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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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IRENÆUS' VIEW OF SALVATION HISTORY

by Leonard Bissonnette

Dissertation presented to the Faculty of
Theology, St. Paul University, as partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Theology

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To my wife, Rose-Marie, who typed the manuscript, I dedicate this work.



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INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem

It is generally acknowledged that one can discern the elements of a theological synthesis in the works of St. Irenaeus of Lyons. The precise nature of the synthesis however is difficult to determine without considerable research into all aspects of his works. In any event, the considerable research already undertaken has shown that the Irenaeian "synthesis" raises many theological insights which are important to our present-day understanding of the Christian Faith. From this point of view, the research has been immensely rewarding.

The purpose of this dissertation is to determine the role that Irenaeus' view of history plays in his overall synthesis. Of course, this will necessarily involve a consideration of how Irenaeus understands the nature, causes and purpose of history.

Much of the difficulty in determining the precise nature of the Irenaeian synthesis arises from the circumstances which prompted Irenaeus to write in the first place. Evidently he did not set out primarily to write a synthesis as such but rather to refute certain Gnostic movements. that he, as Bishop of Lyons, considered dangerous to Christian belief and practice. This gives his theology a strongly anti-Gnostic bent which is polemic in tone and structured point by point to the Gnostic challenge.

A first task then would be to ascertain the nature of the Gnostic threat to the Faith at that time both as to its general impact on the Church and, more specifically to our purpose, as Irenaeus would have seen it. It is from this perspective that we get our first insights into the reason why Irenaeus found it necessary to think along the lines of a rudimentary synthesis of Christian theology.

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Irenaeus realized that his Gnostic opponents held to systems of doctrine necessarily irreconcilable with the unity and coherence of the Faith. He found it appropriate therefore to begin by a thorough investigation of these heretical doctrines in order to clearly establish the reasons that they were destroying the essential unity of the elements of Christian doctrine. We can readily understand also Irenaeus' subsequent desire to portray how these same elements of doctrine form a coherent and consistent unity and to explain where possible the rôle that each element plays in that unity. It is primarily for this reason that the basis for a rudimentary synthesis of Christian doctrine is contained in the anti-Gnostic writings of Irenaeus.

Irenaeus saw clearly that a first line of fragmentation in the Gnostic system was their attempt to separate the divine realm from the realm of the everyday world. In other words, they refused to accept divine involvement with the world as it develops through time. Speaking in modern terms, their approach to divine things was "a-historical" or "anti-historical". Viewing it this way, we can more readily appreciate Irenaeus' emphasis on the historical aspect of the Faith as essential to understanding the Christian vision in its totality. Just as the Gnostic systems are thoroughly a-historical in nature so is the Irenaeian synthesis thoroughly historical in its approach. Of course, while saying this, we must also take into account the fact that a second-century conception of history would possess aspects different from as well as similar to a twentieth-century conception of history.

A good starting point to an understanding of Irenaeus' view of history would be to review the main points of Gnostic doctrine with which Irenaeus took issue. These

may be summarized as follows:¹

- a. Separation of the divine realm (Pleroma) from the realm of the created (Kenoma). In this system the realm of man and the physical world is alien to the divine by its very nature. Creation has therefore no lasting value and is destined for destruction. Man can derive no meaning from the sequence of human events in time.
 - b. The "divine economy" refers primarily to the inter-relationship of divine beings within the Pleroma.
 - c. Evil originates from a Fall within the Pleroma itself, i.e., the Fall of Sophia. This is due to a lack of gnosis (knowledge).
 - d. Matter is evil by nature and incapable of salvation. In all of its dimensions including time, creation of the universe is the defective act of a defective "god" (the Demiurge). The created universe is a kind of evil caricature of the divine realm. Therefore the human condition in this universe of time is essentially harmful to the soul and spirit. It is a state of ignorance and misery - a trap from which one must be freed. The cause of this tragic situation can be traced back to the fall of Sophia within the Pleroma.
 - e. Names from the Scripture such as "Only-begotten", the "Word (Logos)", "Christ" and "Saviour" do not refer to one and the same person but to different Aeons of the Pleroma. Of the various Valentinian schools it was the Ptolemaeans who developed a doctrine of the inner structure of Jesus. In their view, what appeared to men as Jesus was in reality a sort of juxtaposition of irreconcilable parts or beings, viz., the Saviour from the Pleroma, the spiritual "seed".
- S

from Achamoth, the "animal Christ" from the Demiurge and a "dispensational body" apparently but not really material. Jesus was not therefore the incarnation of the Word. This means that the unity in the person of Jesus, His incarnation and His effective historicity are denied. This disunity in Jesus reflects the fragmentation of the divine realm and the radical disunity between it and the extrapleromatic realm.

f. Mankind is made up of three "races" depending on the ontological composition of the individual. Man's destiny depends primarily on this composition.

g. The "Saviour" is saviour only in respect to the divine realm, i.e., to rectify the disorder in the Pleroma caused by the fall of Sophia.

