerning the Church. In this he was guided by two considerations, viz.: Skepticism and an appreciation of the value of ecclesiastical communion as an historical power. In the first place, he was convinced that the isolated individual could not by any means arrive at a full and safe understanding of the truth of the revealed teaching—it presents too many stumbling-blocks; like as he therefore threw himself into the arms of the authority of the Church, so he taught in general, *that the Church stands for the truth of the faith, where the individual is not able to recognize the same*, and that accordingly acts of faith are at the same time acts of obedience. In the second place, while breaking with moralism he recognized that the *gratia* had had an historical effect and had made the Church its organism. Insight into the position of the Church in the tottering Roman empire strengthened this view. But not only as skeptic and historian did Augustine recognize the importance of the Church, but also by virtue of his strong piety. This piety wanted *external* authority as every living religious faith has always wanted it and will want it. Augustine found it in the testimony of the Church. (2) Although he unequivocally acknowledged in his Confessions: Religion is the possessing of the living God, yet in the interpretation of his theology he exchanged the living God for the *gratia*, the latter for the sacraments, and thus compressed, as it were, that which is most living and most free into a material benefit entrusted to the

Church Organ of Grace.

God Exchanged for Grace and Sacraments.

Church. Misled by the burning conflicts of the time (Donatist controversy) he thus paid the heaviest tribute to current ideas and founded the sacramental Church of the Middle Ages. But wherever he goes beyond the sacraments back to God himself, there in subsequent times he has always been in danger of neutralizing the importance also of Christ and of losing himself in the abyss of the thought of the sole-efficiency of God (doctrine of predestination). (3) Although he acknowledged with all his heart the *gratia gratis data* and, consequently, the sovereignty of faith, yet he also united with it the old scheme, that the ultimate destiny of the single individual depends upon "merits" and upon these only. He accordingly saw in the *merita* resulting from the *fides caritate formata*, which indeed are *Dei munera*, the aim of all Christian development, and he thereby not only made it easy for futurity to retain the old scheme under the cover of his words, but he himself also failed to perceive the real essence of faith (*i.e.* steadfast confidence in God, resulting from the assurance of the forgiveness of sin) as the highest gift of God. His doctrine, however, of instilled love was neutral as regards the historical Christ. (4) Although Augustine was able to testify to the joy of that blessedness which the Christian already possesses in faith and in love, yet he was not able to present a definite aim to the present life; he shared in general the traditional Catholic disposition of mind, and the quietism of his piety imparted

Doctrine of Merits.

No Definite Aim in This Life.

to Christian *activity* no new impulses. That it should receive such through the work "*de civitate dei*" was in reality not intended by Augustine.

Augustine's theology is to be understood upon the basis of the peculiar form of his piety. His religious theories are in part nothing else than theoretically explained frames of mind and experiences. But in these were also collected the manifold religious experiences and moral reflections of the old world: The psalms and Paul, Plato and the Neo-Platonists, the moralists, Tertullian and Ambrose,—all are found again in Augustine.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORLD-HISTORICAL POSITION OF AUGUSTINE AS TEACHER OF THE CHURCH.

Augustine Unifies Church Doctrines.

THE ancient Church expounded its theology from the centres of Christology and the doctrine of freedom (doctrine of morals); Augustine drew the two centres together. *The good became to him the axis for the contemplation of all blessings.* Moral good and redemptive good should include each other (*ipsa virtus et praemium virtutis*). He brought dogmatics down from the heavens; yet did not discard the old conception but amalgamated it with the new. In his interpretations of the symbol this union is most clearly manifest. Through his præ-Catholic development and conversion, then through

His Doctrine, however, Complicated.

his conflict with Donatism and Pelagianism, Christianity appeared to him in a new form; but inasmuch as he considered the symbol as the essence of doctrine, his conception of doctrine necessarily became complicated—a union of the old Catholic theology and of the old ecclesiastical scheme with his new thoughts on the doctrine of faith compressed into the frame of the symbol. This mixture of elements, which the Occidental Church has preserved until this day, subsequently caused contradictions and rendered the old dogma impressionless.

Discrepancies in his Theology.

In detail the following discrepancies in the theology of Augustine are especially to be noted: (1) The discrepancies between symbol and Scripture. Those who place Scripture above the symbol, as well as those who prescribe the opposite order, can refer to him. Augustine strengthened Biblicism and at the same time also the position of those ecclesiastics who with Tertullian refuted the Biblicists. (2) The discrepancy between the principle of Scripture and the principle of salvation. Augustine taught, on the one hand, that only the *substance* (*i.e.* salvation) is of importance in the Scriptures; yes, he advanced as far sometimes as that spiritualism which skips over the Scriptures; on the other hand, he could not rid himself of the thought that every word of the Scriptures is absolute revelation. (3) The discrepancy between his conceptions of the essence of religion; on the one hand, it is faith, love, hope; yet, on the other, knowledge and super-terrestrial, immortal life; it should aim to secure blessedness through grace, and again through the *amor intellectualis.* Faith as conceived by Paul and a non-cosmic mysticism contend for the primacy. (4) The discrepancy between the doctrine of predestined grace and a doctrine of grace that is essentially an ecclesiastical and sacramental doctrine. (5) Discrepancies within the principal lines of thought. Thus in the doctrine of grace the thought of the *gratia per* (*propter*) *Christum* not infrequently conflicts with the conception of a grace flowing independently from Christ out of the original being of God as the *summum bonum* and *summum esse.* Thus, in his ecclesiastical doctrine, the hierarchical-sacramental basal element is not reconciled with a liberal, universal view, such as originated with the apologists.

Predestinarian, Soteriologic, and Ecclesiastico-Sacramental Elements.

One can distinguish three planes in the theology of Augustine: The predestinarian, the soteriologic, and the plane of the authority and of the sacraments of the Church; but one would not do him justice, if one should describe these elevations separately, for in his summary of the whole they are united. Just because his rich spirit embraced all these discrepancies and characteristically represented them as experiences, has he become *the father* of the Church of the Occident. He is the father of the Roman Church and of the Reformation, of Biblicists and of mystics; yes, even the Renaissance and modern empirical philosophy (psychology) are indebted to him. New *dogmas*, in the strict sense, he did not introduce. It was left to a very much later period to formulate strictly definite dogmas out of the transformation wrought by him in the old dogmatic material, *i.e.* the condemnation of Pelagianism and the new doctrine of the sacraments.

1. *Augustine's Doctrine of the First and Last Things.*

Siebeck, in d. Ztschr. f. Phil. u. phil. Kritik, 1888, S. 161 ff. Gangauf, Metaphys. Psychol. d. h. Aug., 1852. Storz, Die Phil. d. h. Aug., 1882. Scipio, Des Aurel. Aug. Metaph., 1886. Kahl, Primat d. Willens b. Aug., 1886. Kühner, A.'s Anschauung v. d. Erlös. bedeutung Christi, 1890.

Augustine "Alter Aristoteles".

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: With the life of prayer Augustine united an inward contemplation which led him, the pupil of the Neo-Platonists and of Paul, to a new psychology and theology. He became the "*alter Aristoteles*" in making the inner life the starting-point for thoughts concerning the world. He first absolutely put away the näive-objective frame of mind and with it the antique-classical, at the same time, however, the remnants of the polytheistic view also. He was the first monotheistic theologian (in the strict sense of the word) among the Church fathers, since he lifted the Neo-Platonic philosophy above himself. Not unfamiliar with the realm of knowledge of the objective world, he yet wished to know but two things, *God* and the *soul;* for his skepticism had dissolved the world of external phenomena, but

He Would Know Only God and the Soul.

in the flight of these phenomena the facts of the inner life had, after painful struggles, remained to him as *facts*. Even if there exists no evil and no God, there still exists unquestionably the fear of evil. Out of this, *i.e.* through psychological analysis, one can find the soul and God and sketch a picture of the world. Hence the skeptic can arrive at the knowledge of truth, for which the marrow of the soul sighs.

Desire for Happiness.

The fundamental form of the life of the soul is the desire for happiness (*cupido*, *amor*) as a desire for blessedness. All inclinations are only developments of this fundamental form (as receptivity and as activity) and they are valid for the sphere of the spiritual life as well as for that of the sensuous. The will is connected with these inclinations, nevertheless it is a power rising above sensuous nature (Augustine is an indeterminist). *In concreto* it is indeed bound to the sensuous instincts, *i.e.* not free. Theoretical freedom of election becomes real freedom only when the *cupiditas* (*amor*) *boni* has become the ruling motive for the will, *i.e. only the good will is free*. Moral goodness and freedom of will coincide. The truly free will has its freedom in the impulse of the good (*beata necessitas boni*). This bondage is freedom, because it withdraws the will from the dominion of the lower instincts and realizes the destiny and disposition of man to be filled with true existence and life. In attachment to the good, therefore, is realized the higher *appetitus*, the true instinct of

Only the Good Will is Free.

self-preservation in man; while he gradually brings about his own destruction, if he follows his lower instincts. For these lines of thought Augustine claimed strict validity, for he knew that every man, meditating about himself, must affirm them. With them Augustine united the results of the Neo-Platonic cosmological speculation; but the simple greatness of his living conception of God worked powerfully upon them and coerced the artificially gained elements of the doctrine of God again and again into the simplest confession: "The Lord of heaven and earth is love; he is the salvation of the soul; whom should ye fear"?

Neo-Platonic Cosmological Speculations Adopted.

The Summum Esse is the Only True Being.

Through the Neo-Platonic speculation (through proof of the nothingness of phenomena and through progressive elimination of the lower spheres of the sensuous and conceivable) Augustine arrived at the conception of the one, unchangeable, eternal Being (*incorporea veritas*, *spiritalis substantia*, *lux incommutabilis*). At the same time this *summum esse* alone corresponds to the simplicity of the highest object of the soul's desire. This *summum esse* alone is in reality *the Being*, since every other being has the quality of non-being, and can indeed not exist but really perishes. But, on the other hand, it can also be conceived as the development of the sole Substance, as the radiant artistic expression of the latter, and in this conception the metaphysically dissolved phenomena and the interest therein recur in an æsthetic form. Yet this natural feeling is still only the establishing of the Augustinian conception. He does not surrender himself to it, but rather passes over at once to the observation, that the soul strives for this highest Being and seeks it in all lower good with indestructible, noble concupiscence; *yet after all it hesitates to seize the same.* Here a dreadful

Monstrous Paradox.

paradox presented itself to him, which he designates as "*monstrum*", viz., *that the will does not actually want, what it wants, or rather what it seems to want.* Together with the whole weight of man's individual responsibility Augustine conceived this state of the case, which was ameliorated by no æsthetic consideration, yet at times was so smooth to him (the cosmos with light and shadow as the "*pulchrum*", as the simile of the fulness of life of the universal One). *Hence metaphysics was transformed for him into ethics.* Through the feeling

Metaphysics Transformed into Ethics.

of responsibility, God (the *summum esse*) appeared to him as the *summum bonum;* and the selfish, individual life, which determines the will, as *the evil.* This *summum bonum* is not only the constant resting-place for the restless thinker, and the intoxicating joy of life for the life-loving mortal, but it is also an expression for the *shall-be*, for that which shall become the ruling fundamental motive of the will, for that which shall give to the will its freedom and therewith for the first time its power over the sphere of the natural, for that which shall free the indestructible inclination of man toward the good from the *misera necessitas peccandi*—expression of the *good.* Thus for him all inferences of the intellect and all eudemonistic wrappings dropped from the conception of the good to the ground. For this line of thought also he claimed general validity.

Metaphysics and Ethics Transformed into Religion.

But still another experience now followed and it scorned all analysis. Yonder *good* not only confronted him as the "shall be", but he felt himself seized by it as *love* and lifted out of the misery of the monstrous contradiction of existence. Accordingly the conception of God received an entirely new meaning: The good which is able to do this, the Almighty, is Person, is Love. The *summum esse* is the holy good in Person, working upon the will as almighty Love. *Metaphysics and ethics are transformed into religion.* Evil is not only *privatio substantiae* and therefore not mere *privatio boni*, but godlessness (*privatio Dei*); the ontological defect in the creature existence and the moral defect in the good is a defect in the attitude of love toward God; but to possess God is everything, is being, good being, free-will and peace. Henceforth a stream of Divine thought flowed forth freely from Augustine. It is just as inherently natural to God to be *gratia*, imparting himself in love, as to be *causa causatrix non causata; man however lives by the grace of love.* That he—embarrassed by a monstrous existence, which points back to a serious fall into sin—can live only by grace, may still be explained; but that the grace of love really exists is a transcendent fact. Man does not arrive at freedom through indepen-

Man Lives by Grace.

dence as regards God, but through dependence upon him: Only that love which has been bestowed upon him by God renders man blessed and good.

God is the Only Res.

In the detailed deductions of Augustine respecting God and the soul the notes of metaphysics, ethics and of the deepest Christian experience vibrate within one another. God is the only "*res*", which may be enjoyed (*frui = alicui rei amore inhaerere propter se ipsam*), other things may only be used. This sounds Neo-Platonic, but it is resolved in a Christian sense into the thought: *fide, spe et caritate colendum deum.* God is *Person*, whom one can trust above all other things and whom one should love. The *fides quae per dilectionem operatur* becomes the sovereign expression of religion. The æsthetically grounded optimism, the subtile doctrine of emanation, the idea of the sole agency of God (doctrine of predestination), the representation of evil as the "non-existent" which limits the good, do not indeed entirely disappear, but they are joined in a peculiar manner with the representation of God as the Creator of mankind which has through its own fault become a *massa perditionis*, and of God as the Redeemer and *ordinator peccatorum.* The striving also after absolute knowledge and the conception of the Christian religion in accordance with the scheme of the apologists (rationalistic) never failed in Augustine, and the love of God which he felt was secure to him only under the authority of outward revelation, to which he obediently submitted; but in his relig-

He is Person.

Augustine Adopts Scheme of Apologists.

ious thinking, in which the appreciation of the importance of history was indeed not so well developed as the capacity for psychological observation, the Christian spirit nevertheless ruled.

Christ his Guiding Principle.

From his youth up Christ was the silent guiding principle of his soul. And the apparently purely philosophical deductions were in many ways influenced by the thought of him. All of Augustine's attempts to break through the iron plan of the immutability of God, and to discriminate between God, the world and the *ego*, are to be explained by the impression of history upon him, *i.e.* of Christ. Thus Christ appeared to him, the religious philosopher, more and more plainly as the *way*, the *power* and the *authority*. How often did he speak of revelation in general and mean only him! How often did he speak of Christ where his predecessors spoke of revelation in general! The speculative representation of the idea of the good and of its agency as love became a certainty to him only through the vision of Christ and through the authoritative proclamation of the Church respecting him. The *vision of Christ* was a new element, which he first (after Paul and Ignatius) again introduced. Just as his doctrine of the trinity received a new form through the conviction, experienced through faith, of the unity of God, although he adopted the old formulas, so also did his Christology, in spite of all adherence to tradition (rigid combating of Apollinaris), receive a new content through the preaching of Ambrose and his own

Vision of Christ Adopted from Paul.

Sublimity and Humility of Christ. Mediæval Key-note.

experience. (1) In the first place as regards Christ the representation of his sublimity in his humility was of decisive importance to him, the actual verifying of the sentence, *omne bonum in humilitate perficitur* (the incarnation also he represented from this point of view); in this he began to strike the mediæval key-notes of Christology, (2) He laid the whole stress upon the possibility now won, that man, lying in the dust, can apprehend God since he has come near us in our lowliness (the Greek waits for an exaltation to be able to grasp God in Christ), (3) He construed not infrequently the personality of Christ also from the human soul of the Redeemer and he saw in the endowments of the same the great example of the *gratia praeveniens*, which made the man Jesus what he became, (4) He conceived the *man* Jesus as Mediator, as Sacrifice and Priest, through whom we have been reconciled to the Deity and redeemed, whose death, as the Church proclaims it, is the surest foundation of our faith in redemption. In all these respects Augustine introduced new ideas into the old dogma, joining them thereto indeed only insecurely and artificially. A new Christological formula he did not create; to him Christ became the rock of faith, since he knew that the influence of this Person had broken his pride and given him strength to believe in the love of God and to let himself be found by it. The living Christ is the truth, and he who is proclaimed by the Church, is the way and the authority.

Jesus Mediator, Sacrifice, and Priest.

Vita Beata.

The soul is guided by the *quae per dilectionem operatur* unto the *vita beata*. This is the blessed peace in the *vision* of God. Therefore *knowledge* still remains the aim of man. It is not the will that holds the primacy, but the intellect. Finally Augustine retained the vulgar Catholic form of thought which confines man in the hereafter to an adoring knowledge; in this life asceticism and contemplation answers to it (hence Augustine's defence of monasticism as against Jovinian). The kingdom of God, so far as it is earthly, is also perishable. The soul must be freed from the world of appearances, of similitudes and compulsory conduct. Nevertheless Augustine exerted indirectly a powerful influence upon the current eschatological ideas: (1) Virtue is not the highest good, but dependence upon God (in the representation of the decisive significance of the *merita* this point of view was indeed abandoned), (2) The priestly ascetic life should be a *spiritual* one; the magico-physical elements of Greek mysticism recede entirely (no cultus mysticism), (3) In the thought, "*mihi adhaerere deo bonum est*", intellectualism was broken down; the will received its due position, (4) Love remains even the same in eternity as that which we possess in this life; therefore this world and the other are still closely united, (5) If love remains also in the other world, then intellectualism reappears in a modified form, (6) Not the earthly life, but the earthly Church has a higher meaning; the latter is, so to speak, the holy above

Dependence upon God.

Spiritual Asceticism.

Intellectualism Discounted.

Love Abides.

Modified Intellectualism.

Ecclesiasticism.

all that is most holy, and it is a duty to build it up; not a religion of a second order supersedes the religion, but ecclesiasticism, the service of the Church as a moral agency for reforming society, as an organism of the sacramental powers of love, of the good and of the right in which Christ works, (7) Higher than all monasticism stand *fides*, *spes* and *caritas;* hence the scheme of a dreary and egotistical contemplation is broken. To be sure, Augustine succeeded in uniting in all directions, although indeed with contradictions, the new lines of thought with the old.

Fides, Spes, Caritas.

2. *The Donatist Contest. The Work, "De Civitate Dei." The Doctrine of the Church and of the Means of Grace.*

Reuter, a. a. O. Reinkins, Gesch. phil. d. h. Aug., 1866. Ginzel, L. Aug. v. d. Kirche in d. Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr., 1849. Köstlin, D. Kathol. Auffass. v. d. K. in d. deutschen Ztschr. f. christl. Wissensch., 1856, Nr. 14. Schmidt, Aug.'s Lehre v. d. K. in d. Yahrbb. f. deutsche Theol., 1861. Seeberg, Begriff d. christl. K. I. Th., 1885. Ribbeck, Donatus u. Aug., 1888.

Augustine Adopts Cyprian's Doctrine of the Church.

In the contest with Manichæism and Donatism Augustine, following Optatus, formulated his doctrine of the Church upon the basis of Cyprian's conception, excluding, however, the Donatistic elements of Cyprian and moderating the hierarchical. In describing the Church as *authority*, as an indestructible *institution of salvation*, he believed that he was merely describing a divinely produced verity; in representing it as *communio sanctorum*, he followed his own religious experience. In the former he opposed the critical "subjectivism" of the Manichæans and the puritanism of the Donatists who desired to make the truth of the Church dependent upon the purity of the priests; in the latter he used his doctrine of salvation in defining his conception of the Church. Complicated views were the consequence. Not only does the Church appear, now as the goal of religion, now as the way to the goal, but the conception itself becomes a complexity of divers conceptions. Finally the doctrine of predestination presented itself to him as out-and-out questionable.

Unity of Church.

I. 1. The most important characteristic of the Church is its *unity* (in faith, hope and love, on the one side, in Catholicity on the other), which the same Spirit produces that holds the trinity together; this in the midst of the disruption of humanity is a proof of the divineness of the Church. Since unity flows only from *love*, the Church rests upon the governing power of the divine spirit of *Love;* community of faith alone is not entirely sufficient. From this view there follows: *Caritas christiana nisi in unitate ecclesiae non potest custodiri, etsi baptismum et fidem teneatis, i.e. unity only exists where love is and love only where unity is.* The application of this phrase with its consequences declares: Heretics not only do not belong to the Church (for they deny the unity of the faith), but schismatics also stand outside of it; for their very separation from the unity proves that they are wanting in love, *i.e.* in the operations of the Holy Spirit. Therefore only the *one* great Church is *the* Church, and outside of it there can indeed exist faith, heroic deeds, even means of salvation, but no salvation.

Holiness of Church.

2. The second characteristic of the Church is its *holiness*. The Church is holy as the place of the activity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and as the possessor of those means which sanctify the individual. That she does not succeed with all, cannot rob her of her holiness; even a numerical superiority of the *mali et hypocritae* does not endanger this; otherwise one unholy member would already render her right questionable. The Church exercises discipline and excommunication not so much to preserve her holiness as to educate. She herself is already secure against contamination with that which is unholy, in view of the fact that she never sanctions it, and she demonstrates her holiness, since in her midst, and only within her, real saints are begotten, and since she everywhere elevates and sanctifies the morals of men. In the strict sense only the *boni et spirituales* belong to her, but in a wider sense the unholy also, in so far as they are still able to be spiritualized and remain under the influence of the sacraments ("*vasa in contumeliam in domo dei*"; they are not the house of God, but "*in domo*"; they are not "*in communione sanctorum*" but "*sacramentorum*"). Thus the Church is a "*corpus permixtum*", and even heretics and schismatics ultimately belong to her, in so far as they have ap-

propriated the means of grace and remain under the discipline of the Church. But the holiness of the Church includes as its aim the pure *communio sanctorum* (*communio fidelium*), and all religious predicates of the Church are valid for this communion.

Catholicity of Church.

3. The third characteristic of the Church is its *Catholicity* (universality as regards space). This furnishes the strongest outward proof of the truth of the Church; for it is a fact perceptible to the senses and at the same time a miracle with which the Donatists have nothing comparable. The great church at Carthage evidences itself as the true Church by its union with Rome, with the old Oriental churches, and with the churches of the whole world (in opposition the Donatists rightly said: "*Quantum ad totius mundi pertinet partes, modica pars est in compensatione totius mundi, in qua fides christiana nominatur*").

Apostolicity of Church.

4. The fourth characteristic is its *apostolicity*, which manifests itself, (1) in the possession of the apostolical writings and doctrines, (2) in the ability of the Church to trace back its existence as far as the apostolical churches by the line of episcopal succession (this point Cyprian emphasized more strongly). Among these churches the Roman is the most important on account of its first bishop, Peter. He is the representative of the apostles, of the Church, of weak Christians and of the ecclesiastical function of the bishops. The old theory that it is necessary to be in union with the *sedes apostolica* and *cathedra*

Petri, Augustine retained; but as regards the infallibility of the Roman see, he expressed himself just as undecidedly and contradictorily as in regard to the councils and the episcopate (naturally to him a council stood higher than the Roman bishop).

Infallibility of Church.

5. The *infallibility* of the Church Augustine considered as firmly established; but he was able to reproduce the arguments for it only as relatively sound and sufficient. In like manner he was convinced of the *indispensableness* of the Church; but he propounded ideas (regarding the doctrine of predestination and the immutability of the eternal working of God), which annulled the same.

Church is Kingdom of God on Earth.

6. The Church is the *kingdom of God* upon earth. As a rule Augustine, indeed, in making use of this conception had no reference to the Church, but to the entire result of the work of God in the world, in contrast with the work of the devil. But whenever he identifies Church and kingdom of God, he means by the former the *communio fidelium* (*corpus verum*). But since there is only *one* Church, he could not but consider, in a given case, the *corpus permixtum* also as the kingdom of God; and since with the abolition of all apocalyptic representations he saw the millennium now already realized in the Church, in contrast with the perishing evil state of the world, he was driven almost involuntarily to the consequence that the visible Church with its ruling priests and its regulations is the kingdom of God (*de civitate dei*, XX. 9–13). Thus the idea of the

Variously Viewed.

kingdom of God passes with him through all stages, from a historico-theological conception, which is neutral as regards the idea of the Church (the kingdom of God is in heaven and has been organizing itself since Abel upon the earth for heaven), to the Church of the priests, but it has its centre in the *ecclesia* as a heavenly "*communio sanctorum in terris peregrinans*". Parallel with this conception goes that other of the *societas* of the godless and reprobates (including the demons), which finally passes over into the idea of the earthly kingdom (the state) as the *magnum latrocinium*. In opposition to this communion originating in sin and condemned to eternal strife, stands in general the state of God as the only rightful union of men. But the latter points of this form of statement which ends in a real theocracy of the Church and in a condemnation of the state, Augustine neither elaborated nor especially emphasized. He had in mind almost throughout spiritual powers and spiritual strife; the popes of the Middle Ages first drew the theocratic consequences. He also gave to his view respecting the state the turn, that, since the *pax terrena* is a good (even if a particular one), a community (the state) which protects it is also good. But since the *pax terrena* can be brought about only by justice, and inasmuch as the latter is undoubtedly in possession of the Church alone (because as resting upon the *caritas* it originates with God), the state can obtain a relative right only by submission to the state of God. It is clear that this

State Subordinated to Church.

view also, by which the earthly state receives a certain independence (because it has an especial mission), can be easily introduced into the theocratic scheme. Augustine himself drew only a few consequences, yet he drew these: That the state must serve the Church by means of compulsory measures against idolatry, heretics and schismatics, and that the Church must in general exercise an influence upon the state's right of punishment.

Word and Sacrament.

II. 1. The Donatist contest also necessitated a closer consideration of the sacraments (vid. Optatus). In the first place, it was the greatest advance that Augustine recognized the *word* as a means of grace. The formula, "*word* and *sacrament*", originated with him, yes, he esteemed the "*word*" so highly that he even called the sacrament "*verbum visibile*", and with the sentence: "*crede et manducasti*" he opposed all working through mysteries and gave to the conception "sacrament" so wide a range that every sensible sign with which a redemptive word is joined may be so named ("*accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*"). An especial doctrine of the sacraments is not to be drawn therefrom; Augustine indeed not seldom goes so far in spiritualization, that the sensible sign and the audible word need only to be considered as *signa* and *imago* of the invisible act accompanying them (forgiveness of sin, spirit of love).

Baptism and Lord's Supper.

2. But, on the other hand, the sacraments—Augustine has reference as a rule in this connection only

to baptism and the Lord's Supper—are after all something higher. They are signs, instituted by God, of a higher object, with which, by virtue of the constituted order of creation, they stand in a certain relationship, and through them grace is really imparted to him who makes use of them (assurance of the *misericordia Christi* in the sacrament, but on the other hand, *actus medicinalis*). This communication is dependent upon the administration (objectivity of the sacraments), but it is redemptive only where the spirit of love (the true Church) exists. Thereby arose the double contradiction, that the sacraments are effective everywhere and yet only in the Church, are independent of men and yet bound up with the Church in their redemptiveness. Augustine resolved this contradiction by discriminating between the *character* which the sacraments impart (stamping it, as it were) and the real communication of grace. The sacraments "*sancta per se ipsa*" can be purloined from the Church and yet retain their efficacy, but only within the Church do they tend effectively to salvation ("*non considerandum, quis det sed quid det*," but on the other hand, "*habere*" is not yet "*utiliter habere*").

Doctrine of Sacraments Conditioned.

3. Only with baptism (character: Inalienable relation to Christ and his Church) and ordination (character: Inalienable preparation to offer sacrifice and to administer the sacraments), however, could this view be harmonized, not indeed with the Lord's Supper; for in this the *res sacramenti* is the

invisible incorporation into the body of Christ (concerning the elements Augustine taught symbolically), and the Lord's Supper is the *sacrificium caritatis;* therefore the Catholic Church was ever allied with the Lord's Supper (*sacramentum unitatis*) and there could exist no "character", which was independent of this Church. Augustine glided over this difficulty. His general doctrine of the sacraments was obtained from baptism, and he discriminated therein thus artificially, in order that he might, (1) place the Donatists in the wrong, (2) maintain the characteristic of the sanctity of the Church, (3) give to faith a firm support, upon which it could rely—independent of men. Afterward the discrimination was made the most of, especially in the hierarchical sense. But Augustine's emphasis upon the "word" and his spiritualism have given simultaneously offence in another direction (*to Luther and to the Præ-Reformers*).

Idea of the Church a Confused Picture.

Augustine's ideas in regard to the Church are full of contradictions. The true Church should also be visible, and yet to the visible Church belongs also evil men and hypocrites, nay even heretics. The *externa societas sacramentorum*, which is *communio fidelium et sanctorum* and finally also the *numerus praedestinatorum* are *one* and the same Church! The "*in ecclesia esse*" has in truth a triple sense. "*In ecclesia*" are only the *praedestinati*, including those still unconverted; "*in ecclesia*" are the believers, including those who will relapse; "*in ecclesia*" are all those who have part in the sacraments! The Church is properly in heaven and yet visible as *civitas* upon earth! It is from the beginning and yet first instituted by Christ! It is founded upon predestination, not upon faith, love, hope, nor upon the sacraments! But while taking account of these divers important points which are contradictory if there is to be only one Church, one must not forget that Augustine lived as an humble Christian with the thought that the Church is the *communio fidelium et sanctorum*, that faith, hope and love are its foundation, and that it "*in terris stat per remissionem peccatorum in caritate.*" The predestinarian idea of the Church (in reality the dissolution of the Church) belongs to the theologian and the theosophist, the empirical idea to the Catholic polemic. It is not to be overlooked also, that Augustine first rescued the sacraments from the magical aspect under which they were to counterbalance a moralistic mode of thinking, and coördinated and subordinated them to faith. He first rendered the doctrine of the sacraments reformable.

3. *The Pelagian Contest. Doctrine of Grace and of Sin.*

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Doctrine of Sin and Grace.

Augustine had not formulated his doctrine regarding grace and sin when he permitted himself to be baptized into the Catholic Church (see his anti-Manichæan writings), however he had done so before he entered into the Pelagian contest. Pelagius also did not formulate his doctrine first during the contest, but he held it when he took offence at the Augustinian expression, "*da quod jubes et jube quod vis*". The two great modes of thought —whether grace is to be reduced to nature or whether it sets nature free—rose in arms against each other. The Occident, prepared through Ambrose, accepted Augustinianism with incredible alacrity. Augustine, the religious man and the virtuoso, encountered in Pelagius an earnest ascetic monk, in Cælestius a eunuch, in Julian a gay man of the world who was also a resolute, determined rationalist and an inexorable dialectician.

Pelagianism is Rationalistic Monasticism and Redemption.

Pelagianism is Christian rationalism, consistently developed under the influence of Hellenic monasticism; it is stoic and Aristotelian popularized Occidental philosophy, which made the attempt to subordinate to itself the traditional doctrine of redemption. The influence of the Antiochian theology can be shown. The sources are the writings and letters of Cælestius, Pelagius and Julian (mostly in Augustine and Jerome), the works of Augustine, Jerome, Orosius, Marius Mercator, the papal letters and synodal decrees. Pelagius himself was more cautious, less aggressive and less truthful than Cælestius and Julian. The latter first completed the doctrine (without him, Augustine says, "*Pelagiani dogmatis machina sine architecto necessario remansisset*"). Formally Augustinianism and Pelagianism are herein related and opposed to the previous mode of thought, (1) Each is founded upon the desire to unify the religious, ethical knowledge, (2) Each expelled from tradition the dramatico-eschatological element, (3) Each was not culto-mystically interested, but kept the problem within the sphere of the spirit, and (4) Neither puts the highest emphasis upon traditional proof (Augustine often confesses that the proof is difficult to deduce from the extant writings of the fathers). Pelagius was anxious to show that in the whole controversy it was not a question of dogma, but a practical question; Augustine carried on the contest with the conviction that the essence and power of the Christian religion must stand or fall with his doctrine of grace; Cælestius was especially interested in overthrowing the doctrine of hereditary sin; Julian was consciously defending the cause of reason and freedom against a "stupid and impious dogma" through which the Church was being plunged into barbarism and the educated minority given over to the masses who do not understand Aristotle.

Elements Common to Augustinianism and Pelagianism.

Pelagius in Rome.

I. Pelagius appeared in Rome and proclaimed to the common Christians monasticism and the ability of every man to rise in his own strength unto virtue, avoided theological polemics but contended against the quietism of the Augustinian confessions. His Roman friend Cælestius seconded him. Both went to North Africa, from which Pelagius however soon departed. Cælestius applied at Carthage for a presbyter's office. But he was complained of (412 or 411) by the Milanese deacon, Paulinus, at a synod at Carthage, because he considered mortality as something natural (to Adam and to all men), denied the universal consequences of Adam's sin, taught the perfect innocence of the new-born babe, esteemed the benefit of the resurrection of Christ as not necessarily attributable to all, misunderstood the difference between law and gospel, spoke of sinless men before the appearance of Christ and thought in general superficially of sinlessness and the fulfilment of the commandments of Christ, if only one has good intentions. In spite of his assertion that he acknowledged the baptism of children (but not unto the forgiveness of sin) and was therefore orthodox, he was excommunicated. He went to Ephesus and Constantinople. Pelagius was in Palestine and sought to maintain peace with Augustine and Jerome. His keen friend with his polemic against the *tradux peccati* and the baptism of infants *in remissionem peccatorum* was uncongenial to him; more valuable were his more recent friends in the Orient, especially John of Jerusalem. He and others pronounced him in-

Cælestius Seconds his Teaching.

Cælestius Excommunicated.

nocent (at the synods at Jerusalem and Diospolis 415), while the Augustinian disciples, Orosius and Jerome, accused him of misunderstanding the Divine grace. But only with a mental reservation did Pelagius give up the incriminating tenets of Cælestius, which accordingly remained condemned in the Orient also. In his literary labors he became simply more cautious, but did not give in. The North African churches (synods of Carthage and Mileve, 416) as well as Augustine applied to Innocent I. in Rome for the condemnation of the two heretics. The pope, glad to have been approached by North Africa, complied (417), yet kept a pathway of retreat open for himself. Although Zosimus, his successor, induced through a cunning confession of faith by Pelagius and won over by Cælestius who now also grew more cautious, reinstated them and at first remained deaf to the representations of the North Africans; yet a general synod at Carthage (418) and an imperial edict, which expelled both heretics with their followers from Rome, made an impression also upon the pope, who in an *epistula tractoria* assented to the condemnation and required the Occidental bishops to sign the same (418). Still this imputation strengthened the opposition party. Eighteen bishops declined. Their leader was Julian of Eklanum. This *juvenis confidentissimus* now took up his sharp pen. He wrote daring letters to Zosimus and Rufus of Thessalonica, which Augustine answered (420). Therewith began a ten years' literary feud between

Pelagius Declared Innocent at Synod of Jerusalem, 415.

Innocent I.

Zosimus.

Julian of Eklanum.

the two (fragments of the Julian writings in *Aug. de nuptiis et concupisc.*, *libri sex c.* Jul. and *opus imperf. c.* Jul.). During the same Augustine was often driven into a close corner by Julian; but the feud took place *post festum:* Augustine was already victor; Julian wrote like one who has nothing more to lose. He evolved therefore his naturalism and moralism out of his royal reason with great license, casting aside all monkery, yet without any comprehension of the needs and right of religion. He was finally forced to flee with his companions into the Orient and he there found protection with Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Ephesian council, *i.e.* Cyril, did the Roman bishop the favor of condemning the Pelagians (431). In the Orient men had no comprehension of the contest; indeed at the bottom they were inclined toward Pelagianism as regards the freedom of the will; but in the Occident also men were agreed only on the points, that every baptism is *in remissionem peccatorum*, that there exists since the fall of Adam a *tradux peccata* which delivers the children of Adam over to death and condemnation, and that the grace of God as a power for good is necessary unto the salvation of every man.

Pelagians Condemned at Council of Ephesus, 431.

Pelagius' Doctrines.

II. Pelagius cared nothing for new dogmas and a system; Julian's stoical system with its Aristotelian dialectics, Christian etiquette and tendency toward naturalism belongs to the history of theology. Yet it is important to note the principles of the Pelagian doctrine; for it has made its appearance in a subtle form again and again. The monastic tendency was not an essential thing with Pelagius, but subordinate to the aim of the spontaneous development of good character, and to the ancient idea of moderation. Just on that account one may class Pelagius and Julian together. Courageous faith in man's ability to do that which is good, and the want of clearness of thought on religio-ethical questions unite them.

Because there is righteousness, there is a God. God is the kind Creator and the just Leader. Everything that he has created is good, therefore also the creature, the law and free-will. If nature is good, it is then not convertible; accordingly there can exist no *peccata naturalia*, only *peccata per accidens*. Human nature can be modificated only incidentally. The most important and best endowment of this nature is free-will ("*motus animi cogente nullo*"); reason is comprised within the latter. Both bring it to pass that man does not live under the *conditio necessitatis* and does not need help. It is the glorious *gratia prima* of God, the Creator, that we may do both and can do either. The *possibilitas boni* comes from God, the *voluntas* and *actio* is our concern. Evil is a momentary, false self-determination without consequence to the nature, originating in the sensuous faculties. According to Pelagius these are bad in themselves, but can be subdued; according to Julian they are not bad in themselves, only so "*in excessu*". Were it otherwise, then must baptism abolish concupiscence; and

No Peccata Naturalia.

Possibilitas Boni from God: Voluntas et Actio is Ours.

if concupiscence is bad, then the Creator God is not good. Man is able to resist every sin, therefore he must do so; there have indeed been sinless men. According to Pelagius everybody goes to hell who acts contrary to his better ability. The attempt to adjust these teachings to the Scriptures and ecclesiastical tradition was fraught with difficulties. It was admitted that Adam, endowed with freedom of choice, fell; yet natural death, since it is natural, was not the consequence of his sin, but spiritual death. Inasmuch as death has not descended from him, much less has not sin; for the acceptance of a *tradux peccati* (original sin) leads to the absurd assumption of soul-generation and to Manichæism (evil nature), abolishes the Divine justice, causes matrimony to appear unholy, therefore unlawful, and destroys all possibility of a redemption (for how can a redemptive message or a law influence nature?). Sin always remains an affair of the will and each is punished only for his own sin. All men stand in the condition of Adam before his fall ("*liberum arbitrium et post peccata tam plenum est quam fuit ante peccata*"); only a sinful habit keeps them down, the power of which is certainly to be acknowledged. On that account grace also must be acknowledged as *adjutorium*. According to the degree of convenience, the Pelagians declared grace as simply necessary, as alleviating, as superfluous. They considered it in truth only a comfortable crutch for Christians; for the sentence, "*homo libero arbitrio*

Sin is an Affair of the Will.

Grace is One.

Grace Conferred According to Merit.

emancipatus est a Deo", excludes grace in principle. There exists also in truth only *one* grace, the enlightening, deterring, reward-offering law; but one may also distinguish, (1) creational grace (endowment), (2) the law (*illuminatio et doctrina*), (3) *gratia per Christum:* (a) his example, (b) the fruit of his work applied by baptism to our benefit as forgiveness of sin. On this point the Pelagians were not permitted to waver; but they disclaimed the *gratia praeveniens*, did not see in the baptism of infants a baptism *in remissionem peccatorum* and did not acknowledge the absolute necessity of forgiveness. Children dying unbaptized are also saved, but are not admitted into the *regnum caelorum*. The thesis of the Pelagians, that Christian grace is conferred only *secundum merita*, abolishes grace just as much as the other thesis, that it works essentially in the same manner as the law. While judging Augustinianism, now as an innovation, now as Manichæism, now as inward contradiction, they themselves brought forth the greatest contradictions (dialectically concealed), and were innovators in so far as they really held fast to the old ecclesiastical doctrine of freedom but not to the opposite pole, the mystical doctrine of redemption, and they accordingly sold religion to an irrational rationality and to a profoundly immoral theory of morality.

Augustine's Doctrines.

III. Augustine did not start from the *liberum arbitrium*, but from God and the soul which feels its guilt in his presence and yet has experienced his grace. In seeking to *explain* therefrom nature, the history of the world and the history of the individual, he fell into many contradictions and into assumptions too easily gainsaid. But there are theses which are, outwardly considered, entirely untrue, but, inwardly considered, true. Thus is Augustine's doctrine of grace and sin to be judged. As an expression of psychological religious experience it is true; but projected into history it is false. Besides it is in itself also not consistent; for it is dominated by the thought that "God in Christ creates faith", as well as by the other thought that "God is the only Causality", and these are brought only seemingly into consonance by the definition of grace as *gratis data*.

Manichæan Elements.

Besides Manichæan elements are visible; the letter of Scripture (generally misunderstood) had also an obscuring effect, and the religious view is accompanied by a moralistic (*merita*) which finally makes the decision.

Humanity is, according to experience, a *massa peccati*, *i.e.* void of God; but the God-man Christ, —he alone—by his death brought the power to replenish empty humanity with Divine love: that is the *gratia gratis data*, the beginning, middle and end of our salvation. Its aim is that out of the *massa perditionis* there shall be saved a *certus numerus electorum*. Such will be saved because God has predestined (Augustine is an infra-lapsarian), elected, called, justified, sanctified and preserved them by virtue of his eternal decree. This takes

Gratia Gratis Data.

place in the Church through grace, which, (1) is *praeveniens*, *i.e.* withdraws man from his condition of sin and creates the good will (= *vocatio*, but this and all further acts of grace take place in those also who finally are not saved, because they are not elected), (2) *cöoperans*—this is developed in a series of gradations as far as the entire and actual regeneration of man, which makes it possible for him, when filled with love, to earn *merita*. Out of the *vocatio* follows the *fides;* this is gradually augmented, since it is developed upon the stages of belief, obedience, *fiducia* and love. Parallel with it goes the actual (visible) working of grace in the Church, which begins with the *remissio peccatorum*, *i.e.* with baptism, which removes the *reatus* of hereditary sin and blots out past sins. It terminates in the *justificatio*, which is not a judgment upon the sinner, but the completing of the process by virtue of which he has actually passed from an impious to a just state. This takes place through the infusion of the spirit of love into the heart of the believer (and through the Lord's Supper), whereby, admitted into the unity of the communion with Christ (Church), he receives as *sanctus* and *spiritalis*, a new disposition and desire ("*mihi adhaerere deo bonum est*") and now has the capacity for good works ("*fides impetrat, quod lex imperat*"). Justification depends upon the *fides* and is *sub specie aeternitatis* a concluded act; empirically considered, it is a process never completed in this world. The being filled with faith,

†Grace is Praeveniens, Cöoperans, Irresistibilis.

Justification Depends Upon Faith.

hope, and love is evidenced by the demonstration of love and by withdrawal from the world (asceticism). This is in turn evidenced in good works, which now have merit before God (*merita*), although they are his gifts since they are begotten of his grace. Not to every one are perfect works granted (*consilia evangelica*); but every justified person has works of faith, hope and love, (3) the highest and best gift of the *gratia* is the *perseverantia* which is *irresistibilis* in the elect. The *vocati* (*et sanctificati ?*) who do not have this will be lost. Why some only receive it, since it is not bestowed *secundum merita*, is God's mystery. But certain is it—in spite of predestination and sovereign grace—that at the final judgment not the "*adhaerere Dei*" but the moral *habitus* will be decisive. He only who can show *merita* (but such are *Dei munera*) will be saved. The significance of the forgiveness of sin and of faith is however misconceived. Augustine's thesis is: "Where love is, there also is bliss corresponding to the measure of love".

Sin, Fall and Original State.

Privatio Boni.

On this basis Augustine formed his doctrine concerning sin, the fall and the original state. Sin is *privatio boni* (lack of being and of true being), turning of man unto himself (pride) and concupiscence (sensuality): "*misera necessitas non posse non peccandi*", although formal freedom exists—dominion of the devil (therefore redemption from without is necessary). Augustine desires to retain the "*amor sui*" as the principal conception of sin, but in reality he ranks concupiscence above it. The latter manifests itself above all in sexual lust. Since this acts spontaneously (independent of the will), it proves, that the nature is vitiated (*natura vitiata*). For that reason it propagates sin: The act of generation, consummated with lust, is a testimony that humanity has become a *massa peccati*. Since Augustine hesitated to teach traducianism as regards the origin of the soul, the body—contrary to the original deposition—becomes the bearer of sin which infects the soul. The *tradux peccati* runs as *vitiam originis* through humanity. This hereditary sin is sin, punishment for sin and guilt; it destroys the true life and surrenders man to the *non posse non mori* (unbaptized children also—however "*mittissima poena*"), after it has defiled all his acts ("*splendida vitia*"). Thus testify Scripture, the practice of the Church (infant baptism) and the conscience of the sinner. Since Adam this hereditary sin exists as *natura vitiata*. His fall was terrible, a complexity of all heinous sins (pride and concupiscence); it was the more terrible, since Adam had not only been created good, but also possessed as *adjutorium* the Divine grace (for without this there exists no spontaneous goodness). This grace he forfeited, and so great was its loss, that "in him" the whole human race was corrupted (not only because all *were* that Adam, but also because from him the evil contagion spread), and even baptism is not able to eradicate hereditary sin (human lust), but can only remove its

Natura Vitiata.

Tradux Peccati; Vitiam Originis.

Race Sinned in Adam.

reatus. Augustine's idea of the original state (*posse non peccare and adjutorium*) stands in flagrant contradiction with his doctrine of grace; for *gratia* as *adjutorium* in the original state is the grace of redemption, in so far as, totally unlike, it leaves the will free and really has no effect, but is merely a condition of the free decision for good, therefore not *irresistibilis.* This *adjutorium* is in truth conceived in a Pelagian way (his doctrine of the original state and of the standard of the final judgment is not compatible with his doctrine of grace) and the *natura vitiata* (when taken as human lust) gives no longer a place for holy matrimony, and is therefore Manichæan. But all these grave offences cannot dim the greatness of the truth that God works the "willing and doing", that we possess nothing which we have not received, and that to adhere to God is good and our good.

4. *Augustine's Exposition of the Symbol. The New Doctrine of Religion.*

Augustine's Enchiridion.

In order to understand how Augustine transformed the traditional doctrine of religion (the dogma), and to know which of his thoughts have passed into ecclesiastical possession, it is necessary to study his explanations of the symbol, especially his Enchiridion. In the first place the common Catholic trend of his teaching is here revealed. Conformably with the old symbol, the doctrine of the trinity and of the double-nature is explained; the importance of the Catholic

Baptism Most Important Mystery.

Church is strictly maintained. Baptism is placed in the foreground as the most important mystery, and is referred back to the death of Christ, by which the dominion of the devil, after he has received his dues, is broken. Faith often appears as something preliminary; eternal life is granted only to those meriting it; these continue in works of love, lastly however in asceticism. But all are not obliged to live thus; one must distinguish between *mandata* and *consilia*. His treatment of alms is broad; it constitutes penance. Within the Church there is forgiveness of all sins, under the assumption of the *satisfactio congrua*. There are degrees in sin, ranging from crimes to insignificant every-day sins; in the same manner there are also degrees of good and of bad men; even the best (*sancti, perfecti*) are not free from light sins. There is a gradation of bliss (according to the *merita*). The departed, but not perfected good souls are benefited by the sacrifice of the mass, alms and prayers; they are in a purifying fire of punishment. The common, superstitious views were in many ways farther intensified by Augustine; thus in regard to purgatory, to the temporary amelioration of the punishment of the condemned, to the angels who aid the Church of this world, to the completing by the redeemed of the heavenly Church which was decimated through the fall of the angels, to the virginity of Mary *in partu* and to her singular purity and conception, to the mild beginnings toward the calculation of the value of the sacrificial death of Christ,

Degrees of Sin and Bliss.

Common Superstitious Views Emphasized.

finally—to the conception of salvation as *visio et fruitio Dei*, which again and again comes to the surface, and to the joining of the spiritual powers to mysteriously operating sacraments.

New Elements Added to Church Doctrines.

But, on the other side, the doctrine of religion in the Enchiridion is new. To the old symbol material was added which could be united with it only very loosely and which at the same time modifies the original elements. In all three articles the treatment of sin, forgiveness of sin and perfection in love is the main thing (Ench. 10 seq. 25 seq. 41 seq. 64–68). Everything is represented as an inward process, to which the very briefly treated old dogmatic material appears as subordinate. *Therefore the 3d article is treated the most explicitly.* Already in the brief sketch the new appears: Everything depends upon faith, hope, love; so truly inward is religion (3–8). In the 1st article no cosmology is given; indeed physics as the content of dogmatics is expressly put aside (9, 16 seq.). Hence the various Logos-doctrines are also all wanting. The trinity, handed down as dogma, is compressed into a unity: It is the Creator. In reality it is *one* person (the persons are moments in God and have no longer any cosmological meaning). Everything in religion is related to God, as the *sole* source of all good, and to sin; the latter is distinguished from error. Thus was a break made with the old intellectualism. Whenever there is a reference to sin, there is also one to the *gratia gratis data*, the predestining grace, which alone frees the

God and Sin.

shackled will. With a reference to the *misericordia praeveniens* and *subsequens* the exposition of the 1st article closes. How differently would its words have sounded, had Augustine been able to treat it unrestrainedly!—In the 2d article is touched quite briefly that which the symbol really contains (the return of Christ, without chiliasm). But the following come to the front: The unity of Christ's personality as the *homo* with whose soul the Word united itself, the predestining grace which brought this *homo* into unity of person with the Divinity, although he possessed no deserts, the close connection between the death of Christ and the redemption from the devil, the atonement and baptism, on the one side, the thought of the appearance and history of Christ as exaltation in humility and as the prototype of the *vita Christiana*, on the other. The redemptive importance of Christ was to Augustine as strongly expressed in this humility in exaltation and in the prototype (vid. Bernard and Francis) as in Christ's death. The incarnation as such recedes, *i.e.* is placed in a light which was entirely foreign to the Greeks. Accordingly the 2d article was quite changed; the old dogmatic material is only the building material.—In the 3d article the unrestrainedness and assurance with which an ever-enduring forgiveness of sins within the Church is taught is the principal and the new point. Among the masses the growing laxity had called forth the inexhaustible sacrament of atonement; but with Augustine the new knowl-

Christology of Augustine.

Emphasis on Redemption.

edge had been given through an intensifying of the consciousness of sin and a burrowing into the grace of God, as Paul has taught it. True, the question of the personal assurance of salvation had as yet not touched his soul—he stands between the ancient Church and Luther—; the question, How can I be rid of my sins and be filled with the power of God? was his fundamental question. In following the vulgar Catholic teaching he looks about for good works; but he conceived them as the product of grace and of the will which is dependent upon grace; he accordingly warned men against relying upon outward acts. Cultus and even alms he put aside; he knows that it is a question of inward transformation, of a pure heart and a new spirit. At the same time he is sure that after baptism the way also to forgiveness of sins ever stands open to the penitent, and that he who does not believe in this commits the sin against the Holy Spirit. This is an entirely new interpretation of the Gospel passage. Very explicitly was the conclusion of the symbol (*resurrectio carnis*) explained. But the main point here, after a short explanation of the real theme, is: The new doctrine of predestination as the strength of his theology; furthermore the idea, essentially new as a doctrine (it stands in place of Origen's doctrine regarding the *apokatastasis*), of a purification of souls in the hereafter, toward which the prayers and sacrifices of survivors are able to contribute.

Paul, Augustine, Luther.

Forgiveness of Sin.

Piety.

Piety: *Faith* and *love* in place of fear and hope;

religion: Something higher than all that is called doctrine, a new *life* in the strength of love; the doctrine of Scripture: The *things* (the Gospel, faith, love, hope—God); the trinity: The *one* living God; Christology: The *one* Mediator, the man Jesus, with whose soul the Divinity has been united, without the former having deserved it; redemption: *Death* for the benefit of enemies and *humility* in exaltation; grace: The new creative, changeless power of *love;* the sacraments: The *Word* along with the sign; bliss: The *beata necessitas* of the good; the good: *Dependence* upon God; history: *God does everything according to his pleasure.* Compare with this the Greek dogmatics! True, the old dogma grew the more rigid, the farther they were pushed into the background (not abolished); they became ecclesiastical law and order. The new doctrines remained still fluid; they had not as yet received the form and value of dogmas. Through Augustine Church doctrine became more indefinite as regards extent and importance. On the one hand it was traced back to the Gospel, on the other it defined its limits less sharply in relation to theology, since a definite formulation was lacking. Around the old dogma, which maintained themselves in rigid validity, a large indefinite circle of doctrines was formed, in which the most important thoughts concerning faith lived, and which notwithstanding could be surveyed and firmly fixed by no one. That was the condition of the dogma during the Middle Ages. By the side of the rigidity

Religion.

Doctrine.

Trinity

Christology.

Redemption.

Grace.

Sacraments.

The Good.

History.

there had already begun the process of inward dissolution.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF DOGMA IN THE OCCIDENT TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE MIDDLE AGES (430–604).

Möller, Semipelagianismus R. E.[2] Wiggers, i. Z. f. h. Th., 1854 f., and elsewhere. Lau, Gregor d. Gr., 1845.

Catholic Church Succeeds to West Roman Empire.

THE Western Roman empire collapsed. The Catholic Church stepped in as the heir of the empire, the Roman bishop as the heir of the emperor (Leo I. and his successors in the 5th century). But the papacy, scarcely put at the head, experienced in the time of Justinian a severe reverse, from which Gregory alone succored it. During the 5th and 6th centuries the Roman church was not as yet able to discipline the barbarian nations; for they were Arian and Rome was not free but chained to the Orient from the 6th century on. The Franks alone became Catholic, yet they at first remained independent of Rome. Nevertheless just at this time the claim of the Roman bishop, that everything valid of Peter (especially Mt. 16:17 seq.) was also valid of him, obtained recognition. Dogmatic efforts were limited to the reception and toning down of Augustinianism in the sense of gluing it on to the common Catholic teaching. As regards the old Roman symbol, it obtained in Gaul at that time its present form, in which especially the new expression

The Franks.

"*communio sanctorum*" (Faustus of Reji) is of importance.

I. *Contest between Semi-Pelagianism and Augustinianism.*

Predestinatio, Gratia Irresistibilis.

Grateful esteem for Augustine, rejection of Pelagianism, recognition of the universal hereditary peccability and of the necessity of grace (as *adiutorium*) did not as yet mean the recognition of predestination and of the *gratia irresistibilis.* Justification by works, for which Augustine himself left a concealed place, and a correct instinct of ecclesiastical self-preservation reacted against these doctrines. During Augustine's life-time they had already called forth uneasiness and doubt among the monks of Hadrumet (*Aug. de gratia et libero arbitrio* and *de corruptione et gratia*). A year or two later (428–429) his devoted friends reported to him that in the south of Gaul (monks at Massilia and other places) there was an opposition to the doctrine of predestination and of the inability of the will, because it paralyzed the Christian preaching. Augustine by his writings *de praedest. sanct.* and *de dono perseverantiae* confirmed his friends, but rather goaded his opponents. After his death the "*servi dei*" in southern Gaul advanced more daringly, yet not quite openly for Augustine possessed great authority. The *Commonitorium* of Vincent, which formulates the strictly ecclesiastic traditional point of view (see above, p. 221), is aimed, at least indirectly, against

Monks of Massilia.

John Cassian.

the newness of Augustine's doctrine; John Cassian, the father of the south Gallic monks, gave in his "*collationes*" expression to *semi-Pelagianism*, although he had learned much from Augustine. The decisive points of semi-Pelagianism are the *actual* universality of grace, the accountability (responsibility) of man—herein is it evangelical—and the importance of good works. Accordingly the *gratia praeveniens* is in general admitted only as outward grace. God created the conditions, opportunity and possibility of our salvation; but inward (sanctifying) grace concurs with the free will, which is accordingly a co-ordinate factor. Therefore the one as well as the other may lead the way, and a *gratia irresistibilis* is as much excluded as a predestination independent of the Divine *prescience* (of free actions). The latter involves an *ingens sacrilegium* (*i.e.* fatalism), even if the reservation must stand that God's ways are incomprehensible (like Hilarius of Arles, and more decidedly, but at the same time given to lying, the unknown author of the "*Praedestinatus*", the origin of which is still a riddle—the representation is fairly in keeping with that of Jerome, as *general doctrine* it is more hesitating than that of Augustine, as an expression of Christian self-judgment it is a desertion of the truth). The defenders of Augustine, Prosper and the unknown author of the *libri II. de vocatione gentium* (milder than Augustinianism), did not produce a decisive effect, although pope Cölestius reprimanded their opponents

Points of Semi-Pelagianism.

Hilarius Author of "Praedestinatus."

as over-curious people. During the last decades of the 5th century semi-Pelagianism obtained an excellent representative in the renowned teacher of southern Gaul, Faustus of Reji, an amiable and mild abbot and bishop, who turned as well against Pelagius "*pestifer*", as against the grave error of predestination (in his writing, *de gratia dei et humanae mentis libero arbitrio*), and who induced the strictly Augustinian presbyter Lucidus to recant, after that the doctrine of predestination had been condemned at the synod of Arles (475). Faustus in his doctrine is still more *monkish* than Cassian and less influenced by Augustine. He already brought forward implicitly the doctrine of *meritum de congruo et condigno*. In the *fides* as knowledge and in the endeavors of the will to reform itself there lies a *meritum*, born of the *gratia prima*, which participates in the redeeming grace that now works in union with the will, so that perfect *merita* are produced.

Faustus. of Reji.

Meritum De Congruo et Condigno.

Like as Pelagianism and Nestorianism, which are inwardly united, were once drawn into a common fate, so also was semi-Pelagianism entangled in the Christological controversy and found therein its provisional end. The *theopaschite* Scythian monks in Constantinople (see above, p. 297), who in their Christology especially emphasized the Divine factor, denounced the Occidental theologians (Faustus) as enemies of the correct Christology and as opponents of grace, taking their stand with Augustine. The pope gave an evasive decision, but the monks found

Scythian Monks in Constantinople.

allies among the bishops who had been banished from North Africa into Sardinia. **Fulgentius of Ruspe.** Fulgentius of Ruspe wrote about 520 several important letters against the authority of Faustus, in which complete Augustinianism is set forth (particularity of grace, *praedestinatio ad poenam*). These and the reading of Augustine's sermons had its effect also in southern Gaul. The age saw but the one dilemma, either Augustine is a heretic, or a holy teacher. The great Gallic preacher, who had obtained his education entirely from Augustine, **Cæsarius of Arles.** Cæsarius of Arles († 542), averted the South-Gallic opposition, which had become boisterous at the synod of Valence; supported by the pope he gained the victory at the small synod of Orange (525) with the **25 Chapters.** 25 "Chapters", which the pope had extracted from the writings of Augustine and Prosper and sent to the southern Gauls as the doctrine of the early fathers. A few only in southern Gaul supported Cæsarius (Avitus of Vienne, † 523); but most of the bishops were perhaps no longer capable of following the point under controversy. **Boniface II.** The approval of pope Boniface II. strengthened the authority of the decrees of Orange, which were later tolerantly considered by the Tridentine council. The "Chapters" are Augustinian, but predestination is wanting; and the inward process of grace upon which for Augustine the principal emphasis lay is **Gratia Praeveniens.** not deservingly appreciated. The *gratia praeveniens* is taught unequivocally, because the strict conception of hereditary sin and with it the doctrine of grace were emphasized by the monkish views regarding the impurity of matrimony. But otherwise the doctrine is in reality an Augustinianism without Augustine, or could easily be understood as such; *i.e.* the vulgar Catholic views concerning outward grace and works could and would maintain themselves alongside of it.

2. *Gregory the Great* (590–604).

Gregory I.

Rome finally advanced the formulas of Augustinianism to victory, although its bishops in the 6th century withdrew far from the same. Gregory I., a pope highly influential through his personality (a monk), his letters, writings (*regula pastoralis, dialogi, expos. in Job seu moralia, homil. in Ezeck.*) and liturgical reforms, under the cover of Augustinian language strengthened the vulgar Catholic *type*, by means of superstitious elements, then gave expression to it again, and brought forward into prominence the old Occidental conception of religion as legalistic organization. The miraculous became characteristic of religion. The latter lived among angels, devils, sacraments, sacrifices, penitential rites, punishment of sins, fear and hope, but not in sure confidence in God through Christ and in love. Even if Gregory personally indulged in Augustinian thoughts and manifested in his own way justice, gentleness and freedom, yet the variegated form of his theology testifies that even the best men at that time were not able to withdraw from the relig-

Miraculous in Religion.

ious barbarism into which antiquity had dissolved. Gregory was in after time more read and lauded than Augustine. For nearly half a millennium he dominated without a rival the history of dogma in the Occident, and he really dominates Catholicism even now. He indeed created nothing new; but by the manner in which he *accentuated* the various doctrines and Church customs and introduced a second-rate religion into theology, he created the vulgar type of Roman Catholicism. Especially worthy of mention are the following: (1) He reproduced the most valuable series of Augustine's thoughts concerning the *inner* effect and appropriation of grace, in part even independent of the latter, attributing also to the *Word* (*verbum fidei*) great importance; but he gave to all phases of the Augustinian *ordo salutis* a semi-Pelagian cast, since he conceived the *liberum arbitrium* as a factor coördinate with grace ("*nosmet ipsos liberare dicimur, quia liberanti nos domino consentimus*"); (2) He felt the importance of the death of Christ, perhaps more intensely than Augustine, but among the different points of view under which he placed it the apocryphal predominates: Through Christ's death the devil was overcome, after he had been cheated; in the Lord's Supper the sacrifice of Christ is actually repeated (here Gregory's doctrine has become especially the standard), and thus an imaginary sacrifice takes the place of the historical; but otherwise also the historical Christ appears supplanted, viz. by his own

Gregory Dominates in Dogma Half a Millennium.

Reproduces Augustine with Semi-Pelagian Modifications.

Sacrifice of Christ Repeated in Lord's Supper.

meritum, which as the result of a sinless life and holy death is separated from him, an actual good necessary to every one in order to appease the angry God, but in its value to the individual quite an uncertain treasure; (3) With this conception of the intercession of the *meritum Christi*, Gregory united the hitherto uncertain thoughts regarding the intercession of the saints and the service of the angels, and exalted them to the lofty plane of "theology". He legitimized the pagan superstition which had need of demi-gods and graded deities, had recourse to the holy bodies of martyrs and joined the service of Christ closely with that of the saints, classifying and commending the archangels and guardian-angels, and fortifying the evil practice by his doctrine; (4) Hierarch more in practice than in doctrine, he brought out strongly the similarity of the Church and the *civitas Dei*, for he lived at a time when nothing of value existed save the Church. He extolled the latter as the *congregatio sanctorum*, but in reality it was to him an educational institution, repelling the evil and dispensing grace; a higher idea the men of that day dare not set before themselves. To him the Roman bishop was the master only of the sinning bishops (the laity no longer play any part at all), but sinners were they all ("*si qua culpa in episcopis invenitur, nescio quis Petri successori subiectus non sit; cum vero culpa non exigit, omnes secundum rationem humilitatis aequales sunt*"); (5) Gregory still knows what inner

Intercession of Saints, etc.

Church and Civitas Dei.

Old Roman Statutory Rites Appropriated.

gifts of grace and virtue are, but the exterminated Roman paganism had notwithstanding transmitted to him also its *inventory* and its religious mode of thought in such a perfect way that he encased all religious duties and virtues in statutory, firmly outlined ceremonies, which were in part adopted *old Roman customs;* here also he created in reality little that was new, but he elevated to ecclesiastical ordinances of salvation of the first rank the Roman "*religio*" together with the remnants of the mysteries which long since had obtained civic rights in the Church; (6) Gregory had a feeling for true humility, but he strengthened the trend which this virtue had taken toward monastic "*humilitas*", *self-denial* and spiritual self-deception: With the simple sense of truth the sense of truthfulness died out—it became night; and the world of the inner life also, which Augustine had enlightened, grew dark again; (7) Gregory's deductions concerning penitence became the most consequential; in these his theology lived and from them one could wholly construe it. The inscrutable God is the Requiter and leaves no sin unpunished; in baptism he has overlooked inherited sin, but it is our concern to gain blessedness through penance and good works by the aid of the hand of grace. Of the three parts of penitence (*conversio mentis, confessio oris, vindicta peccati*) the penalty to be paid for sin becomes in reality the most important. By Gregory the fatal transposition was first carried out that the "*satisfactiones*", which origin-

Humility, Self-Denial.

Penance.

Satisfactions, Intercessions, Masses, etc.

ally were considered a sure attestation of repentance, are the satisfying penalties for sin, to which one submits in order to avoid eternal punishment. The merit of Christ and the power of the Church seem to consist in the very fact that eternal punishment is changed into temporal; these temporal penalties, however, are again diminished, abbreviated, or prevented by the intercession of Christ and the saints, by masses for the soul, relics, amulets, etc. The fact which has always been observable in the history of religion, that wherever religion takes its aim from morals it becomes immoral, is exemplified here also. In the main principle the severe idea of retribution dominates, in the subordinate all possible means of salvation come into play, in part not even with Christian etiquette, and in the final instance casuistry and fear rule. Long before this view sufficed no longer for this life and for time, and yet men had not dared to reach over into eternity—for who could then be considered saved?—but Gregory was the first to securely introduce purgatory into theology, thereby conquering an immense province for the Church, to remove hell farther away, and thus to procure for uncertainty a new comfort, but no rest.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF DOGMA IN THE TIME OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

Bach, DG. des MA., 2 Bdd., 1873 f. Reuter, Gesch. d. relig. Aufklärung im MA., 2 Bdd., 1875 f. Hauck, KGesch. Deutschlands, 2 Bdd., 1887 f. Schwane, DG. d. mittleren Zt., 1882. Spiess, Gesch. d. Unterrichtswesen i. Deutschl. bis z. Mitte d. 13. Jahrh., 1885. Hatch, The Growth of Church Institutions, 1887.

Clovis.

CLOVIS' conversion to Christianity and Gregory's missionary efforts among the Anglo-Saxons laid the foundation for the history of the Roman Catholic Church among the Germans. In the 7th century Arianism died out; in the 8th Rome was forced to transfer the centre of gravity of its politics to the Romano-Germanic empire. Newly converted England and Germany became at once Roman. Pepin and Charles the Great made advances to the pope. At first the new kingdom of the Franks gained more than the pope; but it soon became apparent that the latter obtained the highest benefit from the confederation, not because the idea in itself of the Christian conqueror signified less than that of the successor of Peter, but because it demanded the foundation of an actual world-empire, which, however, could be only temporarily created.

Pepin and Charlemagne.

Spiritual life and theology had, prior to the time of Charles the Great, no progressive history; the

Carlovingian epoch was a great and, in many respects, abortive attempt at a revival of antiquity and likewise also of the theology of the fathers. Whatever of theology was at hand prior to about the year 800 is compendium and excerpt (Isidore of Seville, Bede, later Rabanus), is in a certain measure "*institution*", like the whole of religion. Through Bede and Alcuin, Augustine was revived. It was a great advance when men began to really understand him again—in some respects better than did Gregory (Alcuin, Agobard and others)—; still as an independent thinker Scotus Erigena alone can be named, whose mystical pantheism, derived from the Areopagite and Augustine ("*de divisione naturae*"), remained however wholly without effect. The effort at culture in the 9th century was a very respectable one (see the manuscripts preserved to us). Starting in England (Theodore of Tarsus, Bede, Alcuin) it swept over the continent and was strengthened by the culture of Italy, which had never been entirely extinguished. But during the great convulsions after the third quarter of the 9th century everything seemed again to be engulfed. The dogmatic controversies of the age originated, in part, in the hitherto hidden but now strictly drawn consequences of Augustinianism, and, in part, in the relationship then sustained toward the Orient. The farther development of the mass and of penance, in practice and in theory, deserves especial attention.

Theodore of Tarsus. Bede, Alcuin.

Scotus Erigena.

1 A. *The Adoption Controversy.*

Hauck, a. a. O. II.; Gams, Kirchengeschichte Spaniens II.

Christology of 5th Council Dominant in Occident.

In the Occident after severe contests the Christology of the 5th council gained the victory, and in spite of the 6th council this mystical view, under the guise of monophysitism, supplanted the strict Chalcedon, since the superstitious ideas about the Lord's Supper favored it. Spain was less influenced by this development. In the Muzarabic liturgy stood the Augustinian formula of the *passio filii adoptivi*.

Elipandus of Toledo.

Elipandus, the tyrannical bishop of Toledo, full of national pride, brought into notice about the year 780 the old doctrine that Christ as regards his human nature is *filius dei adoptivus*, the redeemed therefore in the fullest sense brethren of the man Jesus. Very likely he desired a formula different from that of Rome as an expression of the orthodoxy which was to be found only in Spain.

Felix of Naples.

From inward conviction and with high regard for the human person Jesus, Felix, bishop of Naples, who occupied a chair in the empire of Charles, championed the same (reading of Antiochian scriptures is probable). After that Beatus and Eterius had defended the opposition doctrine in Spain, the Franconian theologians, especially Alcuin, interfered. Monophysites and Nestorians faced each other under new helmets; but to Charles the opportunity of proving himself the guardian of orthodoxy and the master of the

Adoptionism Condemned.

Church was welcome. Adoptionism was condemned at the synods of Regensburg (792), Frankfurt (794), and Aachen (799), Felix was repeatedly forced to recant, and Frankish Spain was recalled through theology and gentle pressure (wheel of torture) to the unity of the mystical faith. The doctrine of John of Damascus, which conceived the human nature in Christ as impersonal and placed it as the assumed nature of the Logos in complete unity with him, gained the victory in the Occident also. Yet in spite of the realistic doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper which crowded out the historical Christ and demanded a fine monophysitism, Augustinian-adoption ideas were preserved through the later theologians of the Middle Ages.

1 B. *The Predestination Controversy.*

Wiggers, i. d. Z. f. h. Th., 1859. Weizsäcker, i. d. Jh. f. d. Th., 1859. Monographs on Hinkmar, by von Noorden u. Schrörs.

Semi-Pelagianism Dominant.

The dominating ecclesiastical system was semi-Pelagian; but in the 9th century Augustine was again diligently studied. That during the crisis which arose Augustinianism was after all not reinstated, notwithstanding all the good Augustinian phrases, is a proof of the power of ecclesiasticism.

Gottschalk of Orbais.

The monk Gottschalk of Orbais maintained the doctrine of predestination with the power of Augustine, likewise as the chief and original doctrine, finding in it the key to the riddle of his own life. He proclaimed the *praedestinatio gemina* (*ad vitam et ad mortem*), yet was of the opinion that God predestined only the good and that he merely had a fore-knowledge of the evil. Not *what* he said (Fulgentius and Isidore had taught nothing different) but *the manner* in which he presented it to the Church aroused enemies against him. He was condemned at Mayence (848) by Rabanus, at Chiersey (849) by Hincmar and taken into custody as a "*miserabilis monachus*", from which he never escaped, since he persistently refused to recant. But the most eminent theologians went over to his side, not so much because they were in earnest about Augustinianism, as to make difficulties for Hincmar and to preserve as traditionalists the Augustinian "language". From the kingdom of Lothar especially came the opposition to the Raban-Hincmar thesis, that predestination should be deduced from the prescience and be limited to the saints. Hincmar tried to defend himself at the synod of Chiersey (853) against the herd of Alcuin disciples (Prudentius of Troyes, Ratramnus, Lupus of Ferrières, Servatus Lupus, Remigius of Lyon, the provincial bishops) by making in the "Chapters" large concessions to Augustinianism, yet retaining in his doctrine of *one* predestination, God's purpose of universal salvation, etc. In these objective and subjective untrue "Chapters" the point under consideration was no longer clearly expressed. Those who by word of mouth acknowledged the whole of Augustinianism meant at that time only the half, and those who, like

Rabanus, Hincmar.