h. The role of the terrestrial Jesus is as a sort of vehicle for the action of the Saviour to bring to men knowledge of the incomprehensible Father and the Pleroma. The Saviour thereby awakens the "divine spark" in man to realize its own essence so that it can by this knowledge free itself from the darkness and ignorance of this world and attain to the divine world above. The Saviour does not therefore save by way of the flesh. He does not suffer vicariously since he is not material and therefore incapable of suffering.

i. Before attempting to interpret the Scriptures one must be aware that part of the Scriptures were inspired by Achamoth, part by her seed in the prophets, priests and kings and a third part by the Demiurge. This is true also of the sayings of Jesus and/or of the apostles. These again have three different sources: the Saviour, Achamoth and her seed. Generally, the various Gnostic schools hold to the

belief that the God of Jesus was unknown to this world and to its creator, the Demiurge, until the coming of Jesus. Marcion who was himself once a Christian, carried this conception to the extreme. According to Marcion and his school the Old and New Testaments are essentially irreconcilable because they are inspired by different gods. The god of the Old Testament is inferior, imperfect and evil whereas the God of the New Testament, i.e., of Jesus, is the perfect God of goodness who is above all and who comes to abolish the works of the inferior God, the Cosmocrator.

j. The knowledge that enlightens and saves (gnosis) is, as it were, hidden within the Scriptures in the form of sign, symbol, parable and allegory. These all relate to the Pleroma above. Only the enlightened gnostic by virtue of the spiritual "seed" within can interpret and understand the signification of these signs, symbols, etc., and only they have the knowledge of salvation.

One must keep in mind that these second-century Gnostic ideas emerged amidst a general revival of interest in philosophy. It was a time of experimenting with all sorts of ancient ideas and beliefs. Dominating over all were revivals and reinterpretations of the traditions of the ancient Greek Academy, especially of Plato. The period has been loosely described as "Middle Platonic".²

In this atmosphere the Gnostics attempted to present themselves as erudite "philosophers" teaching the gnosis from beyond this world. But in truth of fact while many of the words used in their systems were borrowed from traditional Greek philosophy their conception of reality is fundamentally different.

One could not, on the other hand, classify Irenaeus as a philosopher as such. While there is ample evidence that Irenaeus borrowed certain philosophical arguments

from contemporary schools and adapted them to his attacks against the Gnostics,³ by his own admission he had no ambition to become erudite in philosophy. He preferred to think of himself as a simple pastor of the Church.⁴ While acknowledging that Irenaeus shows a respect for the exercise of a humble search for the truth, one must say that he tended to be suspicious and even critical at times of the value of philosophical speculation when viewed over against the study of the Church's traditional doctrine.⁵ One can understand, therefore, the occasional reference in his writings to an implied association of Gnostics with philosophers generally.⁶ He was nevertheless aware of the difference between valid use of philosophical skills and the kind of mythical speculations used by the Gnostics. After all, he devotes his second book of the Adversus Haereses to a refutation of Gnostic doctrine by way of logic and reason adapting contemporary philosophical arguments to this purpose. E.P. Meijering, in recent work⁷ has shown that Greek philosophy especially Platonism is of some importance for the understanding of Irenaeus' arguments. He shows how Irenaeus attacks the Gnostics on their own ground when he demonstrates that they have taken their erroneous conceptions from philosophy or that the philosophers in some respects had a better understanding of God than they did. By placing their systems over against the various philosophical systems Irenaeus provides himself with rational weapons to use against them.

Notwithstanding these philosophical considerations, it is clear that the vast bulk of Irenaeus' work is fundamentally theological in nature. Here again it is not as a scholar of great erudition or distinction that we must view him but rather as he would like to see himself: the simple pastor defending the faith as best he can. It is more

keen wit and basic common sense enlightened by a deep faith steeped in a rich and vibrant Christian tradition that provides the basic insights or intuitions to enable him to penetrate to the root of the Gnostic error and clear the way to a new and deeper vision of the traditional Christian doctrine.

As indicated in the outline of the Gnostic doctrines summarized above, the heart of the Gnostic attack was against the person of Jesus especially insofar as He is the Incarnation or God's "coming in the flesh". Fairly early along the way it somehow becomes obvious to Irenaeus that the Gnostic error which begins with a radical separation of the divine and created realms culminates ultimately in a denial of the nature of Jesus as the incarnation of the Word of God. From here it remained for the peculiar genius of Irenaeus to conclude that the strongest defense of the Church's central doctrine lay in proving what we would today call the "historicity" of Jesus. His work also indicates that this "proof" necessarily required other interconnections. He must also point out how this historicity of the coming of the Saviour is consistent with the historicity of God's revelation to man generally which, in turn, must be consistent with the way that we must understand the whole divine plan of creation and salvation from beginning to end.