Hincmar, rejected a part did in truth not want any at all. In the archbishopric of Sens and in the south of France the resolutions of Chiersey did not give satisfaction. At Valence, 855, the *gemina praedestinatio* was proclaimed and Augustinianism in general announced. At the great synods of the three empires at Savonières (859) and Toucy (860) a unification was not so much secured as a paralyzation of the controversy through agreement. Hincmar's conception of the doctrine, *i.e.* Gregory the First's, was in reality victorious. The doctrine of God's purpose of universal salvation, of the quick and sure efficacy of the sacraments and of the concurrence of free-will continued in force; the doctrine of predestination reappeared as a decorative element in theology. Only in this form was it compatible with empirical ecclesiasticism.

Gemina Praedestinatio.

2. *The Controversy about the Filioque and about Images.*

Hefele, Concil. Gesch., Bd. III. Pichler, Gesch. d. kirchl. Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident. 2 Bde., 1864 f.

Augustinian-Spanish Filioque.

The Augustinian-Spanish formula "*filioque*" (see I. p. 271) had been accepted in France (see the synod of Gentilly, 767) and was defended by the theologians of Charlemagne (*libri Carolini;* Alcuin, *de process. s. s.*). At Aachen, 809, the Frankish church resolved that the *filioque* belonged to the symbol. This resolution was provoked by a grave injustice which the Western pilgrims were called upon to endure in Jerusalem. Although the pope approved the Spanish-Frankish doctrine, he nevertheless refused admittance to the watch-word in the symbol. Not until the 10th century does Rome appear to have accepted it. If Charlemagne widened the opening breach between the Orient and Occident by the "*filioque*" and had therefor only a half-ally in the pope, he alienated himself still more from the orthodoxy of the Orient by his rejection of image-worship, which the pope also still approved. The barbaric tradition of the Frankish church and an Augustinian element (with Charlemagne perhaps also an enlightening one) determined the attitude of the Occidentals. At Frankfurt, 794, the decrees of the 7th council were laid aside, yet the resolutions of the synod of 754 were also rejected. The self-confidence of the Frankish church accepted the first six councils as an expression of ecclesiastical antiquity, refused, however, to be dictated to by Byzantium at the modern councils. The "*libri Carolini*" retain the old ecclesiastical standpoint: We will neither worship images, nor attack them, but treat them piously. This attitude was still taken by Louis the Pious (synod of Paris, 825) and Hincmar. The pope preserved a discreet silence, and the 7th council, which was favorable to images, gradually obtained through Rome's influence recognition in the Occident also.

Rome Did Not Adopt it till 10th Century.

Image-Worship.

Libri Carolini.

3. *The Development, in Practice and in Theory, of the Mass (Dogma of the Eucharist) and of Penance.*

Bach, a. a. O. I. Rückert, i. Hilgenfeld's Ztchr., 1858. Reuter, a. a. O. I. Choisy, Paschase, 1888. Geschichte d. Abendmahlslehre v. Dieckhoff, Ebrard, Kahnis. Steitz, D. röm. Busssacrament, 1854.

Miracle and Sacrament Predominate.

The thought of image-representation was kept aloof in an increasing measure from the Lord's Supper; men lived in a world of miracle and of sacraments, so much did the tendency necessarily increase to portray the content of the highest sacrament in an extravagant manner, in order to give it prominence among the multitude of holy things; the Christology which allowed the historical Christ to disappear behind the unity of the two "*natures*" tended toward an ever-present Christological *mysterium*, which could be felt and enjoyed; the mass was considered the chief characteristic and compendium of religion; the idea of the attributes of God was more and more concentrated in the one, that he is the almighty, wonder-working Will—all these forces worked together to bring about the following result: The *historical* body of Jesus Christ is present in the eucharist, since the elements are transformed into it. The identification of the sacramental and the real (historical) body of Christ could the more easily be carried out, since men considered it from the moment of incarnation a pneumatic (mysterious) body assumed

The Mass.

Docetism.

by the Divinity, and held docetic views in regard to it, as is proven, *e.g.*, by the controversy in regard to the birth of Jesus out of Maria *clauso utero*. The new doctrine of the eucharist would have been formulated without difficulty during the Carlovingian age, because it already actually existed, had not the then-revived study of the Augustinian conception of sacrament and his spiritualistic doctrine of the eucharist had a restraining influence. Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie, who wrote the first monograph on the Lord's Supper (*de corpore et sanguine domini*, 831), was, on the one side, an Augustinian and reproduced without inward sympathy or real comprehension the Augustinian doctrine, that the act belongs to faith and represents a spiritual eating; but, on the other side, he carried it on to the realistic, popular doctrine, that in every mass by a miracle of the Almighty the elements are transformed *inwardly* but actually into the body which was born of Mary, and are now brought to God as a sacrifice. Outwardly as a rule no change takes place, in order that the body of Christ may not be bitten by the teeth. God performs this miracle, which Paschasius conceives as a miracle of creation; the priest simply directs his supplications to God. But even if the holy food is in reality now the real body of Christ himself (the obvious appearance of the elements is the symbol), the fact still remains that only believers partake of the spiritual food unto immortality—not, however, unbelievers. Paschasius drew

Doctrine of Eucharist.

Paschasius Radbertus.

Miraculous Transformation of Elements.

neither all the hierarchical, nor "objective" consequences of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but attempted to adjust the miracle to *faith.* He was not a theologian primarily of the mass, but wished to be a theologian in the sense of Augustine and the Greek mystics. Nevertheless he encountered an unexpected contradiction. Rabanus expressed himself, in a letter to Eigel, in opposition to this doctrine, and Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, found in his writings to Charles the Bald (*de corpore et sanguine domini*) that Paschasius had not done justice to the "*spirituale*" of Augustine. But his own explanations suffer from old ecclesiastical cloudiness. Apparently he desires, as in the controversy about the *uterus clausus*, like a good Augustinian to set aside the unwieldy miracle of almightiness *contra naturam* and to place, in the interest of faith, the whole stress upon the "*spiritualiter geri*"; but since he likewise does not doubt the presence of the *corpus domini* after the consecration, he is compelled to distinguish between the real body and the body. The born, crucified body is not in the sacrament—that was the old churchly idea—but in the sacrament there is the power of the body of Christ as an *invisibilis substantia* and, in so far, the pneumatic body, receivable only by the mind of the faithful. Moreover Ratramnus in a few deductions made still farther advances toward Paschasius; nevertheless the plainest conception is that of the "*potentialiter creari in mysterio*"; but even this conception was

Ratramnus.

Invisibilis Substantia.

Potentialiter Creari in Mysterio.

no longer clear to their superstitious contemporaries; men wanted more than faith reality and soul nourishment. Paschasius had spoken the deciding word. The awe inspired by every mass seemed to confirm it and the same was even heightened by the power of the definite formulation of the doctrine. Incarnation and crucifixional sacrifice were repeated at every mass. What then could even approximate this? It was not necessary to change the old wording of the prayers of the mass, which, if they treated of sacrifice, emphasized the sacrifice of praise; for who gave heed to the words? The mass, however, as a sacrificial act, in which the God-man was offered up to God, had its culmination long since no more in real enjoyment, but in the consummation of the blotting out of sin and removal of evil. It had been adopted into the great institution of atonement, and masses without communion (requiems) were multiplied to pacify God. The primitive commemorative element of the celebration had become independent, especially since the days of Gregory I., and the communion was changed, as it were, into a second celebration. The first celebration, the mass, belonged to the laity only in so far as it represented an especially efficacious form of the Church's intercession for the lightening of the punishment of sins. This was the only apparent effect of the act—an insignificant one, important only through its summarizing of an immense mystery!

Incarnation and Crucifixion Rehearsed.

Masses and Requiems Multiplied.

The mass was subordinated to the institution of

Mass Subordinate to Penance.

penance; in the latter was reflected the religious life. Punishment ruled the world and the conscience. The conception of God as *almighty Will*, as *Retribution* and *Indulgence* (a Christian modification of the old Roman idea) was the ruling one. The consequence thereof was the idea that merits and satisfactions were needed to compensate for the breaches of contract occasioned by sin and oft repeated. Thus had Gregory I. taught; moreover this view blended in the German nations with their national ideas of law and with their legal restrictions. Since, however, the Occidental Church did not, like the Oriental, relinquish the administration of law and questions of morality entirely to the state, but rather interposed to discipline and punish, there was developed, parallel to the state institution of law, the Church *institution of penance*. The detailed development of this institution was a consequence of the transfer and application of the discipline of penance within the cloisters to the secular clergy and to the laity, and it originated with the Irish-Scottish, *i.e.* with the Anglo-Saxon church.* But through the fear of the punishment of sin, of hell and purgatory, the laity favored the practice and established the influence of the Church in its entire range, even over private life itself. A certain deepening of the conception of sin was the consequence: The people had recourse to the Church, not only in the case of grave sins, but also

Church and State Blended.

Fear of Punishment, Hell, Purgatory.

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* Wasserschleben, Die irische Kanonensammlung, 2. Aufl., 1885. Brunner, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte I., 1888.

on account of the "roots of sin" and the hidden faults (gluttony, sexual lust, avarice, anger, humor, anxiety, heartfelt aversion, arrogance, pride), which they now considered also deadly sins; however, this deepening was counterbalanced by the stupefying readiness with which men acknowledged themselves ever as sinners, and by the thought that intercession and satisfaction possess the power to cancel the merited punishment. In truth men bestowed more thought upon punishment and the remission of the same than upon sin. During the Carlovingian age the hierarchical side of the institution of penance was as yet little developed, and the dogmatic theory still lagged behind; but the *satisfactions* experienced a new development in connection with the exercise of penance in the form of voluntary confession: (1) To the old, more or less, arbitrary rules in regard to the choice and duration of the compensating punishment (prayers, alms, lamentations, temporary exclusion) were added, in increasing measure, rules from the Old Testament and from the German code. The consequence was that the measure of the compensatory punishment itself appeared in the light of a Divine ordinance, (2) The compensatory means were looked upon as things pleasing to God, which therefore, if nothing had been omitted, in themselves establish *merits;* the sacrificial death of Christ must be considered as the most efficacious; therefore the rehearsal of this death (*pretii copiositas mysterii passionis*) was the efficacious and convenient means

Satisfactions.

Prayers, Alms, Exclusion: O. T. and German Codes.

Rehearsal of Death of Christ.

(masses for the dead); besides, one should gain the good will of the saints for their intercessions ought to be efficacious, since God can demand nothing from them, while they are able to bring him valuable gifts, (3) Since the exercises of penance have a material value before God, they can be exchanged, *i.e.* lessened by a repentant disposition; here especially the Church steps in, since it institutes such exchanges; thus originated a whole system of indulgences, exchanges, and remissions, to the establishing of which the Germanic law contributed (origin of indulgences; remissions are of primitive antiquity), (4) In addition to exchanges, however, substitution is also possible; here the Germanic law had a still stronger influence; yet the idea has also an ecclesiastical root in the conception of Christ and the saints as substitutes, (5) The consequence of the whole conception was that in the doing of penance men sought not so much to reconcile God, the Father, as much more to escape from God, the Judge! This soul-killing practice entirely inverted Augustinianism; it had influenced Christology in the time of Gregory I., and it operated decisively during the classic times of the Middle Ages upon all dogmas of ancient standing and created new ones.

Exchanges, Indulgences, Remissions.

Substitution.

Augustinianism Inverted.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF DOGMA IN THE TIME OF CLUGNY, ANSELM AND BERNARD TO THE END OF THE 12TH CENTURY.

Reuter a. a. O. v. Eicken, Gesch. u. System d. MAlichen, Weltanschauung, 1887.

Advance Movement of Church.

Christianity as Doctrine or Life.

Monasticism.

THROUGH the institution of penance the Church became the decisive power in men's lives in Occidental Christendom. An advance movement of the Church, therefore, must of necessity benefit the whole of Occidental Christendom. This advance took place at the end of the 10th century and continued until the 13th century, during which time the supremacy of the Church and the mediæval ecclesiastical conception of the world attained their perfection. If one regards Christianity as *doctrine*, the Middle Ages appear almost like a supplement to the history of the ancient Church; if one regards it as *life*, then ancient Christianity only attained its full development in the mediæval Occidental Church. In the ancient age the motives, standards and ideas of ancient life confronted the Church as barriers. It was never able to overcome these barriers, as is shown by the Greek Church: Monasticism stands by the side of the Church; the earthly Church is the old world supplemented by Christian etiquette. But the Occidental Church of the Middle Ages was able to carry out much more securely its peculiar standards of monkish asceticism and of the domination of this life by the one beyond, because it did not have an old cultus alongside of it. Gradually it gathered strength so as to be able finally to enlist into its service even the old enemy, Aristotelian science, and to transform the same into an instrument of power. It made all the elements of life and knowledge subject to itself. The *inner* strength of its activity was the Augustinian-ascetic piety, which broke forth in ever new creations of monasticism; the *outer* power was the Roman pope, who, as the successor of Peter, secured for himself both Christ's right and that of the Roman Cæsars.

1. *The Revival of Piety.*

Harnack, Das Mönchthum, 3. Aufl., 1886. Neander, d. h. Bernard (hrsg. v. Deutsch, 1889). Hüffer, d. h. Bernard I., 1886. Ritschl, i. d. Stud. u. Krit. 1879, S. 317 f.

Quedlinburg and Clugny.

From Quedlinburg (Matilda) and Clugny the revival of piety had its rise. The Gregorian popes, the "new congregations" and Bernard enforced it; the laity received it more readily than the worldly clergy, upon whom it made greater demands. It is most plainly represented by the crusade enthusiasm and by the founding of innumerable convents. Strict discipline in the convents, monkish regulation of the secular clergy, the domination of the monkish-regulated Church over the laity, princes and nations—these were its aims. Upon this foundation alone it appeared possible to create a truly Christian, *i.e.* an unworldly life. The whole temporal life should serve the life hereafter: Supreme effort of the world dominion of the Church to gain the most perfect victory over the world, *i.e.* escape from the world. Freedom from the world appeared possible only under the condition of universal dominion. Many monks also permitted themselves to be blinded by this dialectics, who felt the contradiction between the aim and the means, and preferred for themselves the direct way of popularizing flight from the world by fleeing from the world. But the Church was indeed also God's state and not simply the bestower of individual bliss! Therefore did it incite the courageous to battle against Simonistic princes and worldly clericals. To perfectly exemplify the difficult trait of a renunciation of the world, the German and the Romance peoples were still too youthful. The violent disposition toward the conquest of the world united with this and produced that strange frame of mind, in which the consciousness of strength alternated like a flash with humility, longing after enjoyment with resignation, cruelty with sentimentality. Men desired nothing from this world, they desired only heaven, and yet they wished to own this beautiful earth.

Flight from the World.

Picture of Christ.

At first religious individualism was not as yet kindled (yet take note of the heresies which found access in the 11th century, partly imported from the Orient—Bogomils—partly springing up spontaneously), still *visions* were brought back from the Holy Land crusade for which indulgences had been granted. The *picture of Christ* was recovered and piety was enlivened by the most vivid representations of the suffering and dying Redeemer: We should follow him in every step of his passion journey. Accordingly in place of the defunct "adoptionism", the man Jesus came again to the front and negative asceticism received a positive form and a new, fixed aim. The cords of Christic-mysticism, which Augustine had struck only with uncertainty grew into a rapturous melody. By the side of the sacramental Christ stepped—penance formed the medium—the image of the historical Christ sublime in his humility, innocent, suffering punishment, life in death. It is impossible to estimate the effects which this piety, newly induced through the "Ecce homo", had, and in how many forms it has developed. St. Bernard first gave it a strong and effective form; he was the religious genius of the 12th century, and therefore also the leader of the epoch—*Augustinus redivivus*, at the same time however the most powerful ecclesiastic. In so far as Bernard offers a system of thought and portrays the gradual progress of love (*caritas* and *humilitas*) even to excess, he revived Augustine. His language is determined by that of the "Confessions". But in passionate love for Christ he went beyond Augustine. "Veneration for that which is beneath us", for suffering and humility (devotion), dawned upon him as never

Christic-Mysticism.

Bernard Religious Genius of 12th Century.

Song of Songs and Crusade.

Christic Mysticism and Lyricism.

Bernard Revered as Prophet.

before upon any Christian. He venerated the cross, shame and death as the form of the Divine appearing upon earth. The study of the Song of Songs and the crusade enthusiasm conducted him before the image of the crucified Redeemer, the Bridegroom of the soul. Into his image he sunk himself; from it there beamed for him true love and shone the living truth. To him the sensuousness of the contemplation of Christ's wounds melted into spiritual exaltation, which, however, always rested upon the foundation of the ecclesiastical system of penance. Bernard united the Neo-Platonic exercises of ascent unto God with the contemplation of the crucified Redeemer and unfettered the subjectiveness of the Christic-mysticism and Christic-lyricism. This contemplation led him in his sermons on the Song of Songs to a self-judgment, which not infrequently gains the height of Pauline and Lutheran faith unto salvation ("*non modi justus sed et beatus, cui non imputabit deus peccatum*"). But, on the other side, he also had to pay the tribute of all mysticism, not only in so far as the feeling of especial exaltation alternated with that of *abandonment*, but also in his not being able to ward off a pantheistic tendency. Like Origen, Bernard also taught that it was necessary to rise from the Christ in the flesh to the Christ κατὰ πνεῦμά, that the historical is a step. This trait has clung to all mysticism since his time; mysticism has learned from Bernard, whom men reverenced as a prophet and apostle, the Christ-contemplation; but at the same time it has adopted his pantheistic trend. The "*excedere et cum Christo esse*" means, that in the arms of the Bridegroom the soul ceases to be an individual self. But where the soul is merged in the Divinity, the Divinity is dissolved into the All-in-One.

Augustine's View Perfected.

Immeasurable for Christology has the significance of the new vision of Christ been. The scheme of the two natures was indeed retained, yet there was in truth by the side of the sacramental Christ a second Christ, *the man Jesus, whose sentiment, sufferings, and deeds portrayed and propagated Divine life.* He is prototype and power; his death sacrifice, also, is the sacrifice of the man, in whom God was. Thus the Augustinian conception, already inaugurated by Ambrose, attained here its perfection. In the second half of the 12th century this new piety (love, suffering, humility) was a mighty power in the Church. But as Bernard represented in himself the contrast between the world of pious Christian sentiment and the hierarchical policy of the world-dominating Church, so also most believers, näively attached to the Church, considered the ideals of worldly power and of humility reconcilable. As yet the great beggar of Assisi had not stepped forth, whose appearance was destined to create a crisis in the turbulence of flight from the world and dominion over the world; still at the end of the 12th century there already hovered about the Church angry curses of "heretics" who recognized in its secular rule and in

Love, Suffering, Humility.

the sale of its dispensations of grace the traits of the old babel, and Bernard himself warned the popes.

2. *On the History of Ecclesiastical Law.*

V. Schulte, Gesch. d. Quellen d. Kirchenrechts I. u II. Hinschius, Kathol. Kirchenrecht. Denifle, Univers. d. MA., 1885. Kaufmann, Gesch. d. deutchen Univ. I., 1888.

Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals.

All that had ever been claimed by popes appeared gathered together in the great falsification of Pseudo-Isidore and was represented as ancient papal *law:* The independence of the Church and its organs as regards the laity, and the papal supremacy over the bishops and the national churches. Upon the foundation of Pseudo-Isidore the popes of later times built. To them it was not a question of theology, but, as Romans, of the perfection of the *law*, which they had obtained for themselves as a Divine law. In the contest between emperor and pope the question was as to which should be the real rector of the state of God, and as to whom the bishops should be subject. The reformed papacy was developed under the impulse of Clugny and Gregory VII. into an autocratic power in the Church and formulated its legislation accordingly through numberless decretals, after having freed itself in Rome from the last remnants of older constitutional conditions. Allied with the best men of the times the popes of the 12th century, having obtained the investiture, began to design a new ecclesiastical law. The decretals took their

Clugny, Gregory VII.

place by the side of the old canons, even by the side of the decrees of the old councils. Still, strictly taken, their authority as yet remained uncertain.

Dogma and Law Amalgamated.

The papacy while developing into a jurisdictional supreme court would never have been able to gain the monarchial leadership as regards faith and morals in the Church, which is indeed communion of faith and cult, had not in this period the amalgamation of *dogma* and *law* become perfect. In Rome itself the form of the dogmatic retreated completely behind that of the law (*lex dei*), and the Germano-Romance nations at first were defenceless; for the Church had once come to them as Roman law and order. The great popes were monks and jurists. The juristic-scientific treatment of all functions of the Church became the highest aim. The study of law exercised an immense influence upon the thoughtful contemplation of the Church in all its length and breadth. That which formerly had been evolved under constraining influences, viz., the Church as a legal institute, now became strengthened or developed by thought. The spirit of jurisprudence, which spread over the faith of the Church, began also to subordinate to itself the traditional dogmas. Here scholasticism had a strong root; but one must not forget that since Tertullian the Occidental dogmas were prepared for a juristic treatment, out of which they partly originated. Upon *auctoritas* and *ratio* the dialectics of the jurists is founded. It also belongs to the great contrasts of the Middle

Popes, Monks and Jurists.

Auctoritas and Ratio.

Ages,—Bernardine piety and Roman juristic thinking. In this way the Church was to become a court of law, a merchant house and a robbers' den. But in this epoch it still stood at the beginning of the development.

3. *The Revival of Science.*

Histories of Philosophy by Überweg, Erdmann, Stöckl. Gesch. der Logik v. Prantl, Bd. II.-IV. Reuter a. a. O. Nitzsch, i. d. RE^{2}. XIII. S., 650 ff. Denifle a. a. O. Kaufmann, a. a. O. Löwe, Kampf Zweischen d. Nominal. u. Realism. 1876. Deutsch, P. Abelard, 1883.

Scholasticism.

Scholasticism was the science of the Middle Ages. In it there were strikingly displayed the power of the thinking faculties and an energy capable of reducing everything real and valuable to thought, such as perhaps no other age offers. But scholasticism is in truth thinking "from the very centre outward", for while the scholastics always went back to first principles, these were not gained from experience and real history, though in the course of the development of mediæval science increasing regard was paid to experience. *Auctoritas* and *ratio* (dialectical-deductive method) dominate scholasticism, which differed from the old theology, in that the authority of the dogma and the practice of the Church were more firmly adjusted, and in that men no longer lived in the philosophy (the antique) which went with it, but added the same from without. Its principal presupposition was drawn—at least until the time of its

Dialectical-Deductive Method.

dissolution—from the thesis, that all things must be understood from *theology* and that therefore also all things must be traced back to *theology.* This thesis presupposes that the thinker himself is sensible of his full dependence upon God. Piety therefore is the presupposition of mediæval science. But in the nature of the mediæval piety itself lies the foundation for that contemplation which leads to this science; for piety is the advancing knowledge obtained by constant reflection upon the relation of the soul to God. *Therefore scholasticism, since it deduces all things from God and again comprises them in him, is piety become conscious and manifest.* On that account it does not differ in its root from mysticism; the difference consists only herein, that in scholasticism the knowledge of the world in its relation to God gains a more independent, objective interest and the theological doctrines are, if possible, to be proven; while in mysticism the reflective trend of the process of knowledge (for the increase of one's own piety) comes out more strongly, In the former, as a rule, more use is made of dialectics, in the latter of intuition and inward experience. But the theology of Thomas, for example, can also according to its end and aim unhesitatingly be designated as mysticism and, vice versa, there are theologians, who from custom are called mystics, but who in the strength of their desire to know the world and to understand correctly the doctrine of the Church do not lag behind the so-called scho-

Piety the Presupposition of Scholasticism.

Scholasticism is Self-Conscious Piety.

Theology of Thomas is Mystical.

Mysticism is the Practice of Scholasticism. lastics. The aim not only is the same (mysticism is the *practice* of scholasticism), but the means are also the same (the authoritative dogma of the Church, spiritual experience, the traditional philosophy). The difficulties which at first made their appearance in mediæval science were therefore removed, after men had learned the art of subordinating the dialectic method to the traditional dogma and to the thirst for piety.

Inheritance of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages received from the old Church the Holy Scriptures, the essentially completed dogma, the theology which led to this dogma, and a treasure of classical literature loosely connected with this theology and the philosophico-methodical doctrines. With these additions to the dogma elements were transmitted, which were hostile to the dogma, or at least threatened to become so (Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism). **John of Damascus.** In the theology of John of Damascus the attempt was made to reconcile scientifically everything that was contradictory, but the Occident could not thereby be spared the work of adjustment. During the Carlovingian age the strength of the Occident was still too weak to work independently upon the capital it had inherited. A few theologians made themselves at home with Augustine, still this undertaking was already followed, as we have seen, by a partial crisis,—others clothed themselves in the foreign garment of the classical authors; in the **Boethius and Isidore.** schools they learned from the writings of Boethius and Isidore the rudiments of the dialectical method and a

Scotus Erigena.

mild use of the *ratio*. No theologian except Scotus Erigena was independent. As soon as they became more self-conscious, they rejected the knowledge of nature, the devil's mistress, and antiquity. Indeed as a formal means of culture they could not do without these, and dialecticism, that is, that method which first exposes contradictions in order to reconcile them, made an increasing impression. From the Carlovingian age there runs through the learned schools a chain of scientific tradition as far down as into the 11th century. But Gerbert of Rheims did not as yet bring it to an epochal climax; the theological dialecticians did so first after the middle of that century. Already at that time the principal philosophico-theological question of the future was considered, viz. whether the conceptions of species exist respecting things or within things, or whether the same are merely abstractions (Boethius in Porphyry, realism and nominalism). The ecclesiastical instinct of self-preservation turned toward realism, which mysticism demanded. When Roscellin in consequence of his nominalism arrived at the consequent tritheism, both he and his way of thinking were rejected as heretical (1092). In the 11th century the dialecticians were viewed with great distrust. Indeed they frequently not only attacked the coarse superstition in religion and the barbarian way of thinking, but they also jeopardized orthodoxy, or rather what was thought to be orthodoxy. But "enlighteners" they were not. Looking at them more

Gerbert of Rheims.

Roscellin.

Science Offends Faith.

closely, even the boldest of them stood upon the basis of the Church, or, at any rate, were bound to the same by a hundred ties. True, every science, even the most trammelled, will always find within itself an element offensive to that faith which longs for peace; it will display a freshness and joyfulness, which to devotion will appear like boldness; it will never be able, even when it agrees with the Church in end and aim, to disclaim a negative tendency, because it will always rightly find, that the principles of the Church in the concrete expression of life have deteriorated and have ~~been~~ marred by superstition and inclination. Thus was it also at that time; but as the revival of science was a consequence of the revival of the Church, so the Church also finally recognized in theology its own life.

Revival of Science; Three Results.

Dangers.

By the elevation of science three results were obtained: (1) A deeper insight into the Neo-Platonic-Augustinian principles of theology as a whole, (2) A higher virtuosity in the art of dialectical analysis and rational demonstration, (3) An increasing occupation with the Church fathers and the ancient philosophers. The danger of this deeper insight was a non-cosmicomystical pantheism, and the more näively men devoted themselves to realism, the greater was the danger. The danger of dialecticism consisted in the dissolution of the dogma instead of the proof of them; the danger of the intercourse with the ancient philosophers lay in the reduction of historical Christianity to cosmopolitanism, to a mere general philosophy of religion upon the soil of the neutralized history. Till the end of the 12th century there was as yet no real philosophy alongside of theology; in so far as anything of the kind existed, it was feared, and thus it happened that the danger alluded to under "(2)" (Berengar and his friends) was first felt. The danger alluded to under "(1)" was the least noticed, since Anselm, the greatest theologian before Thomas, whose orthodoxy was above question, moved about most unconcernedly among the Neo-Platonic-Augistinian principles. Perhaps he would have soon brought the dialectical science, which he knew how to use with authority, to full honors, and have made credible the reconcilableness of mysticism (*meditatio*) with reason, of authoritative faith with *ratio* (*credo, ut intelligam*, on the one side, *rationabili necessitate intelligere esse oportere omnia illa, quae nobis fides catholica de Christo credere praecipit*, on the other side), had not some of his pupils, like Wilh. von Champeaux, drawn some of the dangerous consequences of Platonic realism (the *one* passive substance, the natural phenomena as mere semblance), and had not in Abelard a bold scientific talent appeared, which could not but terrify the churchmen. In Abelard the trait of the "enlightener" is not entirely wanting; but he was more bold than consequential, and his "rationalism" had its limitations in the acknowledgment of revelation. Nevertheless he opposed faith in mere authority, yet by no means at all points; he wanted

Wilh. von Champeaux.

Abelard.

to know what he believed, and he wanted to show how unsafe and contradictory was the uncontrolled orthodoxy and the tradition which pretended to be infallible ("*Sic et Non*"). Thus he looked upon the foundations of faith just as he looked upon the theological points represented in the dogma. His opponents, above all Bernard, considered his doctrine of the trinity and the whole method of his science (which indeed with him and his pupils often degenerated into a formalistic art of disputation and was coupled with unbearable arrogance) foreign and heretical; they therefore condemned him. They did not at all observe that the questionable sentences of the bold innovator originated in part from the Church fathers and in part were the consequences of that mystical doctrine of God, which they themselves shared (thus his conception of history, which seems to neutralize historical Christianity in favor of Greek philosophy; compare Justin). It is still more paradoxical that Abelard, even while on the one side drawing these consequences, on the other introduced a kind of "conceptualism" in the place of realism, granted to sober thought a material influence upon the contemplation of fundamental principles, rejected the pantheistic deductions of the current orthodoxy and *thus laid the foundation for the classical expression of mediæval conservative theology*. The ecclesiastical dogma demanded realism, but was not able to be retained in thought under the complete dominion of the mystical, Neo-Platonic theology. A lowering of

Sic et Non.

Ecclesiastical Dogma Demanded Realism.

the Platonic celestial flight was needed, therefore of "Aristotelism", as the latter was understood and used at that time, namely, that view of things according to which whatever appears and is creature-like is not the transitory form of the Divine, but the supernatural God as creator has, in the real sense of the word, called forth the creature and endowed the same with independence. With this view Abelard began anew, and much of that which at his time provoked opposition afterward became orthodox. Yet it was his own fault, the fault of his character, the want of clearness in the positions which he assumed, and the fault of his many heterodoxies, that he did not break through. With Bernard and the mystics he brought science into such discredit that the next generation of theologians had a difficult footing. The "sentences" of Peter Lombard, which with a certain scientific freedom gather together the patristic tradition, opinion and contrary opinion, and which give a judicious review of doctrine in the spirit of the Church, came near being condemned (1164, 1179). Walther of St. Victor zealously opposed him and Abelard as well. But the task of theology, to furnish a review of the whole territory of dogmatics and to think everything out, once undertaken, could no longer be put aside, and in the carrying out of this task the followers of Abelard and of Bernard drew nearer to each other. Moreover, the intercourse with Jews and Mohammedans demanded an intelligent apologetics. Hugo St. Victor, however,

Abelard's Defects.

Peter Lombard.

Hugo St. Victor.

who had already influenced the followers of Lombard, contributed most toward uniting the tendencies. The new piety, even with its latest requirements, exercises, and means of devotion, died out gradually, though not entirely, during the second half of the 12th century, together with the dialectical science. Yonder implicit faith, here boldness were rejected, with which, however, many a fresh truth was lost. This occurred under the overwhelming impressions made by the Church, radiant in its victories. Her *law* in life and doctrine became the most worthy object of investigation and exposition. With this aim was blended another—that of referring all things back to God, and of construing knowledge of the world as theology. However, it was only in the course of the 13th century that patristicism, ecclesiasticism, mystic theology and Aristotelianism became consolidated into powerful systems. The dogmatical works of the 12th century—except, perhaps, the works of Hugo—still bear the stamp of aggregation. Thought, if it wished to be more than reproduction and meditation, was still looked upon with suspicion.

New Piety Wanes.

Patristicism, Ecclesiasticism, etc.

4. *Work upon the Dogma.*

Berengar and Anselm.

Among the number of theological disputes and separate condemnations, the controversy with Berengar concerning the eucharist and Anselm's new conception of the doctrine of atonement acquired prominence. These alone mark a progress in the history of dogma, which during this period was otherwise not enriched.

A. *The Berengar Controversy.*

Bach, a. a. O. I. Reuter a. a. O. Sudendorf, Berengarius, 1850. Schwabe, Stud. z. Gesch, d. 2. Abendmahlsstreits, 1887. Schnitzler, B. v. Tours, 1890.

Eucharist Controversy.

The second controversy regarding the eucharist has, aside from the theological, also a philosophical and ecclesiastico-political interest. The latter may rest here. Berengar, a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres, was the first dialectician, who, full of confidence in the art which he thought to be identical with reason, turned against an ecclesiastical superstition which had very nearly become a dogma. A criticism of the dogma of the eucharist, however, was, in consideration of the prominent standing of this doctrine, a criticism of the ruling ecclesiastical doctrine in general. Not as a negative "enlightener", but to oppose a bad custom by true tradition, and at the same time also to let his light shine, Berengar wrote (summing up in the work, *de sacra coena adv. Lanfrancum*, 1073) and founded a school. He saw in the ruling doctrine of transubstantiation a want of reason, and he revived the Augustinian doctrine of the eucharist (like Ratramnus, whose book, however, was considered as belonging to Scotus Erigena, and as such was condemned at Vercelli, 1050), in order to restore the λογικὴ λατρεία and to combat the barbarous passion for mysteries. Berengar opened the controversy with

Berengar and Lanfranc.

a letter to Lanfranc and showed that the acceptance of a bodily transubstantiation was absurd and that therefore the words of Christ must be understood figuratively. A purely symbolic conception he did not teach, rather like the fathers, *signum et sacramentum*, in the sacred act: Some holy but invisible element is added by the "*conversio*", which means however the *whole Christ;* bread and wine are only *relatively* changed. He taught that the opposite doctrine strives against reason, wherein the Divine image lies enclosed; he who favors "*ineptia*" casts aside the Divine part. Berengar's doctrine was condemned at Rome and Vercelli (1050) during his absence; he himself was forced to recant at Rome (1059) and he condescended to sign a confession, composed by Cardinal Humbert, which showed that Berengar had not exaggerated the ruling doctrine; for in the confession it was stated, that the elements after the consecration are not only sacrament, but the very body of Christ (*sensualiter*, *non solum sacramento*), which then is also masticated by the teeth of the believers. Berengar, protected in the following years by influential Roman friends (Hildebrand), restrained himself for some time, but afterward began anew the literary controversy. Now the principal writings were first issued (Lanfranc, *de corp. et sang. domini adv.* B.C. 1069). Gregory VII. was in no haste to make heretics; yet in order not to prejudice his own authority, he finally forced Berengar for the second time to submit.

Signum et Sacramentum.

Berengar's Doctrine Condemned.

Controversy Renewed.

The learned scholar was broken down and his cause perished. Paschasius' doctrine of transubstantiation was further developed by the opponents of Berengar (*manducatio infidelium;* coarse realism); still even in these circles one commenced to apply "science" to the dogma in the interest of the Church. The coarse representations were disregarded, the *entire* Christ (not simply bloody pieces of his body) was acknowledged in the act (in every particular), the difference between *signum* and *sacramentum* was taken into account in order to distinguish between *mandatio infidelium* and *fidelium* (especially important is Guitmund of Aversa, *de corp. et sang. Christi veritate in eucharistia*). The "scientific" conceptions also concerning substance and attributes were already set forth, whereby the coarse "*sensualiter*" corrected itself, while a few, it is true, believed in an incorruptibility of the attributes of the converted substances. Furthermore there were already beginnings of the speculation about the ubiquity of the substance of the body of Christ. The expression "*transsubstantiatio*" can be traced first to Hildebert of Tours (beginning of the 12th century); as the final argument there remained always the almighty sovereign will of God. As a dogma the doctrine of transubstantiation was expressed in the new confession of faith at the Lateran council (1215), which prior to the *professio fidei Trident.* was, next to the Nicene, the most influential symbol. The doctrine of the eucharist was here joined directly to the trinity

Guitmund of Aversa.

Hildebert of Tours; Transubstantiation.

Doctrine of Eucharist Joined to Trinity and Christology.

Boldest Act of Middle Ages.

and to Christology. *Therewith was also expressed in the symbol that the same is one with these doctrines*, and indeed in the form of the doctrine of transubstantiation ("*transsubstantiatis pane et vino*") and with strict hierarchical trend. Joined thereto was a statement regarding baptism and penance ("*per veram poenitentiam* SEMPER *protest reparari*"). Therewith indeed this development ended, and with it the allied one, *that every Christian must confess his sins before the parochus* (c. 21). The innovation in the *symbol* (combination of the doctrine of the eucharist with the trinity and Christology) is the most peculiar and the boldest act of the Middle Ages, having much greater weight than the "*filioque*". On the other side, however, the new symbol shows still very plainly that only the old dogma were truly dogma, and not the Augustinian sentences concerning sin, hereditary sin, grace, etc. Catholic Christianity is constituted, aside from the old Church dogmas, by the doctrines of the three sacraments (baptism, penance and the eucharist). The rest are dogma of the second order, that means, no dogma at all. This condition was for the future (till the Reformation) of the greatest importance.

B. *Anselm's Doctrine of Satisfaction and the Doctrines of Atonement of the Theologians of the 12th Century.*

Gesch. d. Versöhnungslehre v. Baur u. Ritschl. Hasse, Anselm, 2 Bde., 1852 f. Cremer, i. d. Stud. u. Krit., 1880 S. 7 ff.

Anselm; Cur Deus Homo?

Anselm in his work "*Cur deus homo*" attempted to prove the strict necessity (reasonableness) of the death of a God-man for the redemption of sinful humanity (even in Augustine are found doubts of this necessity), and thereby raised the fundamental principle of the practice of penance (*satisfactio congrua*) to the standard of religion in general. Herein consists his epochal importance. His presupposition is that sin is *guilt*, and indeed guilt against God, that the blotting out of this guilt is the main point in the *work of Christ*, that the cross of Christ is the redemption, and that therefore the grace of God is nothing else than the *work of Christ* (Augustine here still manifested uncertainty). In these momentous thoughts lies the evangelical truth of Anselm's deductions. Yet they suffer from grave imperfections; for since they take into consideration only the "objective", they do not contain the proof of the reality of redemption, but primarily only the proof of its *conditions* (they contain no doctrine of *atonement*). Furthermore they are based upon a contradictory view of the honor of God, they place the Divine attributes at an intolerable variance, they

His Presupposition.

Grave Imperfections.

make God appear not as the Master and as almighty Love, but as a powerful private citizen who is man's partner, they misconceive the inviolableness of the sacred moral law and therefore the suffering of punishment, and finally they allow mankind to be redeemed by human sacrifice (!) without making it plain how in man himself a change of heart is to be brought about. The great Augustinian and dialectician Anselm really did not know what *faith* is, and he therefore fancied himself able to formulate a doctrine of redemption in strictly necessary categories (for the conversion of Jews and heathen), without troubling himself about the establishing of religion in the heart, that is, about the awakening of faith. That, however, means a purposing to treat religion without religion; for the creating of faith is religion. The old splitting of the problem into "objective" redemption and "subjective" adoption had its effect here also, even more than formerly; for Anselm grappled with the principal problem energetically. So much the worse were the consequences, which prevail to this day; for if the problem must be divided into the "objective" (dramatic management of God) and the "subjective", then has God even in Christianity proved by the death of Christ only a general possibility of the true religion; the religion itself, however, every individual must procure for himself, be it alone or by means of numerous little assistants and expedients (the Church). He who shares this view thinks Catholicly, even if he calls himself a

He Did Not Know What Faith Is.

Sunders Problem into "Objective" and "Subjective."

Reveals Falsity in Catholic Doctrine of God and of Religion.

Lutheran Christian. *Anselm in the most important problem, which it was his merit to place at the head, first brought to full view the false Catholic idea of God and the false old Catholic conception of religion which had long since found expression in the practice of penance.* In this sense he is a co-founder of the Catholic Church, although his theory in detail has in many respects been abandoned—in favor of a still more convenient practice of the Church. Anselm in different writings ("*Monologium*", "Prologium"—concerning the conception of God; ontological proof) gave expression to the conviction, that one should believe first upon authority, and then one would be able to prove faith to be a necessity of thought. However, only in the dialogically composed writing "*Cur deus homo*" has he comprised the whole of the Christian religion under one head and treated it uniformly and logically. After a very remarkable introduction, in which especially the old idea about redemption as a satisfaction of the lawful claims of the devil is reflected, he lays down the principle that the creature, endowed with reason, has through sin robbed God of the *honor* due to him in no longer rendering to him that which this honor demands, namely, obedient subjection. Since God cannot lose his honor, and since freedom from punishment would besides bring about a general disorder in the kingdom of God, either restitution (*satisfactio*), or punishment is the only thing possible. The latter indeed in itself

Creature Through Sin Robbed God of His Honor.

Restitution or Punishment.

would be suitable, but since it could result only in destruction and thus in the ruin of one of the most precious works of God (the *rationabilis creatura*), the honor of God does not permit it. Therefore the *satisfactio* alone remains, which must be a restitution as well as the price of punishment. Man, however, cannot render it; for everything that he could give to God, he would be compelled from duty to give to him; moreover the guilt of sin is infinitely great, since already the slightest disobedience results in endless sin ("*nondum considerasti quanti ponderis sit peccatum*"). How then shall man restore "*totum quod deo abstulit*", "*ut sicut deus per illum perdidit, ita per illum recuperet*"? This the *God-man* alone is able to do, for only *God* can offer "*de suo, quod majus est quam omne quod praeter deum est*", and the *man* must bring it. Therefore a personality is required who has two natures and who of *his own free will* can and does offer to God his Divine-human life (sinlessness). It must be his *life*, for that alone he is not in duty bound to sacrifice to God; everything else he also, the sinless one, *is bound* to give up. But in this sacrifice full satisfaction is rendered ("*nullatenus seipsum potest homo magis dare deo, quam cum se morti tradit ad honorem illius*"), indeed its value is infinite. While the least injury of this life has an infinite negative value, the free surrender of it has an infinite positive value. The *acceptio mortis* of such a God-man is an infinite good to God (!), which far exceeds his loss through

Guilt of Sin Infinite.

God-Man Alone Sufficient.

Acceptio Mortis Infinite Good to God!

sin. Christ has done all this; his voluntary death can have resulted only "*in honorem dei*", for another purpose cannot be discovered. For us this death has a three-fold result: (1) The hitherto crushing guilt of sin has been removed, (2) We can take to ourselves heartily the example of this voluntary death, and, (3) God, in acknowledging the rendering of the *satisfactio* as a *meritum* also of the God-man, gives *us* the benefit of this *meritum*, since he can indeed give nothing to Christ. Only by reason of this benefit are we able to become imitators of Christ. This last turn is a genial attempt of Anselm's to transmit into the hearts of men the power of the dramatic scheme of redemption; but he suffers from a want of clearness which then prevailed in the practice of penance. In themselves *satisfactio* and *meritum* are irreconcilable, for one and the same action can be only the one or the other (the latter, if there was no occasion for an action greater than was obligatory). But from the practice of penance one was accustomed to see "merits" in actions in excess of duty, even if they served as compensation. Thus did Anselm also placed the *satisfactio Christi* under the point of view of merit, which continues, even after the conclusion of the real transaction, to pacify and appease God. Anselm could do this so much the easier, since he considered the service of Christ far greater than the weight of sin. But he joined to the thought of *meritum*, though rather by intimation, the subjective effect of

Christ's Death Has Three-fold Result.

Satisfaction of Christ Viewed as Merit.

the action; in the framing of the conception of *satisfactio* he did not find a point where he could pass over to the "subjective". Nevertheless, he ended with the strong consciousness of having reasonably proved "*per unius quaestionis solutionem quicquid in novo veterique testamento continetur*".

Abelard Ignored Anselm's Satisfaction Theory.

Anselm's satisfaction theory in subsequent times was accepted only with modifications. Abelard made no use of it, but went back, whenever he treated of redemption through Christ (Comm. on Romans), to the New Testament and patristic tradition, bringing into prominence the important thought that we must be led back to God (no change in God's attitude is necessary). Primarily he refers redemption to the elect and therefore teaches that the death of the God-man must be conceived only as an *act of love*, which inflames our cold hearts; however he also gives the matter the turn, that the *merit of Christ* as *head of the community* benefits its members; this merit however is no aggregation of certain good deeds, but the fulness of the love of God dwelling in Christ. Christ's merit is the merit of his love which continues in constant intercession; the atonement is the personal communion with Christ. Of the claims of the devil on us, Abelard would also recognize none, and, together with the idea of the necessity of a bloody sacrifice to appease God, he repudiated the idea of the *logical* necessity of the death on the cross. The righteousness of the idea of the suffering of punishment remained hidden to him as well as to Anselm.

Denied the Claims of the Devil.

Bernard Less Advanced.

Bernard's thoughts concerning the atonement lag behind those for Abelard; still he knew how to express his love for Christ more edifyingly than the latter. The conception of the *merit of Christ* (according to Anselm) became in after-times the decisive one. Whenever men meditated about the *satisfactio*, the strict categories of Anselm were loosened at many points. Indeed even in the discipline of penance all necessity and "quantity" was uncertain! Moreover the Lombard contented himself with recounting all the possible views in which, according to tradition, one can look at the death of Christ, even that of the purchasing of the devil, together with the deception, and of the value of punishment, but not of the doctrine of satisfaction, because it has no tradition in its favor. At the bottom, however, he was a follower of Abelard (merit, awakening of reciprocal love). After him the haggling and bargaining began about the value of sin and the value of the merit of Christ.

Peter Lombard Recounts All Theories.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF DOGMA IN THE TIME OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

THE conditions under which dogma was placed during this period made it as *a system of law* more and more stable—for which reason also the Reformation halted before the old dogma—but caused more and more an *inner* dissolution, since it no longer satisfied the individual piety, or held its ground in the presence of the new knowledge.

1. *On the History of Piety.*

Hase, Franciskus, 1856. Müller, Anfänge des Minoritenordens, 1885. Thode, Franciskus, 1885. Müller, die Waldenser, 1886. In addition the works on the Joachimites, Spiritualists, German Mystics (Preger), Unîtas Fratres, Hussites and heretics of the Middle Ages. Döllinger, Beitr. z. Sectengesch. d. MA., 1890. Archiv. f. Litt. u. K.-Gesch. des M. A. 1 ff (especially the works of Denifle).

St. Francis: Humility, Love, Obedience.

The Bernardine piety of immersing oneself entirely in the sufferings of Christ was developed by St. Francis into a piety of the imitation of Christ in "*humilitate, caritate, obedientia*". *Humilitas* is complete *poverty*, and in the form in which he represented it by his life and joined it with an exceeding love for Christ, Francis held before men an inexhaustibly rich and high ideal of Christianity, capable of the most widely different individual phases, and breaking its way through, *because first in it did Catholic piety receive its classical expression*. Francis was at the same time animated by a truly apostolic missionary spirit and a most fervent zeal to enkindle men's hearts and to serve Christianity in love. His preaching was aimed at the *individual soul* and at the restoration of *apostolic life*. In wider circles it was to work as a thrilling *penitential sermon*, and with this in view Francis referred believers to the Church, whose most faithful

Classical Expression of Catholic Piety.

A Call to Repentance.

son he was, although her bishops and priests did not serve, but ruled. This contradiction *he* overlooked, but *others* who had preceded him did not (Waldensians, humiliates), and in their endeavor to restore apostolic life they suspected the ruling Church and withdrew from it. The mendicant orders have the merit of having kept a great stream of awakened and active Christian life within the boundaries of the Church; not a little of its waters already flowed outside, took a hostile direction, stirred up anew the old apocalyptical thoughts and saw in the Church the great babel, reserving the approaching judgment at one time for God, at another for the emperor. A small part of the Franciscans made common cause with them. They spread over Italy, France, and Germany as far as Bohemia and Brandenburg, fostering here and there confused heretical ideas, sharpening however as a rule only the consciences, awakening religious unrest or independence in the form of individual, ascetic religiousness, and relaxing or combating the authority of the Church. *A lay Christianity developed itself within and by the side of the Church*, in which the trend toward religious independence became strong; but since asceticism is at last always aimless and can create no blessedness, it stands in need of the Church, of its authority and of its sacraments. By a secret but very firm tie all "heretics", who write the ascetic-evangelical ideal of life upon their standards, remain bound to the Church from whose oppression, rule

Mendicant Orders.

Awaken Religious Unrest.

Lay Christianity Developed.

The "Sects" Not Enduring.

and worldliness they wish to escape. From the sects of Biblicists, Apocalyptics, Waldensians and Hussites no lasting result was gained. They were truly "heretical", for they still belonged to the Church from which they wished to escape. The numerous pious brotherhoods, which grew up and remained (although with many sighs) within the pale of the Church, had still elasticity enough to make room for "poverty" and evangelical life, and to receive the mendicant orders into membership. She soon enervated them and they became her best supports. To the individual piety of the laity, firmly chained to the confessional, sacraments, priest and pope, a subordinate existence was accorded in the Church of the priests. Thus the mediæval Church wearily fought its way through the 14th and 15th centuries. For whatever sacrifices the minorites were forced to make to the hierarchy, they in a manner indemnified themselves by the unheard-of energy with which they served the purposes of the universal Church through the laity.

Doctrine Little Influenced by Waldensians and Mendicants.

The universal, historical importance of the movements caused by the Waldensians and mendicant orders cannot be reckoned in new doctrines and institutions, although these were not entirely wanting, but consists in the religious *awakening* and in an unrest leading to a religious individualism, which they caused. In so far as the mendicant orders and the "ante-Reformation" movements induced the individual to meditate upon the truths of salvation, they were the first advance

Old Dogma Inviolable.

toward the Reformation. But the more religion was carried into the circles of the third rank and of the laity in general, the greater was the watchfulness touching the inviolability of the old dogma, and the great majority of the laity indeed desired to respect in the dogma their firm standpoint amidst the uncertainty concerning the standard of the practical problems and concerning the correct state of the empirical Church.

Mendicant Orders Unite with Mysticism.

Augustine and Areopagite Combined.

To enter into particulars, especial attention must be paid, for the purpose of the history of dogma, to the union of the mendicant orders with *mysticism* during this inner religious awakening. Mysticism is a conscious, reflecting, Catholic piety, which desires to grow by this very reflection and contemplation: Catholicism knew only this or the *fides implicita*. The model originated from a combination of Augustine and the Areopagite, enlivened by the Bernardine devotion to Christ. Mysticism has many forms; but national, or confessional the difference among them is slight. As its starting-point historically is pantheistic, so is its aim pantheistic (noncosmical). In the degree in which it holds more or less strongly to the historical Christ and the rules of the Church, this aim comes more or less clearly to light; but even in the most churchly stamp of mysticism the dominating thought is never wholly wanting, which points beyond the historical Christ: God and the soul, the soul and its God; Christ the brother; the birth of Christ in every believer (the latter conceived now fantastically, now spiritually). **Mysticism Says Religion is Life and Love.** Mysticism taught that religion is *life* and *love*, and from this lofty idea it undertook to throw light upon all dogma to the very depths of the trinity, and even to remodel the same; it created individual religious life, and the mystics of the mendicant orders were its greatest virtuosos. But because it did not recognize the rock of faith, it was able only to give directions for a *progressus infinitus* (to God), but did not allow the steadfast feeling of a safe possession to thrive.

Soul Must Return to God by Purification, Illumination and Union. The admonitions of mysticism move within the circle, that the soul, alienated from God, must return to God by *purification*, *illumination* and *substantial union;* it must be "developed", "cultivated" and "highly-refined". With the rich and certain intuition of past experience, the mystics talked of a turning in upon the soul, of the contemplation of the outer world as the work of God, of poverty and humility, with which the soul must accord. In all stages many mystics understood how to draw upon the whole ecclesiastical apparatus of the means of salvation (sacraments, sacramental influences); for, as with the Neo-Platonists, so also with the mystics, the most inner spiritual piety did not stand opposed to the worship of idols: **The Sensuous is Sign and Pledge of the Eternal.** The sensuous, upon which rests the sheen of a holy tradition, is the sign and pledge of the eternal. The penance sacrament especially played, as a rule, a great role in the "purification". In the "*illumination*" the Bernardine contemplations are very prominent. By the side of highly doubtful directions regarding the imitation of Christ, there are also found evangelical thoughts—faithful confidence in Christ. Besides, there is emphasized here the entire immersing in love, from which was developed a great increase of inner life, in which latter the Renaissance and Reformation seem to have been prepared for. In the "*substantial union*" there finally appeared the metaphysical thoughts (God as the all, the individual as nothing; God the "abysmal substance", the "peaceful passivity", etc.). Even the normal dogmatist Thomas here countenanced pantheistic ideas, which gave the impulse to "extravagant" piety. In recent times it has been shown by Denifle that Master Eckhart, the great mystic who was censured by the Church, was entirely dependent upon Thomas. But however dangerous these speculations have been—their intention was nevertheless the highest spiritual *freedom* (see for example the "German theology"), which, by entire withdrawal from the world, should be attained through the feeling of the Supernatural. In this sense especially the *German mystics* since Eckhart have wrought. While the Romance peoples above all tried to *arouse* violent emotions by penitential sermons, they undertook the *positive* task of bringing the highest ideas of the piety of the times into the popular language and within the ranks of the laity (Tauler, Seuse, etc.), and to render, through self-discipline, the mind at home in the world of love.

Pantheistic Element.

Master Eckhart.

Tauler, Seuse, etc.

Vision of God Vouchsafed Here.

They taught (following Thomas) that the soul can even here upon earth so receive God within itself as to enjoy in the fullest sense the vision of his Being and dwell in heaven itself. Indeed the idea of full surrender to the Divine verged toward the other thought, that the soul bears the Divine within itself and is able to develop it as spiritual freedom and superiority beyond everything existing and conceivable. The directions for it are sometimes more intellectually precise, at others more quietistic. The Thomistic mysticism possesses the Augustinian assurance of gaining freedom through knowledge and of rising to God; the Scotistic no longer possessed this assurance, and it sought the highest moods through disciplining the will: *Union of will with God*, *resignation*, *tranquillity*. Herein indeed lay a progress in the recognition of evangelical piety, which was full of import for the Reformation; but even the nominalists (Scotists) had lost a clear and definite apprehension of the Divine will. The way seemed open here for the question concerning the *certitudo salutis*, but this remained unanswered so long as the conception of God was not pushed beyond the line of the arbitrary Will.

Thomistic and Scotistic Mysticism.

German Mysticism Influential.

The importance of mysticism, especially of German mysticism, is not to be underrated even in the direction of the positive equipment of asceticism as *active, brotherly love.* The old monkish instructions were enlivened by the energetic admonition to the service of one's neighbor. The simple relation of man to man, made sacred by the Christian commandment of love and by the peace of God, is noticeable in all the persistent organizations and castes of the Middle Ages, and was preparing to burst them. Here also the beginning of a new era can be perceived: The monks became more active, more worldly—frequently in truth run wild therein—and the laity became more alive and active. In the free unions, half secular, half ecclesiastical, the pulse of a life of piety throbbed. The old religious orders were in part kept alive simply artificially and lost their authority. Among the Anglo-Saxons and Czechs, hitherto oppressed and kept in poverty by foreign nations, the new piety allied itself with a politico-national program (Wiclif and Huss movements). This had a most energizing effect upon Germany, but it never brought about in patient and divided Germany a national reform movement. Everything socially revolutionary or anti-hierarchical remained isolated, and even when the world-dominating Church had prostituted itself in Avignon and when at the reform councils the cry of the Romance nations for reform and insurance against the shameless financial dominance of the curia had become loud, the German peoples, with few exceptions, still kept their patience. An immense revolution, again and again retarded, was prepared during the 15th century, but it appeared to threaten merely the political and ecclesiastical institutions. Piety seldom attacked the old dogma, which through nominalism had become wholly a sacred relic. It

Wiclif and Huss.

Prostitution of Church at Avignon.

Piety Did Not Attack Old Dogma.

turned, it is true, against the new doctrines deduced from vicious Church practices; but as for itself it desired to be nothing else than the old ecclesiastical piety, and indeed it was nothing else. In the 15th century mysticism clarified itself in Germany. The "Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis is its purest expression; but anything like reform in the strictest sense is not proclaimed in the little book. The reformation part consists only in its individualism and in the power with which it addresses itself to every soul.

Thomas à Kempis.

2. *On the History of Ecclesiastical Law. The Doctrine of the Church.*

Code of Gratian Basal.

In the time from Gratian to Innocent III. the papal system secured the supremacy. The whole decretal legislation from 1159 to 1320 rests upon the code of Gratian, and scholastic theology became subject to it. Citations from the Church fathers, in great part, were transmitted by the law-books. The Church, which in dogmatics should ever be the communion of believers (of the predestined), was in truth a hierarchy, the pope was the *episcopus universalis*. Within ecclesiastical limits the German kings permitted this development, and are responsible for it.

Episcopus Universalis.

Hierarchy Essential.

The leading thoughts in regard to the Church, which were only later finally established, were the following: (1) The hierarchical organization is essential to the Church, and the Christianity of the

Functions of Priests.

Twofold Power of Church.

Pope Wields Two Swords.

False Decretals.

laity is in every respect bound to the intermediation of the priests (*rite ordinati*), who alone can perform the Church functions; (2) The sacramental and jurisdictional powers of the priests are independent of their personal worthiness; (3) The Church is a visible communion endowed with a constitution originating with Christ (and as such *corpus Christi*); it has a twofold *potestas*, namely *spiritualis et temporalis*. Through both it, which shall endure to the end of the world, is superior to and placed above the perishable states. Therefore all states and all individuals must be obedient to it (*de necessitate salutis*); even over heretics and heathens the power of the Church extends (final decision by Boniface VIII.); (4) In the pope, the representative of Christ and successor of Peter, a strictly monarchical constitution is given to the Church. Whatever is valid of the hierarchy is above all valid of him; the remaining members of the hierarchy are appointed only "*in partem sollicitudinis*". He is the *episcopus universalis;* to him therefore belong the two swords; and since the Christian can attain unto sanctification only within the Church, since however the Church is the hierarchy and the hierarchy the pope, all the world must *de necessitate salutis* be subject to the pope (bull "*unam sanctam*"). By a chain of falsifications, which arose especially within the reawakened polemics against the Greeks (13th century), these maxims were dated back into ecclesiastical antiquity, yet were strictly formulated (Thomas

Aquinas) only after they had long been admitted in practice. The new law followed the new custom, which was strengthened by the mendicant orders; for the latter, thoroughly unsettled by the special privileges which they received, and the aristocratic, provincial and local powers completed the victory of the papal autocracy. The doctrine of papal infallibility was the necessary result of this development. This also was formulated by Thomas, but not as yet carried through; for on this last point both the historical and the provincial ecclesiastical conscience reacted (the university of Paris; the rebuke of John XXII. as an heretic). About 1300 the extravagant exaltation of the papacy in literature reached its height (Augustinus Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius), but after about 1330 it grew weak, to grow strong again only after 120 years (Torquemada). In the interval the latest development of the papacy was combated violently, but not successfully, first in the ghibelline literature, to which for a time the minorite (Occam) was allied, later from the standpoint of the supremacy of the councils. Only temporarily was Munich the seat of the opposition and did German authors take part in it. The real land of opposition was France, its king and bishops, yes the French nation. The latter alone preserved the freedom obtained at the councils (pragmatic sanction at Bourges, 1430); but in the concordat of 1517 the king also sacrificed it to share with the pope, after the example of other princes, the established

Papal Infallibility.

Violently Combated.

Pragmatic Sanction.

Church of the country. By about 1500 the old tyranny had been re-established almost everywhere. The Lateran council, at the beginning of the 16th century, defied the wishes of the nations as though there never had been sessions at Constance and Bale.

Church Idea Influenced by Jurisprudence.

The new development of the idea of the Church, up to the middle of the 13th century, was brought about not by theology but by jurisprudence. This is explained, (1) By the lack of interest in theology at Rome, (2) By the fact that the theologians, whenever they meditated about the Church, always repeated the dissertations of Augustine concerning the Church as *societas fidelium* (*numerus electorum*), for which reason also the later "heretical" opinions concerning the Church are found in the great scholastics. Only after the middle of the 13th century did theology take an interest in the hierarchial, papal Church idea of the jurists (forerunner: Hugo of St. Victor). The controversy with the Greeks, especially after the council of Lyons, 1274, furnished the opportunity. *The importance of Thomas consists in the fact that he first developed strictly the papal conception of the Church within dogmatics, but at the same time united it artfully with the Augustinian idea from which he started.* Thomas adheres to it that the Church is the number of the elect; but he shows that the Church is authority in doctrinal law, and as a priestly sacramental institution is the *exclusive* organ through which the head of the Church procures members. Thus he was

Hugo St. Victor.

Thomas Dependent upon Augustine.

able to join the new to the old. Nevertheless till the Reformation and beyond it the whole hierarchical and papal theory obtained no sure position in dogmatics; it remained Roman decretal right, was utilized in practice and ruled over the hearts of men through the doctrine of the sacraments. All that could be expected in the interest of the hierarchy from a formulation of the Church idea had indeed already been acquired as a secure possession.

Opposition to Roman Idea Futile.

Because it was an opposition from the centre every opposition against the Roman idea of the Church which became clamorous in the latter half of the Middle Ages remained ineffectual. The significance of *faith* to the Church idea no one clearly recognized, and the final trend of the whole religious system toward the *visio et fruitio dei* no one corrected. The common ground of the defenders of the hierarchical Church idea and their opponents was the following: (1) The Church is the communion of those who shall attain unto the vision of God, of the predestined; (2) Since no one knows whether he belongs to this communion, he must make diligent use of the means of salvation of the Church; (3) These means of salvation, the sacraments, are bestowed upon the empirical Church and attached to the priests; (4) They have a double purpose, first, to prepare for the life beyond by incorporation in the body of Christ, and then, since they are powers of faith and love, to produce here on earth the "*bene vivere*", *i.e.* to cause the fulfilment of the *law of*

Common Ground of Defenders and Opponents.

Christ; (5) Since even upon the earth the fulfilment of the law of Christ (in poverty, humility and obedience) is the highest duty, therefore the temporal life, also the state, is subordinate to this aim and thus also to the sacraments and in every sense to the Church. Upon this *common ground* moved all the controversies regarding the Church and her reform. The papists drew the further consequences, that the hierarchical order, invested with the administration of the sacraments and with the authority of the Church to subordinate to itself the temporal life, was *de necessitate salutis;* still they permitted the moral duty of really fulfilling the law of Christ entirely to recede behind the mechanically and hierarchically carried out administration of the sacraments, whereby they degraded the Church idea, as the number of the predestined (religious) and as the communion of those living according to the law of Christ (moral), to a mere phrase, and sought the guarantee for the legitimacy of the Church in the strictest conception of the *objective system culminating in the pope*, endangering however themselves the finished building in *one* point—the re-ordinations. The opponents, however, hit upon "heretical" ideas, either, (1) By contending against the hierarchical order, since beyond the bishop's office the same is neither supported by the Scriptures, nor by tradition, or, (2) By allowing the religious and moral idea contained in the thought of predestination and in the conception of the Church as the communion of imitators of Christ,

Hierarchy Necessary to Salvation.

Heretical Ideas of Opponents.

to supersede the idea of the empirical Church as an institution of sacraments and of law, and (3) By measuring, therefore, the priests and with them the Church authorities by the law of God (in a Donatistic way), before they conceded to them the right to administer the keys, "to loose and to bind". The opposition of all so-called "præ-reformatory" sects and men had its root in these theses. From them one could develop the seemingly most radical antitheses to the ruling Church, and has developed them (devil's Church, babel, anti-Christ, etc.); yet this must not blind us to the fact that the opponents stood upon common ground. Men placed the *moral* characteristics of the Church above the juristic and "objective"—certainly this was a blessed progress—but the fundamental ideas (Church as sacramental institution, necessity of priesthood, *fruitio dei* as aim, lack of esteem for civil life) remained the same, and under the title of the *societas fidelium* in truth only a *legalistic moral* Church idea was established. The Church is the sum total of those who carry out the apostolic life according to the law of Christ. Faith was considered only as *one* characteristic under the conception of the law, and in the place of the commandments of the priests stepped the Franciscan rule, or a Biblicism, against whose apocalyptic or wild excrescences one had to take refuge in the old dogma and in ecclesiastical tradition. Neither a communion of believers, nor an invisible Church, as is falsely believed, did the Reformers have in

Real Progress.

Reformers Wished to Improve Old Church.

view, but their object was to improve the old Church of priests and sacraments by dissolving her hierarchic monarchical constitution, by abolishing her assumed political powers and by carefully sifting her priests according to the standard of the law of Christ, or of the Bible. On these conditions she was also esteemed by the Reformers as the visible, holy Church, through which God realizes his predestinations. They did not recognize that the carrying out of this Donatistic thesis was an impossibility and that this reformed Church must again become hierarchical.

Waldensians.

The Waldensians neither contested the Catholic worship, nor the sacraments and hierarchial constitution in themselves, but considered it a deadly sin that the Catholic ecclesiastics should exercise the rights of successors of the apostles, without taking upon themselves the apostolic life, and they protested against the extensive governing power of the pope and the bishops. The Joachimites and a part of the minorites united the apocalyptic with the legal element. Here also it was not the question of a sacramental institution and priesthood, but only of the right of hierarchical divisions of rank, of the Divine investiture of the pope and of the ecclesiastical governing power, which was denied to the Church under the authority of the Franciscan theory. The handing over of the whole legal sphere to the state was with many merely an expression of their contempt for this sphere. The *professors of Paris* and their national-liberal coterie attacked the pseudo-Isidorian

Joachimites and Minorites.

Professors at Paris Attack Pseudo-Isidorian, Gregorian Development.

and Gregorian development of the papacy and of the constitution at the *root*, and yet they only intended primarily to paralyze the papal finance system and to heal the injury to the Church through an episcopalianism, which, in view of what the Church already was as a Roman power, must be designated utopian. Wiclif and Huss—the latter a powerful agitator in the spirit of Wiclif but without theological independence—represent the ripest phase of the reform movements of the Middle Ages:

Wiclif and Huss.

(1) They showed that the cultus and sacramental practices everywhere were hampered and vitiated by human tenets (indulgences, confessions, absolute pardoning power of the priests, *manducatio infidelium*, saints-, image-, relic-worship, special masses, sacramentals, Wiclif also against transubstantiation); they demanded plainness, intelligibleness (language of the country) and spirituality of worship; (2) They demanded a reform of the hierarchy and of the secularized mendicant orders; these all, the pope at the head, must return to an apostolic *ministry;* the pope is only the first servant of Christ, not his representative; all governing must cease; (3) They, like Thomas, brought to the front the Augustinian predestination Church idea, yet while Thomas in joining to it the empirical idea disposes of everything moral only through the medium of the sacraments, they, without robbing the sacraments of their importance, raised to the central place the idea that the empirical Church must be the kingdom in which

Law of Christ True Nota Ecclesiae.

the *law of Christ* governs. They taught that the law of Christ is the true *nota ecclesiae;* therefore in accordance with this fundamental principle the right also of the priesthood and the manner of administering the sacraments must be determined. Wiclif thereby contested the *independent* right of the clergy to be representatives of the Church and administrators of the means of grace and made it dependent upon the observing of the *lex Christi*. "Faith" was also passed over by Wiclif and Huss. In turning with all their might against the hierarchy and against the objective, legal idea of the Church system, they placed the legal Church idea in opposition to the *judicial*. The "*fides caritate formata*", that is, the observance of the law, alone gives legitimacy to the Church. Thus much they did for the inwardness of the contemplation of the Church—the hierarchical conception of the Church had still in opposition to their own an element of truth, though a perverted one: That God builds his Church upon earth by his grace in the midst of sin, and that holiness in a religious sense is no mark that can be recognized by a legal standard (on the Church idea of Thomas and the Præ-Reformers, see Gottschick i. d. Ztschr. f. KGesch. Bd. VIII).

Faith Not Emphasized.

3. *On the History of Ecclesiastical Science.*

Histories of philosophy by Erdmann, Überweg-Heinze, Windelband, Stöckl, Baur, Vorles üb. DG. 2. Bd. Werner, Scholastik d. späteren MA. 3 Bde, 1881 ff. Ritschl, Fides implicita, 1890.

Causes of Revival of Science.

The great revival of science after the beginning of the 13th century was occasioned, (1) By the mighty triumph of the Church and the papacy under Innocent III., (2) By the exaltation of piety since St. Francis, (3) By the enlargement and enrichment of the general culture and by the discovery of the genuine Aristotle (contact with the Orient; transmission of Greek philosophy through Arabs and Jews; the supernaturalistic Avicenna, † 1037, the pantheistic Averrhoes, † 1198; Maimonides' influence upon Thomas and others). The two new great powers, the mendicant orders and Aristotle, were obliged to secure their place in science by fighting for it; the latter conquered, since it was plain that he had rendered the best service in opposition to an eccentric realism, which leads to pantheism. A moderated realism now developed, which recognized the universals "*in re*", but knew how to add them according to need, either "*ante*", or "*post rem*".

Mendicant Orders and Aristotle.

Authority of Church Over Science.

The new science like the older sought to explain all things through reference to God; but this reference meant the same as the submission of all knowledge to the authority of the Church. In a certain sense men were more fettered in the 13th century than formerly; for not only the old dogma (*articuli fidei*), but the whole territory of ecclesiastical activity was considered absolute authority, and the pre-supposition that every authority in single questions is of equal weight with the *ratio* was now first fully expressed. The theologians of the mendicant orders justified "scientifically" the whole constitution of the Church, with its latest institutions and doctrines, upon the same plane with the "*credo*" and the "*intelligo*". Anselm had striven to erect a rational structure upon the foundation of authoritative revelation; with the later theologians the jumbling of authorities in a most unconcerned manner was a principle. Although they adhered to the theory that theology is a speculative science which culminates in the *visio dei*, yet so great was their confidence in the Church that they continually added to the speculative structure the tenets of her authority. Hence originated the theory that there exist a natural and a revealed theology; still they conceived these as being in closest harmony, the one as the supplement and complement of the other; and they were confident that the whole was tenable even before the bar of reason. The abundance of the material to be mastered was unbounded, as well in regard to revelation (the whole Bible, the doctrine and practice of the Church), as in regard to reason (Aristotle). Nevertheless they advanced from the "Sentences" to a system ("summa"): That which the Church retains in life, the dominion over the

Anselm's Aim.

Natural and Revealed Theology.

Theology Comprehends All Knowledge.

world, is also to be reflected in its theology. The new dogmatism was the dialectic-systematical treatment of ecclesiastical dogma and of the acts of the Church, for the purpose of developing the same into a single system comprehending everything in the highest sense worthy of knowledge, and of proving it, and then of rendering serviceable to the Church all the forces of the mind and the whole knowledge of the world. To this purpose, however, was the other subjective one united of rising to God and rejoicing in his presence. But both purposes now coincided: Knowledge of the Church doctrines is knowledge of God, for the Church is the present Christ. Therein were these scholastics not servile workers for the Church—on the contrary: Consciously they sought knowledge only for the benefit of their souls, yet they breathed only within the Church. The structure which they raised collapsed, but their work indeed was a progress in the history of science.

Knowledge of Church Doctrine is Knowledge of God.

The Summa of Thomas.

What has been said above, has reference to the præ-Scotistic scholasticism, above all to Thomas. His "summa" is characterized, (1) By the conviction that religion and theology are essentially of a *speculative* (not practical) nature, that therefore they must be acquired by thinking, and that finally no contradiction can arise between reason and revelation; (2) By a firm adherence to the Augustinian doctrine of God, of predestination, sin and grace (only upon the conception of God did the Aristotelian philosophy have an influence; the strict elevation of the Holy Scriptures as the only safe revelation Thomas also accepted from Augustine); (3) By a deeply penetrating knowledge of Aristotle and by an extensive use of his philosophy, as far as Augustinianism would permit; (4) By a bold justification of the highest claims of the Church upon a genial theory of the state and a wonderfully careful observation of the empirical tendencies of the papal system of Church and state. The world-historical importance of Thomas consists in his uniting of Augustine and Aristotle. As a pupil of Augustine he is a speculative thinker, full of confidence and yet in him are already found the germs of the destruction of the absolute theology. For theology as a whole he still sought to maintain the impression of absolute validity; in detail arbitrary and relative ideas already took the place of the necessary, while he no longer deduced purely rationally the *articuli fidei*, like Anselm.*

Thomas Unites Augustine and Aristotle.

Church Insists upon Blind Submission.

But the strictly necessary was also not in every respect serviceable to the Church. She demanded

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* The delineation of the summa agrees with the fundamental idea of God: Through God to God. The first part (119 quaest.) treats of God and the issue of all things from God; the second part, sec. 1st (114 quaest.) of general morality; the second part, sec. 2d (189 quaest.) of special morality under the point of view of the return of the rational creature to God; the third part, which Thomas was not able to finish, of Christ, the sacraments and eschatology. The proceeding in every separate question is by the method of contradiction. All reasons which speak *against* the correct conception of the doctrine are given expression ("*difficultates*"). In general the governing principle is that the whole system must be based upon the authority of revelation; "*utitur tamen sacra doctrina etiam ratione humana, non quidem ad probandam fidem* (QUIA PER HOC TOLLERETUR MERITUM FIDEI), *sed ad manifestandum aliqua alia, quae traduntur in hac doctrina. Cum enim gratia non tollat naturam, sed perficiat, oportet quod naturalis ratio subserviat fidei*".

here also that the deal should be *à deux mains;* She wanted a theology which proved the speculative necessity of her system and one which taught blind submission. Thomas' theology alone could not satisfy. With all its ecclesiastical bent it could not deny the fundamental thought, that God and the soul, the soul and God are everything. From this Augustinian-Areopagite attitude that "secondary-mysticism" will always be developed in which the individual endeavors to go his own way. Where there is inward conviction, there is also independence. It was of benefit to the Church that theology soon took another turn. It grew skeptical in regard to the "general", the "idea", which should be the "substance". Under the continuous study of Aristotle *causality* became the principal idea in place of *immanence.* The scientific sense grew stronger; details in their concrete expression gained in interest: Will ruled the world, the will of God and the will of the individual, not an unintelligible substance, or a constructed universal intellect. Reason recognized the series of causalities and ended in the discernment of arbitrariness and mere contingencies. Duns Scotus, the most penetrating thinker of the Middle Ages, marks this immense change; but it was first consummated since Occam.

Theologians Grow Skeptical.

Authority of Church Increased.

The consequence of this change was not however the protest against the Church doctrine with its absolute tenets, nor the attempt to try these by the principles upon which they were based, but *the increasing*

Reason Submits to Authority.

authority of the Church. At her door was laid what *ratio* and *auctoritas* once had unitedly borne, not in an act of despair but as a self-evident act of obedience. Socinianism first protested, Protestantism examined into the foundations of the doctrine—post-Tridentine Catholicism pursued the direction indicated further: *In this way, while nominalism began to rule, the ground was soon won for the later trinitarian development of doctrine.*

Nominalism Had Great Advantages.

Nominalism had great advantages: It began to see clearly that religion is something else than knowledge and philosophy, while Thomas was wanting in clearness; it knew the importance of the concrete in opposition to the hollowness of the abstract (laying the foundation for a new psychology); it recognized the will, laid stress upon this property also in God, strongly emphasized the personality of God and thereby first put an end to the Neo-Platonic theosophy which mixed up God and the world; it grasped the positiveness of historical religion more firmly,—but it forfeited, together with confidence in an absolute knowledge, also confidence in the majesty of the moral law and thereby emptied the conception of God and exposed him to arbitrariness, including in the "positive", to which it submitted, the Church with its whole apparatus—the commands of the religious and moral law are arbitrary, but the commands of the Church are absolute. It established in dogmatics the sovereign right of casuis-

It Established Right of Casuistry.

try, already anticipated by the discipline of penance not only, but also by the dialectics of the Thomists: Everything in revelation depends upon the Divine will which is arbitrary; therefore intellect is able to prove at most only the "*conveniens*" of things ordained. In so far however as it has its own knowledge there exists a *double truth*, the religious and the natural; to the former one submits and in this very submission consists the *merit* of the faith. In greater measure (not recoiling even at the frivolous) nominalism acknowledged the sufficiency of the "*fides implicita*"; true, it here found an example in the papal decretals. Had not Innocent IV. expressly taught that it was sufficient for the laity to believe in a requiting God, as for the rest to submit to the Church doctrine? Absurdity and authority now became the stamp of religious truth. While freeing themselves from the load of speculative monstrosities and the deceptive "necessity of thinking", men took upon themselves the dreadful load of a faith the content of which they themselves declared to be arbitrary and opaque, and which they therefore were able to wear only as a uniform.

Fides Implicita Sufficient.

Absurdity the Stamp of Religion.

Augustinianism Gradually Cast Off.

Closely allied with this development was another, the gradual casting off of Augustinianism and the reinstatement of Roman moralism, now confirmed by Aristotle. The weight of guilt and the power of grace became relative magnitudes. From Aristotle they learned that man by his freedom stands independent before God, and since they had cast off Augustine's doctrine concerning the "first and last things", they also, under cover of his words, stripped off his doctrine of grace. Everything in religion and ethics became only probable, redemption itself through Christ was placed among the most uncertain categories. The fundamental principles of a universal religious and moral diplomacy were applied to objective religion and to subjective religiousness. The holiness of God was extinguished: He is not entirely severe, not entirely holy. Faith need not be a full surrender, penance not perfect repentance, love not perfect love. Everywhere a "certain standard" (Aristotle) is sufficient and whatever is wanting is supplied by the sacraments and by adherence to the Church; for the religion of revelation was given to make the way to heaven easy, and the Church alone is able to announce what "standard" and what accidental merits will satisfy God. This is the "Aristotelianism" or the "reasoning" of the nominalistic scholastics which Luther hated and which the Jesuits in the post-Tridentine times fully introduced into the Church.

Probality Rules.

Holiness of God Discounted.

At the end of the Middle Ages, and even in the 14th century, this nominalism, which renders religion void, called forth great reactions, yet notwithstanding it remained in vogue at the universities. Not only the theologians of the Dominican order contradicted it again and again, but outside of the order also an Augustinian reaction broke forth in

Reaction Against Nominalism.

Bradwardina, Wicliff, Huss, Wesel, Wessel and others. They stood up against Pelagianism, although they allowed wide play to the sacraments, the *fides implicita* and Church authority. A powerful ally against nominalism, which by its hollow formalistic and dialectic principles in the 15th century made itself outright despicable, was gained by an Augustinian reaction in favor of Plato who at that time was being brought to light again. A new spirit emanated from him and from the rediscovered antiquity: It sought knowledge from the *living*, and reached out toward those ideals which set the individual free and elevate him above the common world. Through violent disturbances the new spirit announced itself and in the beginning it seemed to threaten Christianity with paganism; yet those who represented the renaissance most brilliantly (Nicholas of Kus, Erasmus and others) only wished to do away with unspiritual ecclesiasticism and its empty science, but not really to jeopardize the Church and the dogma. The restored confidence in the recognizable unity of all things, the bold soaring of the fantasy inspired by antiquity and the discovery of new worlds, these founded the new science. Nominalistic science did not become by purification an exact science, but a new spirit moved among the withered foliage of scholasticism, and gained confidence and strength to extract the secrets from nature also, as well as from the vivid speculations of Plato which inspire the whole man, and from inter-

Platonism Revived.

Nicholas of Kus, Erasmus.

Christian Humanists Were Only Augustinians.

course with the living. But *theology* did not at first profit by it. It was simply pushed aside. The Christian humanists also were no theologians, but only learned patristic scholars with Platonic-Franciscan ideals,—at best only Augustinians. No one really had any longer any confidence in ecclesiastical doctrine, but through a sense for the *original* teaching, which the renaissance had awakened, a new theology was prepared.

4. *The Reminting of Dogmatics into Scholastics.*

Presuppositions of Scholasticism.

In the scholasticism of the 13th century the Occidental Church obtained a homogeneous, systematic representation of its faith. The pre-suppositions were, (1) The Holy Scriptures and the dogmas of the councils, (2) Augustinianism, (3) The development of ecclesiasticism since the 9th century, (4) The Aristotelian philosophy. Individual bliss in the hereafter is still the *finis theologiae*, but in so far as the sacraments, which serve this purpose, restore the kingdom of Christ upon earth also as a power of love (already since Augustine), a second aim was introduced into theology: It is not only *food for the soul* but also *ecclesiasticism*. But the difference between these two ideas has never been adjusted in Catholicism. In them *grace* and *merit* are the two centres of the parabola of the mediæval conception of Christianity.

Only the old *articuli fidei* were dogmas in a strict

Articuli Fidei Only Real Dogmas.

sense; but since the transubstantiation was considered as conferred together with the incarnation, the whole sacramental system was in reality raised to the height of an absolute doctrine of faith. The boundary between dogma and theological precept was entirely uncertain in details. No one could any longer state what the Church really did teach, and the latter itself always took care to map out the province of the necessary faith.

Three-fold Task of Scholasticism.

The task of scholasticism was a triple one: (1) To treat the old *articuli fidei* scientifically and to place them within the line drawn about the sacraments and the merits; (2) To give a form to the doctrine of the sacraments, (3) To adjust the difference between principles of ecclesiastical action and Augustinianism. These tasks it carried out in a magnificent manner, yet in doing so it soon found itself at variance with piety, which could no longer find its true expression (Augustinian reactions) in the official theology (the nominalistic) and therefore pushed it aside.

A. THE WORKING OVER OF THE TRADITIONAL ARTICULI FIDEI.

Remoulding of Doctrine of God.

1. In the beginning the Augustinian-Areopagite conception of God governed the theology of the Middle Ages (conception of the necessary going forth of the one Being; the Substance determining everything; the virtual existence of God in the world;

Attempts to Unite Augustinian and Aristotelian Conceptions.

ontological proof of Anselm); but later the danger from pantheism was felt (Amalrich of Bana, David of Dinanto). Thomas endeavored to unite the Augustinian and the Aristotelian conception of God: God is absolute substance, self-conscious thinking, *actus purus;* he is different from the world (cosmological proof). Yet Thomas also still had the most lively interest in emphasizing the absolute sufficiency and necessity of God (in God's own personal end the world is included); for only the necessary can be recognized with certainty; bliss however depends upon certain knowledge. Yet Duns contested the conception of a necessary outgoing Being, overthrew all proofs of God, denied also that the divine Will could be measured by our ethical "modes of thought", and conceived of God merely as a Free-Will with unfathomable motives, *i.e.* without these (arbitrariness). Occam questioned also the conception of the *primum movens immobile* and pronounced monotheism only *probabilior* than polytheism. The contradiction between Thomists and Scotists is found in their different conceptions of the relation of man to God. The former looked upon this as dependence and recognized in the *good* the *essence* of God (God wills a thing because it is good); the latter separated God and the creature, conceived the latter as independent but in duty bound to the Divine *commands* which originate in the pleasure of God (a thing is good because God wills it). Yonder predestination, here arbitrariness.

Divergence Between Thomists and Scotists.

Theology indeed uttered the sentence "*pater in filio revelatus*" with the lips, but heeded it not.

Doctrine of Trinity.

2. The construction of the doctrine of the trinity belonged entirely to scientific labor, after tritheistic (Roscellin) and modalistic (Abelard) attempts had been repulsed. Thomism necessarily retained an inclination to modalism (even the Lombard was accused of substantializing the *divina essentia* and hence of "quaternity"), while the Scotistic school kept the Persons sharply separated. In the subtile researches the trinity became a school problem. The treatment of it proved that the faith of the Occident did not live in this transmitted doctrine.

Pantheism of Thomas.

3. With Thomas are still found remnants of the pantheistic way of thinking (creation as actualization of the Divine ideas; everything which is exists only *participatione dei; divina bonitas est finis rerum omnium*, therefore not an independent aim in the world); yet he by introducing the Aristotelian idea had already essentially completed the separation of God from the creature, and he endeavored to restore the pure idea of creation. The contrasts were reflected in the contest about the beginning of the world. In the Scotistic school God's own purpose and that of the creatures were sharply separated. The innumerable host of questions concerning the government of the world, the theodicy, etc., which scholasticism again propounded, belongs to the history of theology. Thomas assumed that God directs all things "*immediate*" and also effects the *cor-*

ruptiones rerum "*quasi per accidens*" (Origen, Augustine); the Scotists would acknowledge only an indirect direction and contested the Neo-Platonic doctrine of a *malum* in the interest of God and of the independence of man.

Doctrine of Two Natures; John Damascenus.

4. Together with a "*nota*" against the "nihilism" of the Lombard who denied that God through the incarnation has become something, the doctrine of the two natures was transmitted to the great scholastics. The conception of John Damascenus was the prescribed one; but the hypostatical union was treated as a school problem. The Thomists conceived the human as passive and accidental and really continued in the monophysitic conception. Duns endeavored to save the humanity of Christ, to place certain limits to the human knowledge of Christ and to attribute existence also to the human individual nature of Christ. Still within this territory Thomism remained victorious. Practically indeed men made use of the Christological dogma only in the dogma of the eucharist, and the latest scholasticism explained the same as necessary and reasonable (Occam.) (God might also have assumed the *natura asinina* and still have been able to save us). The doctrine of the work of Christ did not have its root in the doctrine of the two natures, but in the thought of the *merit* of the sinless man Jesus, whose life had a divine value. (*Christus passus est secundem carnem*). The idea of the *satisfactio* (Halesius, Albertus) was also brought up again. Thomas treated

Satisfaction of Christ.

it, but explained the redemption through the death of Christ as being simply the most *fitting* way. Because in it is represented the sum of all imaginary suffering, this death, which brings before our mind the love of God, becomes an example for us, recalls us from sin and awakens as a motive our love in return. Alongside the *subjective* Thomas also emphasized the *objective:* If God had redeemed us *sola voluntate*, he would not have been able to gain so much for us; Christ's death has obtained for us not only freedom from guilt, but also the *gratia justificans* and the *gloria beatitudinis.* Moreover all possible points of view were quoted, from which the death of Christ may be regarded.

Sacrificium Acceptissimum.

As *satisfactio* it is *superabundans*, since as regards all satisfaction the rule holds good, that the offended one loves the gift tendered by himself more than he hates the offence (*sacrificium acceptissimum*). This apparently correct and worthy idea became fatal; it is plain that Thomas also misjudges the *suffering of punishment* and with it the full gravity of sin. In the doctrine regarding merit the reality (not the possibility only) of our reconciliation through the death of Christ was to be expressed.

Anselm's Doctrine Extended.

Setting aside the doctrine of the two natures the idea of Anselm was further carried out, that the merit gained through the voluntary suffering descends from the head to the members: "*caput et membra sunt quasi una persona mystica, et ideo satisfactio Christi ad omnes* FIDELES *pertinet, sicut ad sua membra*". But the idea of faith is instantly replaced by that of love: "*fides, per quam a peccato mundamur, non est fides informis, quae protest esse etiam cum peccato, sed est fides formata per caritatem*". Thomas wavered between the hypothetical and the necessary, between the objective (possible) and subjective (real), between the rational and irrational redemption. Duns drew the consequences of the satisfaction theory in tracing everything back to the arbitrary "*acceptatio*" of God. The arbitrary estimation of the Receiver gives the value to the satisfaction, as it also alone determines the extent of the offence. The death of Christ was of as much value as God allowed it to be; at any rate the idea of "infinite" is to be repudiated; for neither the sin nor the death of a finite man can have infinite weight; besides an infinite merit is wholly unnecessary, since the sovereign will of God decrees what is good and meritorious in his sight. Therefore a *purus homo* would also have been able to redeem us; for there was needed only a first impulse, the rest in any event the self-sufficient man must accomplish. Duns indeed endeavored to show also that the death of Christ was "appropriate"; but this point was no longer of real importance: Christ died, because God so willed it. Everything "necessary" and "infinite", which is here only an expression for the Divine, was cleared away. The predestinating arbitrariness of God and justification by works ruled dogmatics. Duns in truth had already destroyed the doctrine of redemption and annulled

Thomas Wavered Between Objective and Subjective Redemption.

Duns Made Redemption Arbitrary Act of God.

Justification by Works.

the Divinity of Christ. Only the authority of the Church kept up its validity; should the former fail, *Socinianism* would be established. Acknowledging this authority nominalistic theologians advanced in their dialectics to the frivolous and blasphemous. However, in the 15th century there reappeared in connection with Augustinianism a more serious conception in Gerson, Wessel, even in Biel and others, and the Bernardine view of the suffering Christ was never lost during the Middle Ages.

B. THE SCHOLASTIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Hahn, L. v. d. Sacramenten, 1864.

Faith and Theology Lived in the Sacraments.

The scholastic uncertainties and liberties touching the doctrine of the work of Christ are explained by the certainty with which scholasticism regarded the benefit of salvation in the sacraments as a present one. *Faith and theology lived in the sacraments.* The Augustinian doctrine was here developed materially and formally; the "*verbum*" however was evermore disregarded in favor of the "*sacramentum*"; for since by the side of the awakening of faith and love as means of grace the old definition still retained its value: "*gratia nihil est aliud quam participata similitudo divinae* NATURAE", no other form of grace could really be thought of than the magic-sacramental form.

The doctrine of the sacraments was for a long time

Number of Sacraments Uncertain.

developed under the embarrassment, that there was nothing settled regarding the number of the sacraments. Besides baptism and the eucharist there were an indefinite number of holy acts (compare even Bernard). Abelard and Hugo St. Victor laid stress upon confirmation, extreme unction and marriage (five in number), Robert Pullus upon confirmation, confession and ordination. Out of a combination perhaps in the contest with the catharists originated the number seven (Roland's book of tenets), which the Lombard brought forward as an "opinion". Even at the councils of 1179 and 1215 the number was not settled. The great scholastics first brought the same to honorable recognition and at Florence, 1439, there took place a decided ecclesiastical declaration (Eugene IV., bull *exultate deo*). However, a full equalizing of the seven sacraments was not intended (baptism and especially the eucharist remained prominent). The "*conveniens*" of the number seven and the organism of the sacraments, enriching the whole life of the individual and of the Church, were explained in detail. Indeed the very creation of these seven sacraments was a masterpiece of a perhaps unconscious politics.

Council of Florence, 1439, Decides upon Seven.

Hugo and Peter.

Hugo began the technical treatment of the doctrine, retaining the Augustinian distinction between *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti* and the strong emphasis upon the physico-spiritual gift, which really is *included*. Following him, the Lombard (IV. 1. B.) defined: "*Sacramentum proprie dicitur, quod* *ita signum est gratiae dei et invisibilis gratiae forma, ut imaginem ipsius gerat et causa existat. Non ergo significandi tantum gratia sacramenta instituta sunt, sed etiam sanctificandi*" (in *significandi gratia* the Old Testament ordinances were hit upon). Still he did not say that the sacraments contain the grace (Hugo), but that they make it efficient; he also demanded only a *signum* as a foundation, not like Hugo a *corporale elementum*. Thomas also moderated the "*continent*" of Hugo, he even went further: God indeed does not work "*adhibitis sacramentis*" (Bernard), they confer grace only "*per aliquem modum*". God himself confers it; the sacraments are *causae instrumentales*, they transmit the effect *a prima movente*. They are also *causa et signa;* thus the phrase "*efficiunt quod figurant*" must be understood. Still there is contained in the sacraments a *virtus ad inducendum sacramentalem effectum*. Later on the relation between the sacraments and grace was entirely relaxed. The latter only accompanies the former, for the mere arbitrariness of God combined them (Duns) by virtue of a "*pactum cum ecclesia initum*". Thus the nominalistic conception appears less magical and it prepared the way by its protest against the "*continent*" for the sacramental doctrine of the forerunners of the Reformation and of Zwingli. But this change did not originate in the interest of the "word" and faith, but, as remarked, in the peculiar conception of God. The official doctrine remained as in Thomas,

Thomas.

Nominalistic Conception Prepares Way for Zwingli's.

i.e. returned to the "*figurant, continent et conferunt*" (Florentine council). It thereby holds good that the sacraments, differing from those of the Old Testament in which faith (*opus operandi*) was necessary, work "*ex opere operato*" (thus already the Lombard); that is, the effect flows from the administration as such. The attempt of the Scotists to place the sacraments of the Old Testament on an equality with those of the New was repudiated.

Thomistic Doctrine of Sacraments.

In detail, the following points of the Thomistic doctrine are still especially important: (1) *In genere* the sacraments are altogether necessary to salvation, *in specie* this is in the strictest sense valid only of baptism (otherwise the rule holds good; "*non defectus sed contemptus damnat*"). (2) *In genere* the sacraments must have a three-fold effect, a significant (*sacramentum*), a preparative (*sacramentum et res*), and a redemptive (*res sacramenti*); *in specie*, however, the preparative effect, *the character*, can be proved only in baptism, confirmation and the *ordo*. Through these the "character of Christ", as capacity for the *receptio et traditio cultus dei*, is implanted in the potency of the soul *indelebiliter*, and is therefore not capable of repetition (stamping it, as it were); (3) In the definite discussion of the question, "*quid sit sacramentum*", it was determined that the same is not only a holy but also a sanctifying sign; moreover that the cause of sanctification is the suffering of Christ, the form consisting in the communicated grace and virtues, and the aim being

Three-fold Effect.

Form Must Be Strictly Observed.

eternal life. The sacrament must always be a *res sensibilis a deo determinata* (material of the sacrament), and it is "very becoming", that "words" also go with it, "*quibus verba incarnato quodammodo conformantur*". These *verba a deo determinata* (form of sacrament) must be strictly observed, an unintentional *lapsus linguae* even does not allow the sacrament to become perfect; of course it is rendered void as soon as one does not intend to do what the Church does; (4) The necessity of the sacraments is proved by "*quodammodo applicant passionem Christi hominibus*", in so far as they "*congrua gratiae praesentialiter demonstrandae sunt*"; (5) By the effect (character and *gratia*) it is argued that in the sacrament to the general *gratia virtutem et donorum* is still added "*quoddam divinum auxilium ad consequendum sacramenti finem*"; that as well *in verbis* as *in rebus* there is contained an *instrumentalis virtus ad inducemdam gratiam.* By determining the relationship between sacramental grace and the *passio Christi* it is plainly discernible that the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments is nothing else than a doubling of the salvation through Christ. Since they conceived grace physically, yet were unable to join this physical grace directly to the death of Christ, *i.e.* deduce it from the latter, another *instrumentum separatum* (the sacraments), in addition to the *instrumentum conjunctum* (Jesus), had still to be ascribed to God the Redeemer. But if one can obtain such an understanding of the life and death

Necessity of Sacraments Proven.

Duplication of Salvation.

God the Author, the Priest the Instrument.

of Christ, that it of itself appears as grace and sacrament, then the doubling is useless and harmful; (6) By determining the *causa sacramentorum* it follows that God is the Author, but the priest, as minister, the "*causa instrumentalis*". Everything which is *de necessitate sacramenti* (therefore not the prayers of the priests, etc.) must have been instituted by Christ himself (appeal to tradition, while Hugo and the Lombard still deduced some sacraments from the apostles; with some this latter continued until the 16th century; the apostles cannot have been *institutores sacramenti* in the strict sense of the word; even to Christ as *man* was due only the *potestas ministerii principalis seu excelentiae;* he works *meritorie et efficienter* and could have transferred this extraordinary *potestas ministerii*, which however he did not do); bad priests also can validly administer the sacraments; they need to have the *intentio* only, not the *fides;* but they incur a mortal sin. Even heretics can transmit the *sacramentum*, but not the *res sacramenti*.

Opus Operatum Emphasized.

These doctrines of Thomas are lacking in due regard for *faith* and pass lightly over the question regarding the conditions of the *salutary* reception. With the nominalists this question, together with that of the relation of grace and sacrament (see above) and that of the minister, became most important in the case of each separate sacrament, and they came to the decision *to allow the factor of merit to encroach upon that of the sacraments and of grace*, at the same time, however, they conceived of the conditions of the merit in a looser way and emphasized more strongly the *opus operatum.* On the whole they dissolved the whole of Thomism. They desired here also to apprehend the doctrine more spiritually and ethically; in truth they fell into a disgraceful casuistry and favored justification by works and likewise the magic of the sacraments. That some *disposition* was necessary to a *salutary* reception all assumed, but the question was wherein it consisted and what value it should have. Some saw in it no positive conditioning of sacramental grace, but merely a *conditio sine qua non;* they did not think of it as worthiness and, therefore, declared roundly that the sacraments were effective only *ex opere operato* (the disposition is necessary, but has no causal importance). Others —they were not numerous—declared that the sacraments can procure grace only when inward repentance and faith exist; these, however, are caused by God as *interiores motus*, so that no justification *ex opere operante* can be assumed; the sacraments only announce the inward work of God (preparing the way for the Reformation point of view). Others still, who gained the upper hand, taught that redemptive grace is a product of the sacraments and of penitent faith, so that the sacrament itself only elevates above the death-point, in order to co-operate at once with the inner disposition. Here the question first became important, what then the disposition should be (repentance and faith), in order to allow

Question Regarding Disposition.

Augustine's View Brought Forward.

Duns' Vitiated Conception.

Meritum de Congruo.

the sacrament to have its full effect. First of all they answered with Augustine, that the receiver must not "*obicem contrariae cogitationis opponere*". Therefrom the older theologians had inferred that a *bonus motus interior* must exist; indeed they also conceived this already as a merit; for a *minimum* of merit (against Augustine) certainly always must exist, if grace is to be imparted. Duns and his pupils however taught—a vicious corruption of a correct idea—that the glory of the New Testament sacraments consists in not requiring, like the earlier, a *bonus motus* as a pre-supposition, but rather only the absence of a *motus contrarius malus* (contempt of the sacraments, positive unbelief). Without the sacraments grace can be effective only where there exists some worthiness; sacramental grace, however, is also effective where there is *tabula rasa* (as if such a thing exists!); yonder is a *meritum de congruo* requisite, here "*solum requiritur opus exterius cum amotione interioris impedimenti*". But where this appears mere obedient submission to the consummation of the sacrament becomes for the receiver a *meritum de congruo*, and therewith the process of salvation begins, which, while the sacramental collations increase, can finally be finished without the subjects ever overstepping the limits of the *meritum de congruo*, that is, of a certain merit which may exist without *real* inner faith and love. Sacramental grace transforms *ex opere operato* the *attritio* into *contritio* and thereby furnishes a supplement to the incomplete merits, rendering them complete. Upon the steps of inner emotions, which are constantly supplemented by the sacraments and are wholly vain, even irreligious (fear of punishment, dread of hell, powerless dissatisfaction with one's self), the soul rises to God: "*attritio superveniente sacramento virtute clavium efficitur sufficiens*". Here the doctrine of the sacraments is subordinated to the worst form of a Pelagian doctrine of justification (see below).

Baptism.

The Separate Sacraments. 1. *Baptism* (material: Water; form: Institutional words). This has reference to hereditary sin. Baptism blots out such guilt and that of all hitherto committed sins, remits the punishment (not however earthly punishments) and regulates the concupiscence; that is, the idea of an innocent concupiscence is allowed (not a religious view) and it is declared that baptism renders a man able to keep his concupiscence within bounds. The positive effect of baptism was placed under the head of "*regeneratio*" without ridding this conception of the obscurity and lack of meaning which it has in the Church fathers. In theory it was asserted that the positive grace of baptism was *perfectissima*, and children also received it (sacrament of justification in the full sense); but in fact it was only conceived as a sacrament of initiation, and only in this sense could the perfectness of infant baptism (belief of the Church, or of good parents as substitutes) be sustained: Baptism establishes the process of justification only *in habitu*, not *in actu*. In case of necessity a deacon also, yes a layman, may baptize. Detailed explanations concerning sacramental observances were made based upon a comparison with baptism.

Confirmation.

2. *Confirmation* (material: The chrisma consecrated by the bishop; form: *Consigno te*, etc.). The effect of this sacrament, which like baptism cannot be repeated, was to give power for growth, strength to fight, the *gratia gratum faciens* in the process of justification. Only the bishop could administer it; it gained its significance as a sacrament of the episcopal *hierarchy* alongside of the *ordo;* still on the whole its significance resided only in the "character". Doubts regarding the sacrament never died out in the Middle Ages (Wiclif). Beginning with Thomas it was brought very close to the power of the pope, since it had special reference to the mystical body of Christ (the Church; not to the sacramental body) and accordingly the power of jurisdiction came into consideration.

Eucharist.

3. *Eucharist* (material: The elements; form: The institutional words). The Thomist doctrine here gained a complete victory as against the attempt of the nominalist to shake the doctrine of transubstantiation; but the "heretical" opposition to this doctrine did not cease in the Middle Ages after the Lateran council (vid. p. 426). Realism is the presupposition of the orthodox theory; without this it collapses. Everything that is sublime was said about

Thomas' Doctrine.

Duns.

Occam.

the eucharist; but faith, which seeks surety, went empty-handed, and yet the sacrament of penance as sacrament and as sacrifice was finally far superior to the eucharist: Masses are trifling means, and the spiritual food blots out no mortal sins. The great theological problem was transubstantiation itself, and by reason of its greatness they overlooked the insignificance of its effect. Thomas gave form to the doctrine regarding the mode of the presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament (no new creation, no *assumptio elementorum* so that they become body, no consubstantiality); the substance of the elements disappears entirely, but not *per annihilationem*, yet *per conversionem;* the existence of the remaining unsubstantial accidents of the elements is made possible by the direct working of God; the body of Christ enters *totus in toto;* in each of the elements is the whole Christ, to wit: *per concomitantiam* as regard his body and soul as well as regards his Divinity from the moment of pronouncing the institutional words (therefore also *extra usum*); the presence of Christ in the elements has no dimensions, but how this was to be conceived became a primary problem for which Thomas and the nominalistic writers summoned absurd and ingenious theories of space. They thereby approached very closely either to the idea of the annihilation of the primary substance (Duns), or to consubstantiality and "impanation" (Occam); they hit upon the latter because their metaphysics in general only admitted the idea that the Divine and the created *accompany* each other by virtue of Divine adjustment (similarly Wesel, and with other motives Luther). The consequences of the formulation of the doctrine of transubstantiation were, (1) Cessation of infant communion (this had also other causes), (2) Increase of the authority of the priests, (3) Withdrawal of the chalice (determined upon at Constance), (4) Adoration of the elevated host (feast of *Corpus Christi*, 1264, 1311). Against the last two results there arose in the 14th and 15th centuries considerable opposition.—In regard to the representation of the eucharist as a sacrifice, the Lombard was still influenced by the old ecclesiastical motive of the *recordatio;* however, the idea of the repetition of the sacrificial death of Christ, confirmed by Gregory I., crept in more and more (Hugo, Albertus; Thomas really justifies the theory only by the practice of the Church) and modified also the canon of the mass (Lateran council, 1215). The priest was considered the *sacerdos corporis Christi*. The attacks of Wiclif and others upon this entirely unbiblical conception died away; during the 14th and 15th centuries one really fought only against the abuses.

Consequences of Formulation of Doctrine.

Repetition of Sacrifice.

4. *Penance* (great controversy over the material, since no *res corporalis* exists) is on the whole the chief sacrament, because it alone restores the lost baptismal grace. The theory remained yet for a long time shy of the hierarchical practice, which had been expressed in the pseudo-Augustinian writing, "*de*

Penance.

Lateran Council.

Thomas' Doctrine.

Halesius, Bonaventura.

vera et falsa paenitentia". The Lombard still considered the true penitence of a Christian in itself sacramental, and the priestly absolution merely declarative (*ecclesiastical act*); for God alone pardons sin. Hugo and the Lateran council, 1215, prepared the way for Thomas. The latter recognized the material of the sacrament in the visible act of the penitent, the form in the priest's words of absolution, declared that the priests as *authorized* ministers are dispensers in the fullest sense, and gave as a reason for the necessity of sacramental penance (before the priest) the perverse sentence: "*Ex quo aliquis peccatum* (mortal sin) *incurrit, caritas, fides et misericordia non liberant hominem a peccato sine paenitentia*". However, he added that the sacramental absolution did not at once take away the *reatus totius poenae* together with the guilt of the mortal sin, but that it only disappeared "*completis omnibus paenitentiae actibus*". The three *partes paenitentiae*—already formulated by the Lombard as *contritio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis*—were originally not considered of equal value. The inner perfect penitence was considered *res* and *sacramentum*, and still dominated with the Lombard and Thomas the whole representation. Yet already Alexander Halesius and Bonaventura were of the opinion that God precisely by the sacrament had facilitated the way to salvation, and they discriminated between *contritio* and *attritio* (*timor servilis*), declaring the latter sufficient for admission to the sacrament. In spite of its silent rejection by Thomas this view gained more and more ground: The sacrament itself will perfect the half-penitence by the *infusio gratiae.* The *attritio*, gallows-repentance, became the bane of the Church doctrine in the 14th and 15th centuries (Johann von Palltz, Petrus de Palude and others; Dieckhoff, Der Ablassstreit, 1886); the Tridentine council sanctioned it only conditionally. It was well known that the *attritio* often springs from *immoral* motives and yet they built out of it and the sacraments steps up to heaven.—Thomas is the theologian of the *confessio oris;* he placed the obligation thereto under the *jus divinum*, stated for the first time exactly the extent of the new ordinance and deduced the sole right of the ecclesiastic to hear confessions from the *ministerium super corpus Christi verum* (in case of need one should confess to a layman, such confession, however, is, according to Thomas, no longer sacramental). The Scotists essentially accepted all this.—The sole right of the priest *to grant absolution* was also first strictly brought to an issue by Thomas. However, upon this sacrament the power of jurisdiction exerted an influence (reservance of cases for the pope). According to the Scotists the priest by absolution simply induces God to fulfil his contract; according to Thomas he acts independently through the transmitted *potestas ministerii.*—By imposing a *satisfactio* the priest acts as *medicus peritus et judex aequus.* The practice is an old one, the "mechaniz-

Gallows-Repentance.

Confessio Oris: Thomas.

Absolution: Thomas.

Medicus Peritus.

ing" and the *theoretical* rating (alongside the *contritio* as a part of the penance) is comparatively new. The idea is that the *satisfactio*, as a constituent part of the sacrament, is the necessary manifestation of repentance in such works as are fitted to give a certain satisfaction to an offended God, and which become the motive for the shortening of temporal punishment. In baptism God pardons without any satisfaction, but of those baptized he demands a certain satisfaction, which then as merit reverts to him who renders it. Moreover the baptized is really able to render it; it also contributes to his reformation and protects him against sin. Meritorious are only such acts as are done in a state of grace (*in caritate*, hence after absolution), but the works (prayer, fasting, alms) of those who are not *in caritate* also have a certain merit. Thus finally *attritio* and imperfect meritorious works dominate the whole territory of penance, that is of ecclesiastical life.

Meritorious Works.

Indulgences.

But the scholastics admitted also in practice the idea of the personal exchange of satisfactions and of personal substitution. This led to the doctrine of *indulgences* (Bratke, Luther's 95 Theses, 1884. Schneider, Die Ablässe, 7. Aufl., 1881). The indulgence joins on to the *satisfactio*, *i.e.* also to the *attritio*. In theory it has nothing to do with the *reatus culpae et poenae aeternae;* still in practice it was not seldom joined with the latter (even the Tridentine council here complained of abuses). The indulgence rests upon the idea of commutation and its purpose was to ameliorate, *i.e.* to abolish the temporal punishment of sin, above all the punishment of purgatory. Through absolution hell was closed; but the *homines attriti* in reality neither believe in hell nor in the power of grace, for only a *contritus* knows anything of such things. But they are afraid of severe punishment, and they believe in the possibility of removing it by various "doings", and are even ready for some sacrifice for this end. Thus purgatory was hell to them and the indulgence became a sacrament. To these feelings the Church in reality yielded; *attritio*, *opera* and *indulgentia* became in truth parts of the sacrament of penance. Thomas still endeavored throughout to bring about a compromise between the earnest theory and the evil practice, which he was unable to uproot ("*ab omnibus conceditur indulgentias aliquid valere, quia impium esset dicere, quod ecclesiae aliquid vane faceret*"). With him the indulgences had not yet become a mockery of Christianity as the religion of redemption, because he really conceives them only as an annex to the sacrament. Yet he abandoned the old idea that the indulgence has reference only to the ecclesiastical punishment imposed by the priest; and it was he who handed down the theory of indulgences. The latter is composed of two ideas: (1) Pardoned sin also continues to have an effect through its temporal consequences, still it cannot remain "*inordinata*", and therefore the temporal punishment must be expiated; (2) Christ by his passion has ac-

Absolution Closes Hell.

Thomas' Effort.

Theory of Indulgences.

complished greater things than the blotting out of eternal guilt and punishment; this alone is effective within the sacrament, *i.e.* in the absolution; but outside of it there is a surplus. This surplus merit (*thesaurus operum supererogatoriorum*) must of necessity benefit the body of Christ, the Church, since it cannot benefit Christ and the saints.

Theory of Surplus Merits.

Bull Unigenitus.

But it can no longer find any other occupation than that of shortening and blotting out the temporal punishment of sin. It can be turned only to the benefit of those absolved, who must regularly offer in return a *minimum* (a small performance); it is administered by the head of the Church, the pope, who however can transfer to others a partial administration. This theory of surplus merits, which had a long prior history (Persians, Jews), became especially pernicious when no decisive weight was placed upon the condition of repentant faith, or when darkness was intentionally permitted to rest upon the question as to what it really was that was blotted out by the indulgence, or when the question, as to whether the indulgence would not also be of benefit to committers of mortal sin *ad requirendam gratiam*, was answered in the affirmative as was likewise the question whether therefore it could not be granted in advance, in order that one might make use of it for an occasional disposition (Scotistic practice). The theory of indulgences is comprised in the bull, "*Unigenitus*", Clement IV., of the year 1349; here it is also stated that the indulgence has reference only to the "*vere paenitentes et confessi*". Wiclif above all disputed the practice and theory; he called the indulgences arbitrary and blasphemous, paralyzing obedience to the laws of God, a nefarious innovation. But indulgence was not yet unhinged, when one proved it to be unbiblical, the usurpation of the hierarchy and a moral corruption. One must show how a dormant conscience is to be awakened, a disturbed one to be comforted. But neither Wiclif nor the other energetic contestors of indulgences (Huss, Wesel, etc.) were able to do this. Wessel alone attacked indulgences at the root, for he not only taught that the keys were given alone to the pious (not to the pope and the priests), and also pointed out that forgiveness does not depend upon arbitrariness, but upon true penitence; moreover, that the temporal punishments for sin serve for man's education and therefore cannot be exchanged. He also doubted the *satisfactio operum: Satisfactio* has no place anyhow where God has infused his love; it would detract from the work of Christ (the *gratia gratis data*). And yet indulgences, which had also been approved at Constance, prevailed about 1500 more than ever; people knew them to be "*abusus quaestorum*", and yet made use of them.

Wiclif, Huss, Wessel.

5. *Extreme unction* (material: Consecrated oil; form: A deprecatory word of prayer). Thomas asserted its institution by Christ, its promulgation by James (Epist. 5:14). The purpose of this sacrament,

Extreme Unction.

which admits of repetition, is the *remissio peccatorum*, yet only of the venial. As this sacrament was evolved only because of the need of the dying, it was also left to practice. Theory had little interest in it.

Ordination of Priests.

6. *Ordination of priests* (from the impossibility of proving a perceptible material by the side of the form: "*Accipe potestatem*, etc.",—however, one also thought of vessels of worship or of the laying on of hands and symbols,—Thomas knew how to make capital: "*Hoc quod confertur in aliis sacramentis derivatur tantum a deo, non a ministro, qui sacramentum dispensat, sed illud quod in hoc sacramento traditur, scil. spiritualis potestas, derivatur etiam ab eo, qui sacramentum dat, sicut potestas imperfecta a perfecta; et ideo efficacia aliorum sacramentorum principaliter consistit in materia, quae virtutem divinam et significat et continet. . . . , sed efficacia hujus sacramenti principaliter residet penes eum, qui sacramentum dispensat*"). The bishop alone is the dispenser. Controversies arose, (1) Regarding the seven ordinations and their relation to each other, (2) Regarding the relationship between the priest's and the bishop's ordination, (3) Regarding the validity of ordinations conferred by schismatical or heretical bishops (question of reordination; the Lombard was in favor of the stricter practice, which however jeopardized the entire existence of the priesthood). *Character* was really the chief effect of this sacrament. The

Thomas' Doctrine.

Points in Controversy.

Confers Character.

episcopate could, on account of the old tradition, no longer be counted as a special *ordo;* but there was an endeavor to vindicate its higher position as being especially instituted by Christ (on the ground of jurisdictional power); Duns, taking into consideration the real circumstances, desired to acknowledge a separate sacrament in the consecration of a bishop.

Matrimony.

7. *Matrimony* (material and form: The consent of those about to be married). As with the former sacrament, so also with this, every provable redemptive effect was wanting; but it was here still more difficult to carry out at all the general doctrine of the sacraments. The treating of marriage as a sacrament was already with Thomas a chain of difficulties; in reality ecclesiastical law was alone concerned with it. There were painful deductions concerning the import of the *copula carnalis* for the sacrament; the priestly benediction was considered only "*quod dam sacramentale*".

Thomas' Doctrine of the Sacraments Confirmed by Eugene IV.

In the doctrine of the sacraments Thomas was the authoritative doctor; his doctrines were confirmed by Eugene IV.; but in so far as they were subordinated to the doctrine of *merits*, a different spirit, the Scotistic, gradually entered into all dogmatics. Thomas himself even was obliged to emphasize the vulgar Catholic elements of Augustinianism, since he followed the practice of the Church in his *Summa*. Later theologians went even much farther. The dissolving of Augustinianism into dogmatics did not really take place from without; it was largely

Augustinianism Dissolved into Dogmatics.

the result of an inward development. The three elements, which Augustine permitted to stand in and by the side of his doctrine of grace, *merit*, the *gratia infusa* and the *hierarchical priestly* element, continued to work until they had completely transformed the Augustinian mode of thought.

C. The Revising of Augustinianism in the Direction of the Doctrine of Merits.

Lombard Repeats Augustine's Teaching.

No ecclesiastical theologian had directly denied that grace is the foundation of the Christian religion, but since the idea, "grace", is in itself ambiguous—God himself in Christ, a mysterious quality, love (?)—it could also be made subservient to different views. The Lombard, in regard to grace, predestination and justification, exactly repeated the Augustinian sentences, but concerning free-will he expressed himself no longer in an Augustinian, but in a semi-Pelagian fashion, because he also had *merit* in mind.

Anselm, Bernard, Abelard.

With Anselm, Bernard and above all Abelard a contradiction between the doctrine of grace and of freedom can be verified, since all were governed by the thought which the Lombard formulated thus: "*nullum meritum est in homine, quod non fit per liberum arbitrium*". Therefore the *ratio* and the power of the will for good must have remained unto man after the fall.

Religious View Supplanted by Empirical.

The religious view of Augustine is replaced by the empirical, and even Bernard failed to mark Augustine's discrimination between formal and material freedom. Notable is the attempt of the Lombard to identify sanctifying grace with the Holy Spirit. However, this had no consequences; they did not want God himself, but Divine attributes, which can become human virtues.

Habitual Virtue.

From God to God through grace was the fundamental thought of Thomas, and yet finally it is *habitual virtue* at which he aims. The fundamental fault lay already in the Augustinian discrimination between *gratia operans* and *cooperans.* The latter alone procures bliss, but it cöoperates with the will and together they cause *merit.* Merits, however, are the essential point, since the theologian can have no other conception than that God values a reformation only when indicated by the *habitus.* But this is not the standpoint of religion; faith thus becomes merely an act of initiation, and God does not appear as the *almighty Love* and therefore as the Rock of Salvation, but as the Partner and Judge; he does not appear as the *personal Good*, which as Father is alone able to lead the soul to trust, but as the Giver of material, perhaps very exalted blessings (communication of his *nature*). These theologians, if they thought of God, did not look upon the heart of the almighty Father, but upon an unfathomable Being, who, having created the world out of nothing, likewise also causes *superabundant powers of knowledge, reformation and substantial transformation* to go forth. And when they thought of them-

Faith Becomes an Act of Imitation.

Theologians Lose Sight of Person of God.

selves, they did not think of the centre of the human ego, the spirit, which is so free and exalted that it gains a hold only upon a divine Person and not upon the most glorious gifts; they taught: *God and the gratia* instead of *personal communion with God, who is the gratia.* In the beginning indeed God and the *gratia* (power of love) lay very close together in their minds, but in the carrying out of the thought the *gratia* was more and more withdrawn from God, until one finds it in magic-working idols. The double thought, "*natura divina*" and "*bonum esse*", was the ruling one: Physics and morality, but not religion.

Thomas Makes Law and Grace Basal.

Thomas made law and grace, as the outer principles of moral conduct, his basis. The former, even as new law, was not sufficient. The necessity of grace therefore was proved, partly by Aristotelian means. At the same time the intellectualism of Thomas comes out strongly: Grace is the communication of supernatural knowledge. The *lumen gratiae*, however, is also the *lumen superadditum*, that is, it is not necessary for the accomplishing of the aim of man, but for the reaching over and beyond this; therefore it furnishes the reason also with a supernatural worth, *i.e.* a merit. Man in the state of integrity possesses accordingly the capability of doing by his own strength the *bonum suae naturae proportionatum*, yet he needs the Divine aid in order to acquire a meritorious *bonum superexcedens*. After the fall, however, grace was necessary for both;

Lumen Gratiae is also Lumen Superadditum.

accordingly a two-fold grace is now needed. Thereby the difference between *gratia operans et cooperans* was already established, and at the same time there was taken into view as the end of man a supernatural state, which one may reach only by the aid of the second grace, which creates merits. "*Vita aeterna est finis excedens proportionem naturae humanae*", but with the help of grace one can and must *earn* eternal life. Yet Thomas, as a strict Augustinian, did not admit the idea that a man can prepare himself for the first grace. He recognized grace alone for the beginning, not the *merita de congruo*. The essence of grace he depicted in such a manner, that, as a gift, it produces a peculiar *quality* of the soul, *i.e.* besides the *auxilium*, by which God especially induces the soul to good actions, he infuses into the soul a supernatural quality. Grace is to be distinguished, first, as the grace of salvation (*gratum faciens*) and as the grace of the priestly office, second, as *operans* (*praeveniens*) and *cooperans* (*subsequens*); in the former the soul is *mota non movens;* in the latter *mota movens.* The source of grace, which is *deifica*, is God himself, who also creates the preparation for it in man, in order to render the *materia* (the soul) "*disposita*". No one, however, is able to know whether God is carrying on the supernatural work within him. This sentence ("*nullus potest scire, se habere gratiam, certitudinaliter*") and the superfluous speculation about the *materia disposita* (inspired by Aristotle)

Eternal Life to be Earned.

Gratum Faciens, Operans et Cooperans.

Effect of Grace Two-Fold: Justification, Merits.

became fatal. The effect of grace is two-fold; first, justification, second, merits, *i.e.* the real justification does not yet take place by the *remissio peccatorum*, but one may say simply, because of the end in view, that forgiveness of sin is already justification. But the *gratia infusa* is necessary for the forgiveness of sin and therefore a *motus liberi arbitrii* is here required. Thus the *gratia praeveniens* in truth consists in an indefinable act, since every effect already presupposes cöoperation.

Confusion in Doctrine.

Looking closer, there prevails with Thomas a great confusion regarding the process of justification, because the locating of the moment of the forgiveness of sin causes difficulties; it ought to be in the beginning and yet it must be placed later because the infusion of grace, the turning to God in love and the turning from sin, should precede it. By the "*opus magnum et miraculosum*" of the *justificatio impii* the effects are weighed, which through grace more and more fall to the lot of the one already justified. They all come under the head of merit. All progress must be so regarded that, in so far as it is the work of grace, it is gained *ex condigno*, but, in so far as the free will of the justified is concerned in it, it takes place *ex congruo*.

Natural Man Can Earn No Merit, Justified Man Can.

Therefore the opinion of Thomas was, that the natural man after the fall can earn no merit, but the justified man can do so *ex congruo* ("*congruum est, ut homini operanti secundum suam virtutem deus recompenset secundum excellentiam suae virtutis*"); whereas in regard to eternal salvation there exists for man "*propter maximam inaequalitatem proportionis*" no *meritum de condigno*. This is reserved to the efficacy of grace. The meritorious principle is always love; this deserves the *augmentum gratiae ex condigno*. On the contrary perseverance in grace can in no sense be merited: "*Perseverantia viae non cadit sub merito, quia dependet solum ex motione divina, quae est principium omnis meriti, sedd eus gratis perseverantiae bonum largitur, cuicunque illud largitur*". Hereby pure Augustinianism was restored, which Thomas also admitted unabridged into his doctrine of predestination, while not only the indefatigably repeated definition of God as *primum movens*, but also the whole special doctrine of morals shows the influence of Aristotle. In the latter is carried out the thought that virtue, by the right ordering of efforts and instincts, comes through the reason and later is supernaturally perfected by the gifts of grace. Virtue culminates in the fulfilment of the *consilia evangelica* (poverty, chastity, obedience). These form the conclusion of the doctrine of the new law; but, on the other side, the doctrine of grace also culminates in them, so that they, properly speaking, form the apex of the whole scheme. "*Praecepta important necessitatem, consilium in optione ponitur ejus, cui datur*". Through "counsels" man attains his aim "*melius et expeditius*"; for the precepts still admit of a certain inclination to the goods of this world, the counsels wholly discard the same,

Perseverance Not Merited.

Virtue Culminates in Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience.

so that in following the latter the shortest way is given to eternal life. By this discrimination between *precepta* and *consilia* light is once more thrown upon the original state. The original endowment of man was in itself not sufficient to attain unto the *vita aeterna;* the latter was a *bonum superexcedens naturam;* but in the *additional endowment* of the *justitia originalis* man possesses a supernatural gift, which enables him to really attain unto eternal life. Thus one may say that after the appearance of sin (*materialiter = concupiscentia, formaliter = defectus originalis justitiae*) the *precepta* correspond to the restoring of the natural state of man, the *consilia* to the *donum superadditum* of the *justitia originalis*.

Eternal Life Bonum Superexcedens Naturam.

Thomas' Doctrine Double-Faced.

Thomas' doctrine of grace has a double aspect; it looks backward toward Augustine and forward toward the dissolution of the doctrine in the 14th century. Thomas wanted to be an Augustinian, and his explanations were already an Augustinian reaction against the assertions of Halesius, Bonaventura and others; but he allowed much wider play to the idea of merit than did Augustine; he removed still farther than the latter the doctrine of grace from the person of Christ (the latter is discussed *before* Christology!), and he permitted faith and the forgiveness of sin to recede still farther. Faith is either *fides informis*, therefore not yet faith, or *fides formata*, therefore no longer faith. In fact faith as *fiducia* can find no place, if the

Faith is no Longer Faith.

effects of grace are a new *nature* and a moral *reformation.* In the ambiguous sentence, "*caritas meretur vitam aeternam*", the mischief of the time to come lay already concealed.

Steps in Dissolution of Augustine's Doctrine.

The setting aside of the Augustinian doctrine of grace and sin can be followed up in every point: (1) Halesius already taught that Adam in paradise by good works *ex congruo* merited the *gratia gratum faciens.* The Scotists followed in his steps, at the same time discriminating between the *justitia originalis* and such grace, and reckoning the latter to the perfection of human nature itself. Although this was an advantage, yet it was neutralized by the fact that the merit *ex congruo* had been placed *from the beginning* alongside of the "only efficacious grace". (2) Thomas no longer squarely admitted the sentence in regard to hereditary sin: "*Naturalia bona corrupta sunt*", in so far as he defined the concupiscence, which in itself is not evil, simply as *languor et fomes*, emphasized stronger than Augustine the negative side of sin and, because the *ratio* remained, assumed a continued *inclinatio ad bonum.* Duns, on the whole, separated the question of concupiscence from that of hereditary sin; the former no longer appeared to him the *formale* of the latter, but merely the *materiale.* Thus as regards hereditary sin there remained only the *privatio* of the supernatural good, which indeed brought about a disturbance of the nature of man, however without any of the natural good really being lost.

Thomas.

Even the first sin was very loosely conceived of by **Duns.** Duns (against Augustine): Adam only indirectly transgressed the commandment to love God and the commandment to love his neighbor, and only in so far as by compliance he overstepped the right measure. Besides it was not at all a question of an offence against moral laws, but of not obeying a commandment imposed for the sake of probation. With **Occam.** Occam everything is entirely dissolved. As in the case of redemption, the reckoning of the fall of man appeared to him as an arbitrary act of God, which became known to us by "revelation". Small sins were even possible in the original state (thus already Duns). The renouncing of everything ideal, *i.e.*, the Neo-Platonic knowledge of the world, led the nominalists to decompose the conception of guilt and sin; here also they made *tabula rasa* and fell back upon the practice of the Church viewed as a revelation, because they were still blind to history and concrete relations. (3) Duns and his **Hereditary Sin.** successors considered the guilt of hereditary sin as finite. (4) Duns saw the *contagium* of hereditary sin simply in the flesh, and argued against the Thomistic assumption of a *vulneratio naturae;* the *religious* view of sin as guilt, jeopardized already by Augustine and Thomas, fully disappeared. (5) The **Liberium Arbitrium.** *liberium arbitrium* possessed the widest scope, since the fundamental thesis had been sacrificed, that good exists only in dependence upon God. With Duns and the leading theologians after him free-will is the second great power by the side of God, and whatever they correctly established in the sphere of empirical psychology, they gave to it also a material and positive religious significance. It is the inherited fate of mediæval dogmatics, that in the amalgamation of a knowledge of the world and religion a relatively more correct knowledge of the world became finally more dangerous to faith than an incorrect knowledge. Against Pelagianism, which evermore unhesitatingly made use of Augustinianism simply as an "art language", Bradwardina now first took a strong stand, and after that the reaction did not any more wane, but gradually increased during the 15th century until Wesel, Wessel, Staupitz, Cajetan and Contarini appeared. (6) In the doctrine of justification and of the meritorious earning of eternal life the dissolution manifested itself strongly: (a) The *gratia praeveniens* became a phrase, the *gratia cooperans* was the sole comprehensible grace; (b) That which with Thomas was *meritum de congruo* became *meritum de condigno; merita de congruo*, however, were acknowledged in such affections as Thomas had not placed at all under the merit point of view; (c) Together with the meritoriousness of the *attritio* the *fides informis*, the mere obedience of faith, was also valued more highly. At this point the perversion became greatest. Mere subjection to the faith of the Church and the *attritio* became, in a measure, the fundamental principles of dogmatics. According to Duns the natural sinful man can still

Bradwardina.

Justification and Meritorious Works.

Subjection to Church Principal Requirement.

prepare himself for grace; he can begin to love God. Therefore he must do so. In truth, therefore, merit always precedes grace; first the *meritum de congruo*, then after acquiring the first grace the *meritum de condigno.* Thereby the first and second grace were reduced to the rank of mere expedients. Indeed the Divine factor appears only in the *acceptatio.* The latter, however—here the conception veers around,—does not in the strictest sense at all admit of merit. *The nominalistic doctrine was only in so far not simple moralism as it was less, i.e.* its doctrine of God does not admit in any way of a strict moralism. This is plainest in Occam, who in general affords the paradoxical spectacle of a strongly developed religious sense taking refuge solely in the arbitrariness of God. Reliance upon the latter, as the Church defined its content, alone saved him from nihilism. Faith, in order to maintain itself, found no other safety against the inroad of the flood of science than the plank of the arbitrariness of the God whom it sought. It no longer understood him, but it submitted to him. Thus Church dogma and Church practice remained standing, just because the philosophy of religion and absolute morality were washed away. According to Occam the necessity of a supernatural *habitus* (therefore of grace in general) to gain eternal life cannot be proved by arguments founded upon reason, since a heathen also through reason can arrive at a love of God. The necessity is established solely by the authority of

Occam Takes Refuge in Arbitrariness. of God.

Necessity of Supernatural Habitus Based on Authority of Church.

Socinians First Rationalists.

the Church. Occam and his friends were as yet no moralists or rationalists; they only appear so to us. The Socinians were the first, for they first raised the hypothetical tenets of the nominalists concerning natural theology to categorical rank. But thereby they again gained a mighty reliance upon the clearness and power of morality, which the nominalists had forfeited together with their inward confidence in religion. If in the 15th century men bewailed the destruction of theology in religion, they had in mind the tenets which were put into practice, viz., that good works are the *causae* for receiving eternal life, that even the most trifling works done will ever be regarded as merits, and because they considered submission to the ordinances of the Church a *bonus motus*, which, supplemented by the sacraments, imparts the worthiness necessary for eternal life.

Hereditary Sin Still Ascribed to Mary.

The lax conception of hereditary sin showed itself in the development of the dogma concerning Mary. Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventura and Thomas still ascribed hereditary sin to Mary, even if they admitted an especial reservation regarding it; but by the year 1140 at Lyons a feast of the immaculate conception of Mary was celebrated, and Duns taught that the immaculate conception was probable (retro-acting power of the death of Christ). The controversy between the Franciscans and Dominicans which then arose was not adjusted in the Middle Ages, but was

Extravagant Laudation of Virgin.

forbidden by Sixtus IV. The Dominicans did not otherwise take a subordinate place in the extravagant glorification of the virgin. Thomas indeed taught that to her belongs not only "*dulia*", as to the saints, but "*hyperdulia*". She also was credited with a certain part in the work of redemption (queen of heaven, *inventrix gratiae*, *via*, *janua*, *scala*, *domina*, *mediatrix*). The assumption of the Scotists, that she had cooperated not only passively but also actively at the incarnation, was a natural consequence of the adoration, especially as Bernard taught it.

BOOK III.

THE THREE-FOLD ISSUING OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Thomas Attempts to Solve the Problem.

THE elements of the Augustinian theology became more prominent during the Middle Ages, but they were gradually more widely sundered from one another. True, Thomas undertook once again to solve the enormous problem of satisfying within the bounds of *one* system all the claims made by ecclesiastical antiquity as expressed in its body of dogma, by the Holy Scriptures, by the idea of the Church as an ever-present, living Christ, by the legal organization of the Roman Church, by Augustine's doctrine of grace, by the science of Aristotle and the Bernardine-Franciscan piety; but this new Augustine was not able to create a satisfactory unity. His undertaking had in part the opposite consequence, as it were. The nominalist's criticism of the reason and the mysticism of Eckhart went to school to Thomas; the curialists learned from him and so did the "Reformers". In the 15th century theological doctrine seemed to be settled. But there appeared at that time two plain tendencies: *Curialism* and the *opposition* thereto.

Curialism: Usages of Church Divine Truth.

Curialism taught *that the usages of the Romish Church are Divine truth.* It treated Church affairs and religion as an outward dominion and sought to maintain them by means of power, bureaucracy and an oppressive toll-system. After the unlucky course of the great councils a general lassitude succeeded. The princes who were striving for absolutism found their match when they bargained with the curia to share with it in the shearing of the sheep. They gave back to the curia in ecclesiastical matters the absolute power, in order to share in the division of the resultant mixture (the bulls, "*Execrabilis*" of Pius II. in the year 1459, and "*Pastor aeternus*" of Leo X. in the year 1516, proclaim the supremacy of the pope over the councils). The opinion that papal decisions are as holy as the decrees of councils, and that the right of exposition in all things belongs only to the Church, *i.e.* Rome, gradually established itself. The curia, however, was very careful to compile from these decisions a book of laws, a closed dogmatic canon. Its infallibility and sovereignty were secure only when it still had a free hand and when men were obliged to accede in every case to its judicial utterance. The old dogma was esteemed as formerly; but the questions which it treated in actual life lay no more within its own province. They were handled by theology. The

Pope Supreme Over Councils.

Decrees of Councils Made Code of Laws.

latter, however, during the 150 years subsequent to Thomas, came to the conviction of the irrationality of the revealed doctrine and therefore gave out the watchword, that one must blindly submit to the authority of the Church. This development favored curialism; long since in Rome men had taught that submission to the authority of the Church (*fides implicita*) would secure blessedness, if only one believed besides in the Divine recompense. In the humanistic circles of the curia men did not in truth wholly accept this; yet on the other hand pious sentiment revered the Divine in the irrational and arbitrary. That this entire handling of the matter was a way of burying the old dogma is clear. The end toward which from the beginning the matter was directed in the Occident now revealed itself with astounding clearness: Dogma is institution, is *a code of laws*. The curia itself respected the same only formally; practically there lay beneath, as in the case of all codes in the hands of an absolute master, the *politics* of the curia. The "*tolerari potest*" and the "*probabile*" indicate a still worse secularization of the dogma and of the Church than the "*anathema sit*". Yet there lay a truth in curialistic ecclesiasticism itself as contrasted with those tendencies which would found the Church upon the sanctity of Christians. Against the Hussites and the mystics did Rome preserve the right of the conviction, that the Church of Christ is the domination of the Gospel over sinful men.

Dogma is Institution.

Opposition to Curialism.

The opposition to curialism was held together by a negative thought, *that the usages of the Romish Church were become tyrannical and that they had the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity against them.* Here political, social, religious and scientific motives met together. Men reasoned accordingly that papal decisions do not have the significance of articles of faith, that Rome is not the only one authorized to interpret the Scriptures and the fathers, that the council should reform the Church in its hierarchy and in its members, and that the Church, over against the dogmatic, cultish and ecclesiastico-legalistic innovations of Rome, must return to its original principles and to its original attitude.

Reformation Crippled from Beginning.

Men believed themselves able to set aside the evolution of the preceding centuries and planted themselves *in thesi* upon the Holy Scriptures and ecclesiastical antiquity; but *in praxi* the reformatory aim was either wholly obscure or contained so many elements of the post-Augustinian development that the opposition was crippled from the start. Men knew not whether they were to reform *usages* or *misusages*, and they knew not what they should do with the pope, whom they acknowledged and rejected, blessed and cursed with the same breath (cf. Luther's own attitude, 1517–1520, toward the pope). But this highly inconsistent opposition was still a power, save within the realm of *doctrine;* for the latter was discredited also within the circles of the anti-curialists.

Practical Piety: Erasmus, Staupitz.

"Practical piety" was the watchword of humanists like Erasmus and of Augustinians like Staupitz. Men were surfeited with that theology which reasoned over-much within the safe haven of authority and rendered the truly pious life more difficult. If the Church doctrine were only "science", then was it given for the sake of the latter; it ought to step aside and make way for a new mode of thought (see Socinianism). But since the old dogma was more, it remained—yet here also as a legal code. With the exception of a few bold leaders the opposition parties respected the dogma with the instinct of self-preservation. They felt it still ever, even if obscurely, as the foundation of their existence. But they wished no doctrinal controversies: Scholastic quibblings were as distasteful to them as monkish quarrels, still they wished to free themselves from scholasticism. What a contradiction! The ultimate ground lay in the enormous breach which existed between the old dogma and the Christian conceptions whose expressed form was the life of the day. Dogma was the soil and the title-deed for the existence of the Church—but which old Church dogma had then still for piety, as it then existed, a directly comprehensible sense? Neither the doctrine of the trinity, nor of the two natures. Men thought no more after the manner of the Greeks. Piety, as it developed itself in the 15th century, lived in Augustine, Bernard and Francis. Under the shell of an old faith a new piety had been forming during the past thousand years and therefore also a new faith. Men here and there thought to assist by

Socinianism.

What Contradictions!

Men Thought to Return to Augustinianism.

a return to pure Augustinianism. Yet the crisis at that time, the breach between the dogmatic legal regulations in the Church and the obscure aim of piety, sprang out of the soil of Augustinianism itself. The defects lay germinally already in their premises. This, it is true, no forerunner of the Reformation perceived; but the fact of the impossibility of a reformation by the means transmitted by Augustine is thoroughly apparent. *The disintegrated Augustinianism is still Augustinianism; how then shall one permanently help out the same with the genuine?*

Criticism Beneficial. Still the criticism which applied the revived Augustinianism to the disintegrated had in the 15th century a beneficial influence, without whose preparatory work the Reformation and the Tridentine council were inconceivable. The immoral, irreligious, yea, heathenish mechanism of the dominant Church was discredited by this Augustinianism; yes even more, *the latter unfettered the sense of freedom in religion and therewith the striving after real religion.* It worked in union with all the forces which in the 15th century recognized the right of the individual and of subjectivity, and sought to break the spell of the Middle Ages. It created *unrest*, an unrest which went beyond itself—How can one be a free and at the same time a blessed man? But no one was able to formulate this question, because no one felt as yet its full force.

With the close of the 15th century various issu-

Various Issuings Seemed Possible.

ings of the crisis seemed possible: A complete triumph of curialism, a triumph of revivified Augustinianism, a sundering of the Church into diverse groups of the most rigid curialism and of a ceremonial religion verging toward a rationalistic and fanatical Biblical Christianity which should discard the old dogma, finally a new reformation of religion as a whole, *i.e.* an evangelical reformation, which should root up and discard the old dogma, because the new point of view—God is gracious for the sake of Christ, and the right and freedom which have come through him—could permit that only to remain in theology which belonged to him.

Tridentine Catholicism.

In reality, however, the issuings were different. They all remained burdened with contradictions: *Tridentine Catholicism, Socinianism* and the *Evangelical Reformation.* In the first curialism prevailed, the monarchical institutional dispenser of blessedness with its sacraments and its "merits"; but it found itself compelled to make a compact with Augustinianism and to reckon with the same on the basis of the codification of the new dogmas which had been extorted from it. In Socinianism the nominalistic criticism of the understanding and the humanistic spirit of the new era prevailed; but it remained entangled in the old Biblicism, and in setting aside the old dogmas it created for itself new ones in opposition to the old. Finally in the evangelical Reformation the infallible organization of the Church, the infallible doctrinal traditions of the

Socinianism.

Evangelical Reformation.

Dogma is Philosophical Knowledge of God and the World.

Eucharistic Controversy; Augsburg Confession.

Church and the infallible canon of Scripture were in principle set aside and a wholly new standpoint secured; but sagacity and courage did not hold out to apply in each particular instance that which had been secured in general. On the assumption that *the thing itself* (the Gospel)—not the authority—demanded it, men retained the old dogma as the essential content of the Gospel and under the title "word of God" they returned to Biblicism. Over against the new doctrine of the hierarchical, cultish, Pelagianistic and monkish Christendom men saw in the old dogma only the expression of faith in God who is merciful in Christ, and *failed to see* that dogma at the same time is something entirely different, viz.: Philosophical cosmo-theistic knowledge and rule of faith. But that which men admitted under a new title vindicated itself, when once it had been allowed, by a logic of its own. Men exalted the true theology, the *theologia crucis*, and placed it upon the lamp-stand; but in doing this under the old ecclesiastical forms they obtained in the bargain the accompanying *knowledge* and *rule of faith;* and the doctrinal controversies of the evangelical parties appeared like a continuation of the scholastic school-controversies, only with infinitely higher significance; for now they had to do *with the existence of the new Church.* Thus arose at the very beginning—at least with the eucharistic controversy and the Augsburg Confession, which now began to pour the new wine into the old wine-skins—in the reformed conception of doctrine a highly complicated, contradictory picture. Only in the principles of Luther, and not in all of them, did the new spirit display itself; outside of these it contained nothing new, and he who to-day, in the 19th century, does not take this spirit as his monitor, but rests quietly beneath the stunning blow which it gave itself at the end of the 16th century, deceives himself in regard to his own position: He is not evangelical, but belongs to a Catholic sub-species where he is free, in accordance with the principles of present-day Protestantism, to select the Biblical, dogmatical, mystical or hierarchical elements.

Post-Tridentine. Catholicism.

However, the *resultants of the history of the dogma* are clearly represented in the three following creations: Post-Tridentine Catholicism finally completed the neutralizing of the old dogma in an arbitrary papal legal organization; Socinianism appreciably disintegrated and came to an end; the Reformation, in that it both set the dogma aside and preserved them outright, looked away from them, backward to the Gospel, forward to a new formulation of the Gospel confession which shall be free from dogma and be reconciled with truthfulness and truth. In this sense the history of dogma should set forth the issuings of dogma. In the Reformation it has only to describe the Christianity of Luther, in order to make the subsequent development comprehensible. The latter belongs either as a whole to the history of dogma (up to the present time), or not

Socinianism.

Reformation.

at all. It is more correct, however, to exclude it entirely, for the old dogma claimed to be infallible. This claim the Reformation, so to speak, disclaimed for its own productions—there was silence as to the old dogmas. Therefore he who still seeks for a middle conception between reformable and infallible would perpetuate forever the confusions of the epigonoi, if he should recognize dogmas in the expositions of Protestantism in the 16th century.

CHAPTER II.

THE ISSUING OF THE DOGMA IN ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

1. *The Codification of the Mediaeval Doctrines in Opposition to Protestantism* (*Canons and Decrees of Trent*).

Edition of the decrees, 1564. Earlier works in Köllner, Symbolik, 1844, later in Herzog, RE^2. *sub verb. Tridentinum.*

Curia and Princes.

In Rome they wished only to condemn strange doctrines, not to codify their own; they also wanted no council. But one was required of the curia by the princes. In the coming together it became clear that the mediæval spirit had acquired strength from the Reformation, humanism and Augustinianism, but that this spirit itself remained the stronger power. The curia accomplished the masterful work of appropriating the new, of condemning the Reformation, of justifying itself and yet of setting aside thereby the most glaring abuses. In opposing the Luther

Decrees of Trent Shadows of Reformation.

movement, they were obliged to transform many mediæval doctrines into dogmas—the decrees of Trent are the shadows of the Reformation. What originally to the mind of the curia appeared to be a misfortune—the necessity of formulating and the compulsory return to Augustinianism,—proved itself later to be an advantage: They had a new *rule of faith*, which could be applied with verbal strictness, whenever it seemed expedient, and which was, on the other hand, so *ambiguous* and *elastic* as to leave free play for the arbitrary decisions of the curia. The latter reserved the right of interpretation and the council conceded this, and thus already did infallibility accrue in principle to the pope. The curia itself was accordingly unchanged, *i.e.* it came forth from the purgatory of the council with all its customs, practices, assumptions and sins; but the inner condition of the Church as a whole was nevertheless improved. By reason of its inner untruthfulness and because the doctrines of the Church of to-day have been consistently developed in not a few points (recent rejection of Augustinianism, decision of the question, undecided at Trent, whether the pope be the universal bishop and infallible), the Tridentine decrees are no longer an unobscured source of Catholicism. Even at Trent were the dogma transformed into a dogma-politics, and the laity debarred from faith and dogma: Everything that has been handed down is most holy as regard its verbal meaning, but in theology it resolves itself into an array of more or

Curia Unchanged; Church Improved.

less probable meanings, which, in the case of any controversy, are decided by the pope.

Re-Baptism and Protestants Denounced.

They agreed in the rejection of "re-baptism" and Protestants. After reiterating the Constantinopolitan creed, they declared in the 4th session, in order to guard the "*puritas evangelii*", that the apocrypha are of like rank with the Old Testament, that the vulgate is to be considered as authentic, and that the Church alone is permitted to interpret the Scriptures. By the side of the latter, however, they placed the "*traditiones sine scripto, quae ab ipsius Christi ore ab apostolis acceptae aut ab ipsius apostolis, spiritu sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditae ad nos usque pervenerunt*" (in another place the definition expresses the idea somewhat differently). In the 5th and 6th sessions the decrees in regard to original sin and justification were formulated. Here under the spell of the reawakened Augustinianism and of the Reformation they did not commit themselves to the nominalistic doctrine, but approached very near to Thomas; indeed their doctrine of justification, although it was born of politics, is a very respectable product, in which an evangelical element is not wanting. But (1) lines were drawn here and there which led to a Scotistic (semi-Pelagian) understanding of the doctrine, (2) it made very little difference what was said in the chief sentence about sin and grace, when in the subordinate sentences the thesis was allowed, that the practices of the Roman Church are the chief

Tradition.

Semi-Pelagianism; Roman Church Laws.

law. By the first sin, it was admitted, Adam lost holiness and righteousness, "*in qua constitutus fuerat*", became changed "*in deterius*" in body and soul, and perpetuated his sin "*propagatione*". Yet they also taught that free will was not destroyed, but "*viribus attenuatus*", and that baptism really blots out the *reatus originalis peccati*, but the *concupiscentia* (*fomes*), which is not to be looked upon as sin, remains (therefore the religious view was abandoned). As regards justification it was explained that it is the act by which man passes from an unrighteous to a righteous state (through baptism, *i.e.* the sacrament of penance); it arises, however, not simply through the forgiveness of sin, but also through the sanctifying and renewing of the inner man by a free acceptance of grace, although the man is incapable of freeing himself from the dominion of sin *per vim naturae*, or *per litteram legis Moysis*. On the one hand, justification appears as the *translatio* from one condition to another, viz. to that of adoption, and faith was looked upon as the determining power alongside of grace ("*Christum proposuit deus propitiatorem* PER FIDEM *in sanguine ipsius pro peccatis nostris*"); on the other hand, it appears as a sanctifying process through the inpouring of grace ("*Christi sanctissimae passionis merito per spiritum sanctum caritas dei diffunditur in cordibus*", so that man in justification receives at the same time with the forgiveness of sin an inflow of faith, love and hope; with-

Free Will.

Justification.

Two Views.

Gratia Praeveniens.

Forgiveness of Sin a Process.

Bona Opera the Goal.

out the last two, man is neither perfectly united to Christ, nor is his faith a living one). The latter view is the decisive, and accordingly the *stadia* of the process of justification (inception *et seq.*) are set forth in a general way. The *gratia praeveniens* exhausts itself in the *vocatio* (*nullis existentibus meritis*); but therein is the inception not exhausted, much more does there belong to it the *illuminatio spiritus sancti*, which enables man to turn toward the *justitia* and gives him therewith a disposition and a free surrender to God. In that now *justificatio* first ensues, the thought of the *gratia gratis data* is vitiated. Only *in abstracto* is the forgiveness of sin inherently peculiar, and the same is true of justification; *in concreto* it is a gradual process of sanctification which is completed in the *mortificatio membrorum carnis* and made manifest through manifold grace in an obedience to the commands of God and the Church. Unto an assurance of the acquired grace can one not attain in this life; but the lack of this can be repaired through penance; the process also does not need to be begun anew, in so far as faith has remained in spite of the loss of the justifying grace. The goal of the process in this life is the *bona opera*, which God by virtue of his *grace* receives as pleasing to himself and as *meritorious*. Accordingly one must view these on the one hand as gifts of God and on the other as real means to blessedness.—The most important thing is, that (in opposition to the Thomas-Augustinian

Justification Arises from Co-operation.

tradition) the *gratia prima* does not justify, but only disposes. Therefore justification arises out of a *cooperation*. No Augustinian phraseology can conceal this. Of the 33 anathemas, 29 are directed against Protestantism. In the condemnation of the sentence, "*fidem justificatem nihil aliud esse quam fiduciam divinae misericordiae peccata remittentis propter Christum, vel eam fiducian solam esse, qua justificamur*", something more was implicitly condemned, viz. rigid Augustinianism, — therein does the artfulness of the decree consist.

Doctrine of Sacraments.

In the 7th and following sessions the doctrine of the sacraments was formulated and the Church was declared a sacramental institution ("*per sacramenta omnis vera justitia vel incipit vel coepta augetur vel amissa reparatur*"); concerning the word and faith there was accordingly silence. Instead of a doctrine of the sacraments *in genere* 13 anathemas were formulated, which contain the real protest against Protestantism. The institution by Christ of all of the seven sacraments was affirmed, as well as the impossibility of being justified *per solam fidem*, without the sacraments. These "*continent gratiam*" and accordingly possess a mysterious power, which they bestow *ex opere operato* upon those "*qui obicem non ponunt*". In other respects also the Thomistic doctrine (character, intention, etc.) is everywhere preserved, yet the theological subtleties are laid aside, and the transition to the Scotistic form of statement remains possible. At the close of the anathemas every departure from the once established usages of the Church was condemned. For the treatment of the individual sacraments the bull of Eugene IV., *Exultate domino* (1439), served as a prototype. The declarations in regard to baptism and confirmation are instructive only in that by the former those persons are condemned who teach that all subsequent sins "*sola recordatione et fide suscepti baptismi*" can be forgiven, and by the latter that the bishop alone is proclaimed as *minister sacramenti*. Touching the eucharist the Thomistic theologumena were transformed into a dogma. In virtue of the transubstantiation the entire Christ is present in each particle of each of the elements, and such is the case before their reception; hence the host is to be worshipped ("*in eucharistia ipse sanctitatis auctor ante usum est*"). All usages were here designated as apostolic. The effect of the sacrament remains highly insignificant; those were expressly condemned who held forgiveness to be the principal fruit. At the most contested point, the mass, the sum total of tradition was sanctioned, a few superstitious misusages only being discountenanced. Low and high mass ("*sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis nondum ad plenum purgatis*") were as much justified—notwithstanding all scruples of princes—as the withholding of the cup and the Latin language. The *canones* place all reformatory movements under the ban and thereby

Departures from Usages of Church Condemned.

Transubstantiation.

Canones.

rigidly exclude the Church of the word from the Church of the pagan mass-offering. The doctrine of penance is much more thoroughly handled than that of the eucharist about which the theologians alone contended. Even unto the *materia* and *quasi materia* was the entire scholastic labor in respect to penance received as dogma. Hence a more extended examination (see above, p. 479) is unnecessary. Yet it is worthy of remark that the *attritio* is very circumspectly handled, and is everywhere looked upon as *contritio imperfecta.* So much the more categorically was the *confessio* of every mortal sin before the priest encouraged and the *judicial* character of the priest emphasized. The *satisfactiones* were, as with Thomas, considered just as necessary for the *temporalis poena peccati* as the indulgences. Yet men spoke very reservedly about the matter. The scholastic theory is not alluded to, the abuse is permitted; yet touching the *thing itself* absolutely nothing is conceded (whoever declares indulgences not to be salutary is to be condemned). In regard to the last anointing, the orders and marriage they rushed to the conclusion that the *septem ordines* were already given *ab ipso initio ecclesiae.* The old contested question regarding the relation of the bishops to the priests was not decided, yet the former acquired a superiority. Regarding marriage they discoursed only homiletically and ecclesiastically, yet they condemned those who denied that it conferred a *gratia.* On the questions respecting purgatory, saints, relics

Attritio Equals Contritio Imperfecta.

Indulgences.

Marriage.

and images they spoke regretfully of the abuses, yet strongly maintained the tradition, indulging the spirit of the times in cautious language. Thus did the Church, in its specific secularization as a sacrificial, priestly and sacramental institution, round itself out by the *Tridentine decrees* and never once surrender its idols (See on the practice of benedictions, sacraments and indulgences, Gihr, d. h. Messopfer, 1887; Schneider, die Ablässe, 1881). The decrees rooted the Church firmly in the soil of the Middle Ages and of scholasticism: *Sacraments, obedience, merit.*

2. *The Post-Tridentine Development as a Preparation for the Vatican Decrees.*

Denzinger, Enchiridion, 5. Aufl., 1874.

Curialism or Episcopacy?

The questions not wholly decided at Trent: Curialism or episcopacy, Augustinianism or Jesuitic Pelagianism, moral law or probability, continued to agitate the three following centuries. The first question became a double one: Pope or council, papal decision or tradition. The Vatican council decided in favor of curialism and therewith also for Jesuitism.

Catechismus Romanus.

1. (a) At Trent the opposition between the curialists and the champions of episcopacy, touching the article respecting the power of the pope, was not permitted to come to a decision at all; but the *professio fidei Tridentinae* had already smuggled the

Romish Church and the pope into its *credo*, and the Thomistic *Catechismus Romanus* taught papal autocracy as an article of faith ("*necessarium fuit hoc visibile caput ad unitatem ecclesiae constituendam et conservandam*"). Yet there arose a vigorous opposition, viz., in the France of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. Men reverted there (Bossuet) to Gallicanism (in other respects also the Tridentine decrees were not unconditionally accepted), partly in the interest of the king, partly in that of the nation and its bishops (residence of the bishops *divino jure*). As to the meaning of the primacy, which was allowed to pass, they were as little able to arrive at clearness and unanimity as in the 15th century; but it remained settled that the king and the bishops should rule the French church, that the pope has nothing to say about temporal things, and that in spiritual things also he is bound by the decisions of the councils (Constance), his decisions consequently being unalterable only by the concurrence of the Church (Gallican propositions of 1682). The popes rejected these propositions, but did not break with France. At the end of his life the great king himself discounted them, without formally withdrawing them. They were in the 18th century still ever a power until the monarch who elevated them to constitutional law (1810) handed them over to the curia—Napoleon I. The way in which he, *with the consent of the popes*, shattered the Church and ecclesiastical organization which were overturned by the revolution, in order to rebuild

Gallicanism; Bossuet.

Louis XIV.

Napoleon I.

them in *conjunction with the latter*, was by a surrender of the French church to the popes. The emperor did not intend it as such, but such it was. **Romanticists.** The romanticists (de Maistre, Bonald, Chateaubriand *et al.*) completed the work in union with the restoration. Gallicanism was exterminated. In so far as France is Catholic to-day, it is papal; however the official politics also watches over the interests of ultramontanism in foreign lands. In Germany Febronius (1763) made a vigorous attack upon curialism; but since the one wanted an arch-episcopal national church (**Ems' Programme.** Ems' "programme", 1786), the other state churches (Joseph II. et al.), nothing actually came of it. The old Church organization and the new plan for restoring it went down in the whirlpool of the Napoleonic epoch. **Peace of Vienna.** In the peace of Vienna a new Church emerged, which the Curia directed, and in which the latter with the help of the princes, the ultramontane romanticists, trustful liberals and Metternich diplomatists crushed out the remnant of episcopacy and of national churchdom.

Professio Fidei Tridentinae. 1. (b) The *professio fidei Tridentinae* had already given tradition a far wider range than the Tridentine decrees themselves ("*apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones reliquasque eiusdem ecclesiae observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector*") and had raised it above the Scriptures. **Jesuits.** The Jesuits subordinated the latter more and more to tradition and took particular pains on that account to formulate the inspiration of the Scriptures in as loose a way as possible, so that indeed the Vatican decrees seem to have done away with the contradiction. Modern Catholicism, however, demands both,—the holding of Scriptural tradition as inviolably sacred, and at the same time the putting of the finger cautiously upon its insufficiency and its defects. More important was the development of the idea of tradition. In theory the statement was firmly maintained that there are no new revelations in the Church; in reality the gnostic (secret tradition) and enthusiastic tradition-principle, against which however the Catholic Church once arrayed itself, was ever most boldly contended for. Bellarmine was as yet timid; but Cornelius Mussus, a member of the Tridentine council, had already put forth the assertion that in matters of faith he believed *one pope* more than a *thousand* Augustines and Jeromes. The quite new article, that all *practices* of the Roman Church are tradition, the Jesuits enlarged by the very newest, that every doctrinal decision of the pope is tradition. Here and there in truth they spoke disparagingly in regard to councils and proof from tradition, or declared the best attested decrees as forgeries, in order to vanquish history by the dogma concerning the pope. The Church itself is the living tradition, the Church however is the pope; *therefore the pope is the tradition* (Pius IX.). And he exercised this attribute in 1854 by the proclamation of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, thus solving an old contested question (see p. 449).

Tradition.

Bellarmine, Cornelius Mussus.

Church is the Pope.

That which could not be accomplished by force at Trent, *propter angustias temporum*, rules to-day,—an heretical principle when measured by Catholic antiquity.

Augustinianism Laid Aside.

(2) In the *Catechismus Romanus* (1566), which the Jesuits gladly adopted, Augustinianism obtained its last official monument. Thenceforth they sought to prove that the doctrine of grace received its sanction through the world-shaping practice of the confessional. Already in the year 1567 it came to pass that Pius V. rejected the 79 articles of the Lyons professor, Bajus, which in the main set forth the most stringent Augustinianism, although intermingled with foreign elements and otherwise unfavorable to the Reformation.

Dominicans and Jesuits.

A long and heated controversy arose between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. The former resisted the Jesuit educational system, condemned the most objectionable articles of the Jesuits (Lessius and Hamel) and sought to maintain the Thomistic teaching in regard to the gravity of the first sin, in regard to concupiscence and the *gratia praeveniens*. The latter laid particular stress upon free-will and the "disposition".

Molina Revives Semi-Pelagianism.

Among them Molina made the greatest sensation by his work: "*Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia . . . praedestinatione . . . concordia*" (1588). He attempted to read semi-Pelagianism into Augustinianism; in reality he gave the latter away altogether. In order to allay the stormy controversy recourse was had to Rome. She had no interest in the thing itself, but only in the opportunity; the controversy however was not about Augustine and Pelagius, but about Dominicans and Jesuits. Politics required that neither party should be wholly sacrificed. The "*congregatio de auxiliis*", which sat from 1598 to 1607 (the pope during the same time being intimidated by the Jesuits), was finally dissolved without its arriving at a decision ("*fore ut sua Sanctitas declarationem et determinationem, quae exspectabatur, opportune promulgaret*"). The failure to decide was in fact a victory for the Jesuits.

Congregatio De Auxiliis, 1598-1607.

Jansenist Controversy.

The Jansenist contest was still worse. In Catholic France, which had expelled the Reformation after fearful struggles, an earnest piety gradually worked itself out alongside the frivolous court and state Catholicism and the lax Jesuitism. The posthumous work of Bishop Jansen of Ypres, "Augustinus" (1640), brought the same to an historical and theological halt. This piety rose right up in order to free the Church from the Church, the faith from traditional Christianity, and morality from the refined and lax morality. The confessional of the Jesuits seemed to it to be the real enemy (Pascal's Letters: "*Ecce patres, qui tollunt peccata mundi!*"). The order of Jesus was able to hold out against this formidable attack only by assuming the offensive and by branding the pure Augustinianism of Jansen and his friends as heresy ("Jansenism"). The popes allowed themselves to gain the day. Urban VIII. ("*In eminenti*"), but above all Innocence X. ("*Cum*

Confessional Attacked; Pascal.

occasione") and Alexander VII. ("*Ad sancti b. Petri sedem*") forbade, *i.e.* condemned Jansen's book. Innocent indicated besides five articles of Jansen's as objectionable. Then arose a violent opposition: The "Jansenists" refused to acknowledge the incriminating articles as Jansen's and to condemn them. But Alexander VII. required it, and the crown supported him. After a temporary compromise (*silentium obsequiosum*, 1668, Clement IX.), Clement XI. renewed (1705) the sharp bull of his predecessors. Port Royal was destroyed. Augustinianism, however, received a still harder blow by the constitution "*Unigenitus*" of Clement XI. (1713). In this 101 articles from a devotional work on the New Testament by Paschasius Quesnel, which the Jesuits had extracted, were proscribed. Among them were not only many pure Augustinian, but also Pauline ideas ("*Nullae dantur gratiae nisi per fidem*"—"*fides est prima gratia et fons omnium aliarum*"—"*prima gratia, quam deus concedit peccatori, est peccatorum remissio*"—"*peccator non est liber nisi ad malum sine gratia liberatoris*", etc.). Again a storm arose in France. Those receiving and those opposing the bull were arrayed against each other. But as ever in Catholicism—the one finally surrendered with a sullied conscience, the other went under in ecstasy and fanaticism. Only in the Netherlands had there arisen, through the Jansenian contest, a schismatic old Catholic Church. The bull *Unigenitus*, confirmed by several popes, is the victory of Jesuitical

Alexander VII., Clement XI.

Unigenitus.

Opposition in France and Netherlands.

dogmatics over Augustinian, and hence is the final word of the Catholic history of dogma (in the sense of a doctrine of faith). As in the 19th century the last remnant of Gallicanism has been destroyed, so also has that of Jansenism, or the "after-mysticism", which was necessarily evolved out of Augustinianism and quietism and is assuredly a peril to the Catholic Church. The proclamation of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary by Pius IX. marks the conclusion. As in a formal way (see sub 1) it marks the definite exaltation of the papacy, so in a material way it marks the expulsion of Augustinianism. The indestructible impulse toward inwardness, contemplativeness and Christian independence Jesuitical Catholicism now employed with sensuous media of every kind, with toys and miracles, with fraternities, disciplinary exercises and scheduled prayers, and thereby kept it harnessed to the Church.

Dogma of Immaculate Conception.

Jesuitical Casuistry.

(3) Already in the Middle Ages had the juristic-casuistic spirit of the Romish Church perniciously influenced the confessional, ethics and dogmatics. The nominalistic theology had one of its strong roots in this juristic casuistry (*i.e.* in *probability*). The Jesuits took it up and in a manner cultivated it,—this, which several times had jeopardized the pope himself and even the members of their own order (Döllinger and Reusch, Gesch. der Moralstreitigk. seit d. 16. Jahrh. 1889). The Dominican Bartholomäus de Medina was the first to expound "probability" "scientifically" (1577). The formula runs thus:

"*Si est opinio probabilis, licitum est eam sequi, licet opposita sit probabilior*". Seldom has a word so set things on fire. It was the freeing of morality from morality, of religion from religion. Already about 1600 probability was evidenced as the dominating view, but was especially cultivated by the Jesuits. Within the realm of faith it exhibited itself, (1) As *laxity* (in respect of the granting of absolution), (2) *As attritionism* (fear of punishment). A great array of sub-species was deduced: Lax, pure, and rigorous probability, aequi-probability, greater probability, lax and stringent prudence. The differences among the first six are fundamentally very slight; the last—which alone is ethical—was expressly rejected by Alexander VIII. in 1690. The whole system is Talmudic; very likely from the Middle Ages on there has been an actual connection between the two. Jansenism, above all Pascal, rose in opposition to the destruction of morality. It brought it to pass that "probabilism" was repressed after the middle of the 17th century. Several popes forbade the laxest moral-theological books; Innocent XI. condemned, in 1679, 65 articles of the "probabilists", among which were true knavish tricks (see Denzinger, Enchiridion, pp. 213 seq. 217, 218 seq.). The worse seemed to be warded off at the time when, in the Jesuit order itself, Thyrsus Gonzales again revived the doctrine (in 1687 he became the general). Still Jansenism and anti-probabilism were blended. As the former fell the latter was neces-

Probability Dominates.

Doctrine is Talmudic.

Thyrsus Gonzales.

sarily weakened. The popes had as regards "attritionism" also reduced it to a mere neutrality. Out of this fountain probabilism burst forth anew in the 18th century. The founder of the "order of redemptionists", Alphons Liguori (beatified 1816, canonized 1839, doctor of the Church 1871), became through his books the most influential teacher in the Church. *He succeeded in modern Catholicism to the place once occupied by Augustine.* He was, however, an aequi-probabilist, *i.e.* probabilist, and no Pascal came forth any more.

Alphons Liguori.

3. *The Vatican Decrees.*

Infallibility of Pope.

The Church which had destroyed episcopacy and Augustinianism within itself built up probabilism and the Church which, in union with the political reaction and romanticism, had exalted the pope to lordship over herself and proclaimed him as the living tradition was finally ripe for the dogma of the infallibility of the pope. The bishops acknowledged through the Vatican council (1869–70), that the primacy is real and direct, that the pope possesses the *potestas ordinaria et immediata* as *plena et suprema* over the whole Church, and that this power is episcopal in the fullest sense. Of this universal bishop they confessed on the 18th of July, 1870: "*Docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, quum ex cathedra loquitur id est quum omnium Christianorum pastoris et doc-*

July 18th, 1870.

toris munere fugens pro suprema sua apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in b. Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus redemptor ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit, ideoque eiusmodi Romani pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu ecclesiae, irreformabiles esse. Si quis autem huic nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod deus avertat, praesumpserit, anathema sit" (Friedrich, Gesch. d. vatic. Concils, 3 Bde. 1877 seq.). **Protest Feeble.** The bishops who spoke in opposition soon submitted. The number of those who refused to accept the new dogma was and is small (see Schulte, Der Altkatholicismus, 1887). The new doctrine is in reality the cap-stone of the building. Others may follow, *e.g.* the temporal dominion of the pope as an article of faith; but it can have no effect. The Romish Church has revealed itself as the autocratic dominion of the *pontifex maximus*—the old Roman empire taking possession of the memory of Jesus Christ, founded upon his word and sacraments, exercising according to need an elastic or iron dogmatic legal discipline, encompassing purgatory and heaven in addition to the earth.

CHAPTER III.

THE ISSUING OF THE DOGMA IN ANTI-TRINITARIANISM AND SOCINIANISM.

1. *Historical Introduction.*

Erbkam, Gesch. d. protest. Secten, 1848. Carriere, die philos. Weltanschauung d. Ref-Zt. 2. Aufl., 1887. Trechsel, die protest. Antitrinitarier, 2 Bde., 1839 f.

Socinianism.

SOZZINI was an epigone like Calvin. Socinianism, viewed from the standpoint of the history of the Church and of dogma, had for its presuppositions the great anti-ecclesiastical agitations of the Middle Ages; but the Reformation also influenced it. It was evolved out of these agitations; it explained them and reduced them to a unity. A Scotistic-Pelagian element and a critico-humanistic are blended in it; besides one perceives also an anabaptistic element (pantheistic, enthusiastic, mystic, socialistic elements are wanting). In it the critical and rationalistic thought of the ecclesiastical theologians of the 14th and 15th centuries also have a freer development; at the same time, however, it is also the result of the impulses of the new age (renaissance). The characteristic thing in the anti-trinitarian and Socinian agitations of the 16th century is that they represent the very same destruction of Catholicism, which it were possible to effect upon the basis of the results of scholasticism and the renaissance, without ever deepening and reviving *religion*. In this sense

Scotistic, Pelagian, Critical and Humanistic Elements.

Scholasticism and Renaissance Blended.

is Socinianism also an issue of the history of dogma. Therein the middle age and the modern strike hands across the Reformation. The apparently unreconcilable, the union of scholasticism and the renaissance, is here actually accomplished. On that very account there is also not wanting therein a prophetical element. In these agitations a great deal was anticipated with marvellous certainty which in the evangelical Churches, following transient articles, seems entirely suppressed, since in them the interest in *religion* under a concise form absorbed everything for the space of a hundred and fifty years. Antitrinitarianism and Socinianism are more enlightened and free (aufgeklärt) than ecclesiastical Protestantism, but less capable of development and poorer.

Anti-Trinitarian and Anabaptist Groups.

Schwenkfeld, Giordano Bruno.

Only a hasty review will here be given. Common to all the anti-trinitarian and anabaptist groups of Churches is the violent break with history, the renunciation of the Church as it then existed and the conviction of the right of the individual. From the most diverse starting-points they not seldom arrive at the same results, since the *spirit* which animated them has been the same. *The first group* allied itself with the pantheistic mysticism and the new creation of the renaissance: Not notions but facts, not formulas but life, not Aristotle but Plato, not the letter but the spirit. The inner light was placed alongside the Bible, free conviction above the formal statement. The Church dogmas were either modified or allowed to lapse. Freed from the burden of the

Sebastian Franck, Theobald Thamer.

Minorites, Waldensians.

Italian Humanists.

past and guided by the Gospel, many swung out into the free kingdom of the Spirit, while others were caught in the meshes of their own fancies. To these belong Schwenkfeld, V. Weigel, Giordano Bruno, and above all Sebastian Franck and Theobald Thamer. *A second group* that cannot be overlooked had its strength in its opposition to political and sacramental Catholicism and over against the same it carried on a new social-political world and church system (apocalyptic and chiliastic). Within this the enthusiastic minorite, Waldensian, etc., churches continued to flourish. Their badge was rebaptism. Carried forward in many respects by means of Reformation principles, this baptismal Christianity played a very important rôle until the catastrophe at Münster and even afterward. *In a third*, really a Romance (Italian) group, the consequent development of nominalistic scholasticism was carried forward under the influence of humanism; submission to the Church ceased; moralism, interpreted humanistically and in part evangelically, survived. The old dogma and sacramentarianism were cast aside; but an historical element was admitted: Return to the primitive sources, to the philological sense, to respect for the classical in everything that is called antiquity. The religious motive in the deepest sense was wanting in these Italians; and they did not carry the movement forward to a national agitation. This and the first group stand in many respects in strong contrast, in so far as the former did homage to speculative mysticism and the latter to rational thought. Still the humanistic interests not only united them by a common bond, but out of the speculative mysticism a pure mode of thought was developed through experience, upon which stress was laid; and, on the other hand, the temperate Italian thinkers under the influence of the new era stripped off the crudities of that fanciful mythology in which the earlier nominalism had paraded. This combination is most significantly represented by the Spaniard, Michael Servetus. In his theology is united the best of all that came to maturity in the 16th century, if one speaks only of that which lay outside of the evangelical Reformation.

Michael Servetus.

Attitude Toward Catholic Authority and Trinity.

With reference to all these groups the history of dogma should keep two main points in view: Their relation, (1) To the formal authorities of Catholicism, (2) To the doctrine of the trinity and Christology. Concerning the first point they did away with the authority of the Church, the present and the future, as a teacher and a judge. The attitude toward the Scriptures remained obscure. Men played them off against tradition and stood with unheard-of steadfastness by the letter; on the other hand, the authority of the Scriptures was derived from that of the inner revelation, yes, they were also wholly set aside. Still as a rule their unique value remained unshaken; Socinianism planted itself firmly upon the Scriptures. Against these rocks also the Reformers of the 16th century—certain remarkable men excepted who

Bible Made Foundation.

really understood what the freedom of a Christian man is—did not dare to get seriously jostled. The contradiction in which Protestantism had become involved is found, it is true, in most of the Reformers: A comprehensive collection of Scriptures set up as an absolute norm, but the right understanding of the same left to the painful efforts of each individual.—As regards anti-trinitarianism the development was carried forward in all four groups, but in different ways. In the first group it was not aggressive, but latitudinarian (as with the earlier mystics who also indeed recognized only "*modi*" in the trinity, considered the incarnation as a special instance and saw in the dogma in any event only veiled truth). In the second, anabaptist group anti-trinitarianism is as a rule a relatively subordinate element, although it is perhaps nowhere entirely wanting. It is scarcely to be found in the important reformer Denck, on the other hand it is clearer in Hätzer, plainer still in Campanus, D. Joris and Melchior Hoffmann, who moreover all constructed their own doctrine of the trinity. The doctrine of the trinity was in reality grappled with at its root, *i.e.* at the Divinity of Christ, only by the Italians (Pietro Menelfi), that is to say, within the third group. The union of humanism and the nominalistic-Pelagian theological deposit produced in Italy as a real factor in the historical movement an anti-trinitarianism in the sense of adoptionism or Arianism. The setting aside of the doctrine of the Di-

Anti-Trinitarianism.

Anabaptists.

Divinity of Christ Rejected. vinity of Christ and of the trinity was considered here as the most important purification and emancipation of religion. In its place stepped the created Christ and the *one God;* in support of the same, Scripture proofs were sought for and found (cf. the Roman Theodotians of antiquity). A whole herd of learned and for the most part very respectable anti-trinitarians drove Italy in the middle of the 16th century beyond its own bounds: Camillo Renato, Blandrata, Gentilis, Occhino, the two Sozzini, etc. In Switzerland the contest about the right of anti-trinitarianism in the evangelical churches was fought out. **Calvin.** Calvin decided against it and burnt Servetus. In Poland and Transylvania the doctrine found freedom. There anti-trinitarian churches arose, indeed in Transylvania it was permitted to Blandrata to secure for his confession a formal recognition. Within this anarchy freedom of conscience also found a place of abode. **Unitarianism.** Unitarianism, as Blandrata taught it, saw in Christ a man chosen by God and exalted to God. A split soon made its appearance. The left wing rejected the miraculous birth also and the worship of Jesus (non-adorationism). Its chief champion was Franz Davidis. **Fausto Sozzini.** For the purpose of counteracting this tendency, Fausto Sozzini (Socinius) went in 1578 to Transylvania and actually suppressed it. There and in Poland he constructed out of the anabaptist, socialistic, chiliastic, libertinistic and non-adoration congregations a *church* upon the basis of a comprehensive Biblical dogmatics.

After a history rich in dramatic episodes Poland unitarianism in union with Netherland Armenianism found in England and America an abode and brought forth remarkable men. Nevertheless it was inspired there more and more by the evangelical spirit.

2. *The Socinian Doctrine.*

Fock, der Socinianismus, 1847.

Racovian Catechism.

Socinian Christianity is seen best in the Racovian Catechism (1609). Religion is the complete and correct knowledge of the doctrine of salvation. This is to be obtained from the Holy Scriptures as an outer, statutory revelation, more particularly from the New Testament. The Christian religion is the *theology of the New Testament*, but it is at the same time a *rational religion. The Book and the reason* are the *stamina* of the Socinian doctrine. Hence the proof of the *certitudo sacrarum litterarum* is a principal problem of this supernatural rationalism. It succeeds to the place formerly occupied by the proof from tradition. The claims of the New Testament (the Old Testament was only passed along) should be demonstrated to the reason, not to piety. The New Testament however is sufficient, since faith which works through love is comprised "*quantum satis*" within it. This faith however is faith in the existence of God and in his rewards (cf. nominalism); love is the moral law. The Scriptures however are also plain, if one considers them with

Supernatural Rationalism.

N. T. the Standard.

the understanding ("*itaque cum sacras litteras sufficere ad salutem dicimus, rectam rationem non tantum non excludimus, sed omnino includimus*").

Old Catholic Element.

The way of salvation man cannot of himself find, since he is mortal (old Catholic element). God's image within him consists solely in his dominion over the beasts of the field. Not temporal, but eternal death came into the world through sin. Finally, however, man is not able to discover the way of salvation, because he "*ex solo dei arbitrio ac concilio pependit*"; therefore must it be given through an outer revelation (cf. nominalism). With fear, love and trust we have nothing to do, but only with *notitia dei* and the law of the holy life, which must have been revealed. The *notitia dei* is the knowledge of God as the supreme Lord over all things, who "*pro arbitrio leges ponere et praemia ac poenas statuere potest*" (cf. nominalism). The most important thing is to apprehend God's *unity;* but "*nihil prohibet, quominus ille unus deus imperium potestatemque cum aliis communicare possit et communicaverit*" (cf. the old subordinationists and Arians). The attributes of God are developed, without reference to faith in salvation, out of the conception of the "*supremus dominus*" and the "*summe justus*" (cf. nominalism). Very necessary to salvation, if not absolutely necessary, is the perception of the valuelessness of the doctrine of the trinity. *Ante legem et per legem* did men already apprehend the creation of the world through God, the providence of God *de*

Notitia Dei.

Knowledge of God's Unity All-Important.

singulis rebus (!), the reward and the Divine will (in the decalogue).

Notitia Christi.

The *notitia Christi* divides itself into knowledge of his person and of his office. In respect of the first it is concerned with the perception that God has redeemed us through a man (cf. the hypothetical articles of nominalism). Christ was a mortal man who was sanctified by the Father, endowed with Divine wisdom and power, raised from the dead, and finally exalted to like power with God. This is the exegetical result of the New Testament. God sent him in order to lift men up into a new state, *i.e.* to exalt the mortal unto immortality (early Church idea; cf. especially the Antiochians). This was an arbitrary decree of God, and the bringing of the same to pass (miraculous birth, resurrection) was quite as arbitrary. Christ as a *prophet* completed the transmission of the perfect Divine law (explaining and deepening of the decalogue), declaring with certainty the promise of eternal life and verifying by his death the example of a perfect moral life, after that he had complied with certain sacramental ordinances. By his preaching he gave a strong impulse toward the observance of the Divine will and at the same time established the general purpose of God to forgive the sins of the penitent and of those striving to live more uprightly (cf. nominalism). Inasmuch as no one can perfectly keep the Divine law, justification comes, not through works, but through faith. This faith, however, is trust in the Law-giver, who has

Antiochianism.

Nominalism.

set before us a glorious end, eternal life, and has awakened through the Holy Spirit the future certainty of this life; furthermore, it is reliance on Christ, who, clothed with Divine power, truly frees those from sin who put their trust in him. In particular is noteworthy: (1) The refined, in many respects, excellent criticism of ecclesiastical Christology from the standpoint of the Scriptures and the reason —the Scripture statements in regard to the preexistence of Christ raised, it is true, some difficulties —, (2) The attempt to set forth the work of Christ in accordance with the scheme of the three offices, and the acknowledged inability to extend it beyond his prophetical office. Within the limits of the latter everything was in reality handled: "*Comprehendit tum praecepta, tum promissa dei perfecta, tum denique modem ac rationem, qui nos et praeceptis et promissionibus dei confirmare debeamus*". Beyond this, however, Socinianism knew nothing. The "*praecepta*" are the interpreted decalogue, with the addition of the Lord's prayer, and the special commandments of the sure and steadfast peace in God through prayer, praise and reliance on God's help, abstinence from love of the world as well as self-denial and patience. Thereto are to be added the special ceremonial commands, viz.: Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The former is confession, duty and symbol; the forgiveness of sin was also thought of for the sake of the Scriptures in a disgraceful manner, and infant baptism was discarded, yet endured

Valuable Elements.

Praecepta.

Baptism and Lord's Supper.

Promissa Dei.

Christ's Sinlessness, Miracles, Death.

Doctrine of Faith.

(because it has to do with a ceremony). The Lord's Supper, by the laying aside of all other views, was conceived of as an ordained memorial meal. The *promissa dei* are the promise of eternal life and of the Holy Spirit. In setting forth this last Socinianism did great service, contrary-wise it gave to the forgiveness of sin an ambiguous meaning. In opposition to the evangelical view it taught: "*In vita aeterna simul comprehensa est peccatorum remissio*". This eternal life was only very superficially described, and the fundamental Catholic thought in Socinianism crops out in the article that the Holy Spirit is granted only in proportion to moral progress. To the question as to how Christ has effectually guaranteed the commands and the promises, it was replied: (1) Through his sinlessness, (2) Through his miracles, (3) Through his death. The latter was considered as a proof of his love, and then in an extended manner the satisfaction-theory was contested. Herein lies the strength of Socinianism. Although one cannot accept a great many of its arguments, because they are founded upon the Scotistic idea of God, yet one must acknowledge that the juristic satisfaction-theory is here really answered. The thought of the merit of Christ is retained. But how meagre is it when the catechism, once more reverting to faith, explains: "*Fides obedientiam nostram deo commendatiorem gratioremque facit et obedientiae defectus, modo ea sit vera ac seria, supplet, utque a deo justificemur efficit*". This is in complete contrast with

Priesthood of Christ.

evangelical ideas concerning faith. That which is afterward said about justification is a worthless accommodation of Pauline ideas. Accommodations are, in general, not infrequent.—In connection with the priestly office of Christ the *permanent* priesthood of Christ is emphasized, while that which transpired once is fundamentally discarded. Christ's dominion over all beings and things is very briefly touched upon.

Doctrine of Church.

At the close the catechism reverts to the Church and defines it once more as a school: "*Coetus eorum hominum, qui doctrinam salutarem tenent et profitentur.*" Pastors (doctors) and deacons are necessary to the Church; but nothing is said about ordination, and the episcopal succession is contested. The reflections on the visible and invisible Church are indefinite and unclear.

Socinianism Dissolves Dogma.

In Socinianism the dissolution of dogma is exemplified upon Catholic soil, as in Romanism the neutralization. In the place of tradition the external revelation in the Bible steps in. Religion, in so far as it is apprehensible, is swallowed up in moralism. Still there remain fortunate inconsistencies and Socinianism presents, even apart from these, a pleasing side: (1) It had the courage to simplify the questions concerning the reality and content of religion and to discard the burden of the ecclesiastical past, (2) It broke the contracted bond between religion and science, between Christianity and Platonism, (3) It helped to spread the idea that the religious statement of truth must be clear and apprehensible, if it is to have power, (4) It tried to free the study of the Holy Scriptures from bondage to the old dogmas.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ISSUING OF THE DOGMA IN PROTESTANTISM.

1. *Introduction.*

Reformation Restoration of Paulinism.

POST-TRIDENTINE Catholicism and Socinianism are in many respects modern phenomena, but as regards their religious kernel they are not modern, but much rather the consequences of mediæval Christianity. The Reformation as represented in the Christianity of Luther is still in many respects an old Catholic phenomenon, not to say also a mediæval; yet judged by its religious kernel, it is neither, but much rather a restoration of Pauline Christianity in the spirit of a new age. On this account it happens that the Reformation cannot be judged solely by the results which it gained during the first two generations of its existence; for it did not begin as a harmonious and consistent manifestation. Luther's Christianity was the Reformation; within the periphery of his existence, however, Luther was an old Catholic-mediæval phenomenon. The period from 1519 to 1523, the most beautiful years of the Reformation when it stood in living relations with all men and seemed to intro-

Luther's Christianity the Reformation.

duce a new order of things, was only an episode. Luther soon drew back again within his limitations. These were not, however, a mere thin shell, so that Melanchthon and the epigonoi could have forgiven the shrinkage; but Luther realized that they were bound up with the very sinews of his power and he asserted them with this understanding.

Luther's Message.

Luther's greatness consists in the knowledge of God which he re-discovered in the Gospel. Living faith in God who in Christ says to the poor soul: "*Salus tua ego sum*", the certain assurance that God is the being upon whom man may absolutely rely—that was Luther's message to Christendom.

Restores Gospel Religion.

He restored the religious view of the Gospel, the sovereign right of religion in religion, the sovereign worth of the historical Person Jesus Christ in Christianity. In doing this he went back beyond the Church of the Middle Ages and the old Catholic times to the New Testament, yes, *to the Gospel itself*. But the very man who freed the Gospel of Jesus Christ from ecclesiasticism and moralism strengthened the force of the latter under the forms of the old Catholic theology, *yes, he gave to these forms, which for centuries had lain dormant, once again a value and a meaning*. He was the restorer of the old dogmas and he gave them back to faith. One must credit it to him that these formulas are even until to-day a living power in the faith of Protestantism, while in the Catholic Churches they are a dead weight. One will do justice to the "*en-*

Revivifies Catholic Dogmas.

tire Luther" only by allowing his two-fold relation to the old Catholic theology to stand and by trying to explain it. Luther turned his contemporaries aside from the path of the humanistic, Franciscan and political Christianity and compelled them to interest themselves in that which was most foreign to them—*the Gospel and the old theology.* He proclaimed the Gospel anew and was able to defend the "*Quicunque vult salvus esse*" of the Athanasian creed with a full voice.

Contests Mediæval Doctrines.

In order to understand his attitude, one may refer to the following: (1) The difficulties about which there was a contest flowed especially from mediæval theology, and Luther's historical horizon shut down about the time of the origin of the papal Church; that which lay back of this was blended for him at many points with the golden horizon of the *New Testament*, (2) Luther never contended against erroneous theories and doctrines *as such*, but only against those theories and doctrines which plainly vitiated the *puritas evangelii;* in him there did not dwell the irresistible impulse of the thinker who strives after theoretical clearness; much rather did he have an instinctive dislike and an inborn distrust of that spirit which, guided solely by knowledge, shrewdly corrects errors; he also by no means possessed all the endowments and critical facilities of the age—"*sublimement borné, gauchement savant, terriblement naïf*", this hero has been called by one who knows men, (3) The old dogma corresponded to

Contends for Puritas Evangelii.

Accepts Old Dogmas.

the new conception of the Gospel which he preached; he wanted the correct *faith* and nothing else; the ancient dogma, however, in contradistinction to the mediæval, represented Christianity not as a confluence of faith and works (the latter did not belong to the *dogma*), of grace and merit, but rather as *the act of God through Jesus Christ unto the forgiveness of sin and eternal life. Luther saw only this element in the old dogma;* he overlooked all else. Hence he conceived his mission as that of a reformer: It is necessary only to place upon the lamp-stand that which the Church already possesses, but has lost sight of among its other possessions; it is necessary to restore the Gospel of the free grace of God in Christ by a rehabilitation of the ancient dogma.

Aims at Reformation Only.

Results of his Labors.

Was he really right? Did his new conception of the Gospel fall in naturally with the ancient dogma? Men insist upon this even to-day,—it is true with more or less uncertainty and with the qualification, that Luther *added* an important element, viz., the doctrine of justification. But did he not do away with the infallible Church tradition, with the infallible Church office, with the infallible canon of Scripture? And must his conception of the Gospel be still clothed with the old dogma? Wherein consists that conception? How far did his criticism of tradition go? What did he retain? Was his attitude altogether consistent, or is the present state of Protestantism, which is so full of inconsistencies and errors, to be traced back to him?

2. *Luther's Christianity.*

Luther's Theologie von Köstlin, Th. Harnack, Lommatzsch. Herrmann, der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott, 1886. Ritschl, Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung, Bd. I. u. III. Kattenbusch, Luther's Stellung zu den ökumenischen Symbolen, 1883. Gottschick, Luther's Anschauung von christl. Gottesdienst, 1887. Zur altprotest. Rechfert.—Lehre, cf. Loofs und Eichhorn i. d. Stud. u. Krit. 1884 u. 1887.

Luther Wrestles with Religion of his Church.

In the cloister Luther thought he was fighting with himself and his sins; but in reality he was wrestling with the religion of his Church. In the system of sacraments and observances, to which he subjected himself, he did not find the assurance of peace which he sought. Even that which should have given him consolation revealed itself to him as an object of terror. In such distress it came to him slowly and gradually through the corroded ecclesiastical confession ("I believe in the forgiveness of sins") and the Holy Scriptures, what the truth and power of the Gospel really is. Augustine's form of belief concerning the first and last things was also a guiding star to him. But how much firmer did he grasp the essence of the thing! That which he here learned, that which he laid hold of with all the strength of his soul as the *sole thing* was the revelation of the gracious God in the Gospel, *i.e.* in Christ. The same experience which made Paul Luther underwent, and while it did not come to the latter so violently and suddenly as to the former, yet he also learned through this experience

Augustine a Guiding Star.

that it is God who bestows faith: "Since it pleased God to reveal his Son in me."

Simplifies Religion.

That which he experienced he afterwards learned to express, and there resulted, when measured by the multifarious things which the Church proffered as "religion", primarily a stupendous *reduction.* Out of a multiform system of grace, performances, penances and reliances he extracted religion and restored it to its simple greatness. The Christian religion is living faith in the living God who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ and laid bare his heart—nothing else. Objectively it is Jesus Christ, subjectively it is faith; its content, however, is the gracious God, and therefore the forgiveness of sin which includes sonship and blessedness. Within this circle the whole of religion was enclosed for Luther. The living God—not the philosophical or mystical abstraction—the revealed, the assured, the gracious God apprehensible to every Christian. Unwavering heart trust in him who has given himself to us in Christ as our Father, personal confidence in Christ who stands by his work in our stead—that was for him the sum total of religion. Above all anxiety and sorrow, above all the artifices of asceticism, above all prescriptions of theology he pressed on to Christ that he might lay hold upon God himself, and in this act of faith, which he recognized as the work of God, he won an independence and a steadfastness, yes a personal assurance and joy, such as no mediæval man had ever possessed. From the

Christianity Objectively is Christ; Subjectively it is Faith.

Faith is Assurance of God's Forgiveness.

perception: "By our power nothing is done", he drew the highest inner freedom. *Faith*—that meant for him now no longer an obedient acceptance of ecclesiastical teaching, or historical *facta*, not supposing and not doing, not *actus initiationis* upon which a greater thing follows; but the certainty of the forgiveness of sin and therefore personal and absolute surrender to God as the Father of Jesus Christ, which transforms and renews the whole man. Faith is a conscious trust, which then makes man glad and joyous toward God and all creatures, which as a good tree surely brings forth good fruit, and which is ever ready to serve and to suffer. The life of a Christian is in spite of all evil, sin and guilt hid in God. Because this certainty animated Luther, he also experienced the *freedom* of a Christian man. This freedom was not a bare emancipation, or a certificate of manumission, but to him it was the triumph over the world through the assurance that when God is for us no one can be against us. He next won for himself the right of the individual; he experienced the freedom of conscience. But a free conscience for him was bound up with inner allegiance, and the right of the individual he understood as a holy obligation to courageously throw oneself upon God and to serve one's neighbor in reality and in self-forgetful love.

Luther Experiences Freedom.

Church is Fellowship of Believers.

Therewith is already said what the Church was to him—the fellowship of believers whom the Holy Spirit has called through the word of God, enlightened and sanctified, who more and more are to be built up through the Gospel in true faith, awaiting the glorious future of the children of God and so serving one another in love, each in his own place. This confession concerning the Church effected an enormous *reduction*. It rests wholly upon the following simple fundamental thoughts: (1) That the Holy Spirit founded the Church through the *word of God*, (2) That this word is the proclamation of the revelation of God in Christ in so far as it awakens faith; (3) That the Church, therefore, has no other province than that of faith, that it is, however, within the same the mother upon whose lap man attains unto faith, (4) That because religion is simply faith no particular performances and no particular province, be it now the open cultus, or the chosen course of life, are the sphere in which the Church and the individual can verify their faith, but the Christian in the natural ordering of his life is to prove his faith through the loving service of his fellows.

Fundamental Ideas of Church.

Contends Against Abuses in Church.

With these four sentences Luther stood over against the old Church. Through the first *he restored the word of God according to a sound judgment* to the fundamental place in the Church. Through the second he restored, in opposition to all the theologians, ascetics and sects of the Middle Ages and of the ancient Church, *the Gospel to the Gospel* and exalted the "*consolationes in Christo propositae*" to be the sole norm. Through the third he reduced very greatly the idea and scope of the

Church, but brought *the Church back to its faith.* Through the fourth, finally, he restored the natural status of marriage, of the family, of secular calling and of the state; he emancipated these from the guardianship of the Church, but subjected them to the spirit of faith and of love. Thereby he broke down the mediæval and ancient ecclesiastical conception of the world and of the ordering of human life, and thus transformed the idea of religious perfection as no other Christian since the apostolic age has done. In the place of the combination of monastic withdrawal from the world and ecclesiastical dominion over the world, he set the Christian the great task of verifying his faith in the ordering of his natural life: He is to serve his neighbor in self-forgetful love and hallow his occupation. The righteousness of the natural course of life was in no sense for Luther a realized ideal—he had eschatological preconceptions and awaited the day when the world should pass away with its lust, its pain, its devilishness *and its course of life*—but because he made faith so grand and so sovereign he suffered for and in religion nothing that was foreign to it. Accordingly through his mighty preaching all the vagaries of the Middle Ages were dissolved. He wished to teach the world nothing else than what it signifies to possess God; yet in recognizing this most important realm in its peculiarity, everything else came to its true relations, viz.: science, the family, the state, charity, civil calling. In that he raised to the

Denounces Monasticism.

Science, Family, State, etc., Justified.

first rank that which beneath the rubbish of refined and complicated ideals had hitherto been least esteemed—humble and safe reliance upon God's fatherly provision and loyalty in one's calling—he created a new epoch in the history of the world.

He who takes his position here can hardly persuade himself that Luther brought to the old "sound" dogma only a couple of new doctrines:

Luther's theology should be treated in close connection with the above-mentioned development of his fundamental views. In theological terminology he was surprisingly unhampered and used the doctrinal formulas very freely. The traditional theological scheme he as a rule treated so freely that in each instance, when correctly understood, he discovered *the entire doctrine.* This can be proven from his doctrine of God (God without and within Christ), from his doctrine of Providence (the first article, rightly understood, is the whole of Christendom), from his Christology ("Christ is not called Christ because he has two natures, but he bears this glorious and comforting name on account of the office and work which he took upon himself; Christ is the mirror of the Father's heart"), from his doctrine of sin (sin is "to have no God"), from his doctrine of predestination and of the will's lack of freedom (religious experience does not arise conjointly out of historical and sacramental acts, which God performs, and subjective acts, which are in any sense man's, but God alone works the willing and the doing), from the law and the Gospel (distinguishing between the possibility and the reality of redemption), from his doctrine of penance (this is the humility of faith, hence the entire life is a continuous penance), from his doctrine of *justification*. In each of these doctrines Luther expounded the *whole*—the free grace of God in Christ—but he made himself most at home in the Pauline scheme of justification "*propter Christum per fidem*". The fine-pointed formulas concerning the *justitia imputativa* and the scholastic sundering of justification and sanctification (faith and love) did not originate with him or with the Melanchthon of the earlier days; yet each of these men gave the provocation to the same. Everywhere he was concerned with faith's *assurance of salvation*. "Where there is forgiveness of sin, there is also life and blessedness". In this conviction he won his religious independence and freedom as against everything which is not from God; for independence and freedom alone are life. The assurance of the forgiveness of sin in Christ was to him the sum of religion. Therefore did he bring religion back to this. But the positive side of the forgiveness of sin was for him the sonship through which the Christian comes to a self-sufficient existence as over against the world, needs nothing and stands neither under the slavery of the law, nor in dependent upon men—a priest before God and a king over the world.

3. *Luther's Strictures on the Dominating Ecclesiastical Tradition and on the Dogma.*

Luther always went from the centre to the circumference ~~in his~~ criticism, from faith to institution, and did not attack doctrines as such, but doctrines which obscured or destroyed right living.

Rejects Church Doctrine of Salvation.

(1) He set aside the dominating *doctrine of salvation* as destructive (Apol. IV. init.: "*Adversarii, quum neque quid remissio peccatorum, neque quid fides, neque quid gratia, neque quid justitia sit, intelligant, misere contaminant locum de justificatione et obscurant gloriam et beneficia Christi et eripiunt piis conscientiis propositas in Christo consolationes*"), and in truth showed his opponents that their doctrine of God (sophistic philosophy and subtile reasoning), their Christology (they speculate about the two natures and do not know the *beneficia Christi*), their doctrine concerning the truth, righteousness and grace of God (they do not attain unto "consolation" and hence err in blind reason), their

doctrine of sin and free-will (they are Pelagians), of justification and faith (they do not know what it means to have a gracious God, and they rely upon merits) and of good works were false and misleading to the soul. With this bill of particulars Luther encountered not only the scholastics, but also the Church fathers, yes Augustine himself, therefore the whole ancient Catholic Church teaching.

Attacks Old Catholic Idea of Perfection.

(2) Luther attacked the old Catholic (not simply mediæval) ideal *of perfection and of blessedness.* In destroying the idea of a dual morality to its very roots he put in the place of monastic perfection the faith which relies upon the forgiveness of sin, in the place of the conception of blessedness as a revelling in holy sentiment and in holy knowledge the comfort of a free conscience and sonship with God.

Destroys Catholic Doctrine of Sacraments.

(3) Luther destroyed the Catholic *doctrine of the sacraments*, not simply the seven. Through the three sentences: (a) The sacraments contribute unto the forgiveness of sin and nothing else; (b) *Sacramenta non implentur dum fiunt, sed dum creduntur;* (c) They are a peculiar form of the redemptive word of God (of the *promissio dei*) and therefore have their virtue in the historical Christ—*he transformed the sacramental elements into sacramental ordinances* and recognized in them only *one* real sacrament, viz.: *the pardoning word of God.* He here opposed Augustine no less than the scholastics, and in combining the *Christus praedicatus*, the forgiveness of sin and faith in the closest unity he

Opposed Augustine.

God Works Faith Through Word.

excluded all else: Mystical revelling, material good, the *opus operatum*, the haggling for the sake of the effect and the dispositions. Not as "instruments" of grace, which secretly *prepare* future life in men and by the transfusion of love make good works *possible*, did he apprehend the sacraments, but as the *verbum visibile*, in which God himself co-operates with us and gives himself to us to be one with him in Christ. God *works* through the word in the sacrament faith and confidence, *i.e.* he works the forgiveness of sin. As regards the Lord's Supper and baptism Luther carried this out. But he struck the Catholic Church the severest blow by his criticism of the sacrament of penance; for (a) He restored the sovereign efficacy of heart-felt penitence, without doing away with *confessio* and *satisfactio*, if rightly interpreted, (b) He conceived of this penitence in opposition to the *attritio*, which was to him a satanic work, in the strictest sense as hatred of sin springing out of the perception of the greatness of the blessing which has been forfeited: "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned"; (c) He promoted the constancy of trustful penitence and thereby explained the penance done before the priest as a special act; (d) He did away with the necessity of the priestly cooperation; (e) He taught the absolute union of *contritio* and *absolutio*, both of which are included in the *fides;* (f) He did away with all the mischief connected with the sacraments: Computations in regard to temporal and eternal benefits, purga-

Criticism of Sacrament of Penance.

tory, worship of saints, meritorious satisfactions and indulgences, in that he reduced everything to eternal guilt. Thus did he destroy the tree of the Catholic Church by creating from its roots light and inclination and a new impulse.

Destroys Hierarchical Priestly System.

(4) Luther destroyed the entire *hierarchical and priestly ecclesiastical system*, denied to the Church the right of jurisdiction over the key (*i.e.* over the word), declared the episcopal succession to be a fiction and proclaimed the right of the special priesthood alongside of the general. In that he left but one office, the preaching of the Gospel, to stand, he dissolved the Catholic Church of the popes not only, but also of Irenæus.

Does Away with Traditional Cultus Ordinances.

(5) Luther did away with the *traditional cultus ordinances* as regards their form, aim, content and significance. He would know nothing of a *specific* Divine service, with special priests and special offerings. He discarded the sacrificial idea in general, in lieu of the one sufficient sacrifice of Christ. The worship of God is nothing else than the simplicity of the individual's reverence for God in time and space. He who attributes to it a *special* merit, for the sake of influencing God, commits sin. It has to do only with edification in faith through the proclamation of the Divine word and with the general praise-offering of prayer. The true service of God is the Christian life in reliance upon God, penitence and faith, humility and fidelity in duty. Unto this service of God the public service should contribute. Here also he

shattered the Church, not only of the Middle Ages, but also of the ancients.

Destroys External Authority of Catholicism.

(6) Luther destroyed the *formal external authorities of Catholicism;* he did away with the distinction between *thing* and *authority.* Because to him the proclaimed Christ (God in Christ, God's word) was the thing and the authority, he cast the formal authorities overboard. Even before the letter of Scripture he did not hesitate. During the very time when he was contending against the absolute authority of tradition, of the pope and of the councils, he set that which Christ did over against the clear letter of Scripture and did not shrink from speaking of errors in the Biblical writers *in matters of faith.*

Declares Dogmatic Terminology Misleading.

(7) Luther conceded to his opponents *their dogmatic terminology* only so far as he did not discard it. He had the liveliest feeling that the whole terminology was at least misleading. This can be proven from his expositions (a) of the various conceptions of *justificatio, sanctificatio, vivificatio, regenerato,* etc., (b) of the conception *satisfactio,* (c) *ecclesia,* (d) *sacramenta,* (e) *homousion,* (f) *trinitas* and *unitas.* The terminology of the scholastics he declared to be false, that of the old Catholic theologians to be unprofitable and cold. But the most important is that he distinguished in the doctrine of God and in Christology between that which pertains to us and that which pertains to the thing itself, thereby clearly indicating what the *doctrine of faith* really is and what is a matter of

speculative reason, or at best the indemonstrable secret of faith.

Replaces Dogmatic Christianity by Evangelical.

Luther did away with the old dogmatic Christianity and put a new evangelical conception in its place. The Reformation is in reality an exit of the history of dogma: This the foregoing survey teaches clearly and explicitly. That which Augustine began, but was not able to realize, Luther carried through. He established the evangelical faith in the place of the dogma by doing away with the dualism of dogmatic Christendom and practical Christian self-judgment and independence, and thus freed Christian faith from the trammels of the ancient philosophy, of secular knowledge, of heathen ceremonies and cunning morality. *The doctrine of faith, the true doctrine, he restored to its sovereign right in the Church*—to the terror of the humanists, ecclesiastics, Franciscans and rationalists (Aufklärer). The true theology should have the deciding power in the Church.

Immense Task!

But what a task! It appeared still almost like a contradiction: To restore the significance of faith as the content of revelation to its central position as against all subtile reasoning and doing, and thus to call out the repressed theoretical element; and still, on the other hand, not simply to take that faith which the past has constructed, but rather to indicate the form in which it is life and creates life, is practice yet the practice of religion. From the greatness of the problem is explained *also* the insolvency of those elements in Luther's theology which perverted the same and must qualify the declaration, that the Reformation was the end of the history of dogma.

4. *The Catholic Elements Retained with and within Luther's Christianity.*

However much or however little Luther here retained—it belongs indeed to the "entire Luther", but not to the "entire Christianity" of Luther. *How* was Luther able to retain Catholic elements, and *what* elements did he conserve? Of these two questions, which should be answered, the first has already been answered in part (see p. 543); only a few things need to be added here.

Faith Opposed to Works.

(1) Luther defended *faith* as against the corresponding works, the *doctrina evangelii* as against justifying penances and processes. Hence he stood in danger of adopting or of tolerating every statement of faith, if only it seemed free from law and works. He fell into this pitfall. His idea of the Church was perverted thereby. It became as ambiguous as the idea of the *doctrina evangelii* (fellowship of faith, fellowship of pure doctrine).—(2) Luther thought in general only of contending against the doctrinal errors and abuses of the mediæval Church, and since he traced all misfortunes to the pope, he formed too high an estimate of the antepapal ancient Church.—(3) Luther knew the old

Chief Attack Against Popes.

Ignorant of Old Catholic Church.

Catholic Church very slightly and ascribed to its decisions in an obscure manner still a certain authority.—(4) Luther always reckoned himself and his undertaking as within the *one* Catholic Church, claimed that this Church gave him the title-right to his Reformation, and hence he had a lively interest in proving the continuity of its faith. This proof seemed most securely supplied in the old faith formulas.—(5) Luther was no systematic theologian, but romped in the Church like a child at home; he had no longing after the holiness of a well-ordered doctrinal structure; but his power was likewise his weakness.—(6) Luther was able to express *his* entire Christianity within the scheme of the traditional doctrines, and hence he was at peace with the old formulas.—(7) Luther was *in concreto*—not intentionally—a mediæval exegete; he found therefore many traditional doctrines in the Scriptures, although they are not contained therein. As regards history he had in truth intuitive perception, but he developed no method.—(8) His perception of the essence of the word of God did not entirely destroy his Biblicism, but rather did this return after 1523 more strongly. That "it stands written", remained to him a power. —(9) Also as regards the sacraments there remained for him still therein a *superstitio* as "*means of grace*" (instead as the *one* grace), and this had the weightiest consequences for his doctrinal work.—(10) He was unable to rid himself of remnants of the nominalistic scholasticism, and these influenced his

Called himself a Catholic.

Not a Systematic Theologian.

Able to Express his Faith in Traditional Doctrines.

Sacraments Still Means of Grace.

doctrine of God, of predestination and of the sacraments.—(11) After that he had learned wisdom in his struggle with fanatics, he was distrustful of the reason, and went far beyond distrust to antagonism against it as a prop of self-righteousness. He in truth hardened himself against reason in clever confidence, and retrograded at several important points of questionable Catholic belief which recognized the Divine wisdom in paradoxes and absurdities, before which man must bow. Especially his haughty repulsion of the "enthusiasts", who possessed true insight into not a few points, and his aversion to advancing along with secular civilization struck the Reformation its severest blows.

Distrustful of Reason.

The consequence of this conduct was that so far as Luther left a system of theology to his adherents it appeared as a highly confused and unsatisfactory picture: Not as a new building, but as a modification of the traditional structure. Accordingly it is clear (according to Sec. 3) that Luther introduced no finality, but only made *a partial beginning of a reformation even according to his own principles.* The following are the most important confusions and problems in his legacy:

Luther's System no Finality.

(1) *The confounding of the Gospel and the doctrina evangelii.* Luther in truth never ceased to consider the *articuli fidei* as a manifold testimony to that with which the Christian faith is alone concerned; yet along with this he gave the same still a value of its own. Accordingly the intellectual-

Confounds Gospel and Doctrina Evangelii.

ity of scholasticism, so burdensome to faith, was not rooted out; rather did it soon become, under the title of *pure doctrine*, a fearful power and the Church became a theologians' and pastors' Church (cf. the history of the confessional in the Lutheran church). The consequence was that Catholic mysticism again crept in to counterbalance Luther's peculiar teaching (especially that of justification) and the evangelical ideal of life was beclouded (see Ritschl, Gesch. des Pietismus, 3 Bde.). Thus to the future, instead of a clear and simple bequest as regards faith, doctrine and the Church, was rather left a problem, viz.: To maintain the "teaching" in the true Lutheran sense, and yet to free it above all from everything which cannot be appropriated through spiritual submission, and to stamp the Church as the fellowship of faith, without giving it the character of a theological school.

Confounds Evangelical Faith and Old Dogma.

(2) *The confounding of evangelical faith and the old dogma.* Since Luther expressed his new redemptive faith in the language of the old dogma, it was not possible to prevent the latter from asserting its old claims and its old aims,—yes, he himself further developed the same within the original scheme of Christology, viz., in his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In that he however poured the new wine into the old wine-skins, there arose a speculation regarding the ubiquity of the body of Christ which ranged over the loftiest heights of scholastic inconsistency. The sad consequence was that Lutheranism imme-

Nota Ecclesiae.

Emphasizes Paradoxes.

diately maintained as *nota ecclesiae* the most extreme scholastic teaching which any Church has ever maintained. This fact is not strange; for how can one without absurdity include within the scheme of the doctrine of the two natures the faith-idea that the man Jesus Christ is the revelation of God himself, in so far as God has given us in him to know his own fatherly heart, laying it bare to us? Even because Luther first really made earnest work with faith in the God-man (the *oneness* of God and man in Christ), must the μετάβασις to the speculation regarding the "natures" have the most distressing consequences. The same can be shown as regards the reception of the Augustinian doctrine of the original state and of original sin. Here also Luther could only increase the paradoxes and absurdities, in that he sought to express in these formulas his evangelical conviction that all sin is godlessness and guilt. Everywhere it is plain that when the evangelical faith is thrust into the dogmatico-rational scheme which the Greeks, Augustine and the scholastics created, it leads to bizarre formulas,—yes, first makes this scheme wholly irrational. Therefore the Reformation of the future has the task of doing away with this cosmo-theistic philosophy and of putting in its place the simple expression of faith, the true self-judgment in the light of the Gospel and the real import of history.

Confounds Word of God and Bible.

(3) *The confounding of the word of God and the Sacred Scriptures.* Luther, as has been remarked, never overcame his wavering between a qualitative

and a literal estimate of the Holy Scriptures, and the controversy regarding the Lord's Supper only confirmed him in the latter view. He had not yet broken the bondage of the letter. Thus it happened that his church arrived at the most stringent doctrine of inspiration, while it never quite forgot that the content of the Gospel is not everything that is contained between the lids of the Bible, but that it is the proclamation of the free grace of God in Christ. Here also remains to the Church of the Reformation the task of dealing *earnestly* with the *Christianity of* Luther as against the "entire Luther".

Confounds Grace and Means of Grace.

(4) *The confounding of grace and the means of grace* (*sacraments*). The firm and exclusive conception which Luther formed of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the word of God, faith, the forgiveness of sin and justification (grace) is his greatest service, above all the recognition of the inseparableness of the Spirit and the word. But by an apparently slight modification he arrived at very doubtful conclusions, in that he finally transferred that which pertains to the word (Christ, the preaching of the Gospel) to the idea "*vocale verbum et sacramenta*". Rightly did he contend that Christ himself works through the word and that one is not to accept an outward union of word and Spirit, sign and thing signified. But not only by the setting apart of certain

Returns to Mediæval System.

ordinances and "means of grace" did he return to the narrow circle of the Middle Ages which he had forsaken—the Christian lives, as he himself best knew, not by means of grace, but by personal communion with God, whom he lays hold of in Christ,—but in still greater measure by the effort, (A) To justify infant baptism as a means of grace in the strictest sense, (B) To accept penance still *also* as the means of grace in the initiation, (C) To maintain the real presence of the body of Christ in the eucharist as *the essential element* of the sacrament.

Justifies Baptism Strictly as Means of Grace.

Note on (A). The forgiveness of sin (grace) and faith being inseparably united, infant baptism is then not a sacrament in the strict sense ("*absente fide baptismus nudum et inefficax signum tantummodo permanet*", says Luther himself in his Larger Catechism). In order to avoid this conclusion, Luther resorted to subterfuges which mark a relapse into Catholicism (*fides implicita*, substitutional faith). The worst of it was that he granted the permission—in order to preserve infant baptism as a complete sacrament—to separate regeneration and justification (objective and subjective). Infant baptism thus became a sacrament of justification (not of regeneration); the worst confusion set in and that glorious jewel of evangelical Christianity, *justification*, became externalized and hastened to become *a* dogmatic *locus* along with the others and lost its practical significance.

Accepts Penance as Means of Grace.

Note on (B). Faith and true penitence are according to Luther one, yet so that faith is *prius:* In so far as the Christian lives continually in faith, he lives continually in penitence; special penitential acts have no value, and without true faith there is absolutely no true penitence. Thus Luther preached from the standpoint of a believing Christian. The danger that this doctrine might lead to ethical laxity is quite as clear as the other danger, that thereby one could convert no Turks, Jews, or vile sinners. Melanchthon first, then Luther felt this. But instead of distinguishing between pedagogical missionary principles and the statement of faith, they—because the Catholic sacrament of penance still influenced them—carried the former over into the latter, and accordingly encouraged an ante-faith penitence, which could no longer be distinguished from the *attritio*, and then permitted the sacrament of penance (without obligatory oral confession and satisfactions) to enter as an act of forensic justification. True, Luther along with this always retained his old correct view; but the idea, when once allowed entrance, developed with frightful rapidity and created a practice, which was worse, because it was more lax, than the Romish confessional (see the reaction of pietism). In it the idea of faith was externalized, even to mere attendance upon Church; the old accepted efficacious means of grace *ex opere operato* came to the front very slightly decked, and the justification of the sinner was jumbled into an outer forensic act, a conscience-soothing Divine judgment, which crept in inevitably when the priest absolved the sinner *in foro*. In order to repress frivolity, the back-door of the Catholic idea was

Restores Confessional.

opened, and the frivolity now first became great! The thought, however, that justification is the sphere and the edification of the Christian was hopelessly obscured; it passed now only as the *justificatio impii*. Therefore must the pious look about for a new means of edification, if now his justification is only a (repetitious) "objective" initiation act. Here lies to-day still the fundamental curse.

Maintains Real Presence in Eucharist.

Note on (C). Numberless times did Luther recognize that one may seek in the word and in the sacrament only for the assurance of the forgiveness of sin, and with "grim contempt" did he reject everything which men then made dependent upon the sacrament. *He also never surrendered this conviction, which does not allow the question concerning the body of Christ in the eucharist to crop out as a theological question at all.* But when he saw that first Karlstadt, then Zwingli and others permitted the sign and the thing signified to be separated and thus endangered the certainty of the forgiveness of sin in the sacrament, he sought, influenced likewise by mediæval tradition, to securely establish the latter by laying hold of the real presence in the sacrament, and he defended this with increasing temper and complete stubbornness *as though the question was as to the reality or non-reality of the forgiveness of sin.* One can understand Luther's position in the controversy only when one recognizes this *quid pro quo*, and when one further realizes that Luther instinctively sought for a means of ridding

Karlstadt, Zwingli.

himself of spirits who crowded about him and to whom in true self-protection—in the interest of his evangelical perception and of his standing as a reformer—he could not extend the hand. But the thing had its own logic. While contending in the name of faith for the *one* point, the real presence, which did not express the nature and peculiarity of his own faith, all the mediæval interests in him were aroused which seemed to have been overcome. Here awakened Biblicism ("*est*", "*est*"), here scholastic doctrinarianism in the place of the *fides sola*, here a perverse interest in sophistical speculations, here an unheard-of regard for the sacrament alongside of and above the word, here a leaning toward the *opus operatum*, and above all a narrow-hearted and loveless temper! As regards the statement of the doctrine itself, it could not fail to be more paradoxical than the Catholic. Transubstantiation was not recognized, but the hypothetical declaration of Occam and other nominalists, that in one and the same space (with, by, and beneath) the visible elements and the true body of Christ are enclosed. The same man who earlier had derided the scholastics now explained: "The sophists speak correctly here", supplied his Church with a Christology which in scholastic inconsistency far exceeds the Thomistic (ubiquity of the body of Christ), eliminated faith from the sacrament so completely that he raised the doctrine of the *manducatio infidelium* to the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* ("the body

Revives Biblicism.

Revives Occam's View.

of Christ is bitten by the teeth") and trumped the irrationality of the doctrine as a stamp of its Divine truth.

Luther's Weakness.

Through the form which Luther gave to the doctrine of the eucharist he is partially to blame that the later Lutheran church in its Christology, in its doctrine of the sacraments, in its doctrinarianism and in the false standard by which it measures departures in doctrine and proclaims them heretical, threatens to become a scrawny twin of the Catholic Church; for Catholicism is not the pope, nor the worship of the saints, nor the mass—these are consequences,—but the false doctrine of the sacraments, of penance, of faith and of authority in matters of faith.

Luther's Strength.

The form which the churches of the Reformation took in the 16th century, was not homogeneous, or definite: This the history of Protestantism indicates even to this day. Luther once more lifted the Gospel, placed it upon the lamp-stand and subordinated dogma to it. It now remains to hold fast to and carry forward that which he began.

Gott schenke uns nur ein festes Herz, Muth, Demuth und Geduld!

FINIS.