One can understand Irenaeus' preoccupation with the Scriptures and tradition. Where else could one find the "facts" about such close intercourse between God and man throughout history? And while Irenaeus was not a philosopher strictly speaking, it will become clear as we proceed that he possessed just enough of the Hellenic cosmic vision to give to his synthesis of salvation history cosmic perspectives analogous to a philosophers' cosmic vision. Against

the Gnostic pattern of disunity, inconsistency and contradiction. Irenaeus, within this global vision, establishes the three basic themes: the unity of God, the unity of Christ and the unity of the universal economy of God. As Benoit has aptly put it, these themes are not only anti-Gnostic but are the foundation of the symbols of the faith that Irenaeus cites repeatedly throughout his works. For, since the Gnostics contest the authority of Scripture, he must defend it by appealing to the tradition of the Church which can trace historically its line of descent from the Apostles.⁸

Meijering has made the observation that Irenaeus' preoccupation with tradition is, in part, a response to the Gnostic's vain attempts to produce new doctrines. He writes: "Irenaeus himself does not claim to come forward with anything new, but merely to state the unchanging content of the tradition which goes back to the Apostles (see especially A.H. 3,3, and 3,5,1)."(9) This gives rise to a rather important question. Was Irenaeus nevertheless aware that he himself was thinking and writing something new?

In order to achieve his goal of refuting the Gnostic "vision" of reality Irenaeus found it necessary to bring all the elements of the Church's tradition together and therefore to draw from all possible sources: from the Prophets, from the words of Christ, from the Apostles... He clearly saw the need to bring all these elements together because he believed that nothing of the kind yet existed in the Church. He must have realized that this, at least, was something new. But Irenaeus was more than a "gatherer" of information. He interprets, he judges, he evaluates and places each element of his research according to his view of salvation history together with its implications

for all mankind and all creation over the full scale of time from beginning to end not wishing to exclude or ignore anything. Irenaeus seems conscious and aware of being a man standing fully in the present with the whole panorama of salvation history before him. Moreover he sees himself and his contemporaries as part of this panorama. From this vantage point he takes all in his scope in a way that is quite unique. In this sense it surpasses anything that has gone before. He would not claim to see truth that is entirely new. He only claims to see truths that others before him have seen. He would only claim that his own vantage point in the flow of salvation history is new in a way that can enable him to see the whole more clearly. For Irenaeus the object of this "seeing" through history is God. For it is God's purpose to reveal Himself ever more clearly as time passes and the divine plan unfolds through history. In this sense "seeing" has always something of the element of the new about it. True gnosis for Irenaeus comes only by way of the vision of God. This vision is not a once-and-for-all event but a gradual upbuilding process as man grows from infancy to adulthood. While it is true that man remains forever what he is, a creation in God's image, he nevertheless grows toward that Image who is Jesus. This growth is by way of seeing God.¹⁰ Irenaeus must have considered that his own work was part of this process of growth and development.¹¹ In this sense, at least, he would have thought of his works as something new.

For Irenaeus, seeing God begins with seeing things as they really are and as they really happen. Creation reflects the Creator. When we say that Irenaeus views man as "historical" we mean that he understands man to be evident to the senses in the condition of time and place. From this point of view Irenaeus had to come to terms with the

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reality of man's freedom. If man is free to "make history" at any moment, how can God have dominion over it? In what sense can man cooperate with or defy God's providential guidance of history? Henri Lassiart provides an important insight when he views Irenaeus' approach to these questions as a biblical form of catechesis. This is an extremely concrete way to describe a "history" of the relationship between God and man. It is the relationship of free persons who agree to a "covenant" which opens the way to a unity of life between God and man. The divine offer expresses itself in a progressive pedagogy which follows a double economy of salvation, that of creation and that of filiation-adoption. In this framework man's freedom is exercised within the divine plan.¹²

What follows is characteristic of Irenaeus. Motivated by a desire to draw all including the Gnostics away from the spiritual dangers of Gnosticism to the truth and goodness of the Faith, he teaches a catechesis which constantly moves from an all-encompassing vision of the divine plan to the highly concrete and immediate drama of personal moral conflict and back again. In this way the salvation history of the human race is seen as intimately interwoven with the personal history of every individual. Just as Irenaeus is convinced that Jesus was fully human and involved in all the aspects of the human condition, so also is he convinced that the same is true for each one of us. We experience life's joy's, sorrows and moral conflicts just as He did. Jesus as saviour is the model and center of our personal histories just as He is the model for the history of man overall.

Clearly, then, it was the a-historical character of the Gnostic systems that alerted Irenaeus to the historical character of the divine-human relationship indicated by the

Judeo-Christian tradition. It is always with this Gnostic challenge in view that he develops the various aspects of his theology. Just as he sees the a-historical character of Gnosticism as the cause of its radical disunity so does he use the "historicity" of the Faith as the principle of his theological synthesis. Our purpose in this dissertation may therefore be stated more clearly as follows:

1. To establish Irenaeus' theological position on the principal areas of theology from the point of view of his understanding of the historicity of the Christian Faith which he expresses in his anti-Gnostic argumentation.
2. To reconstruct a precise and comprehensive description of Irenaeus' overall view of salvation history.
3. To indicate the role that Irenaeus' conception of salvation history plays in his theological synthesis.

2. History and "Historia"

If our purpose requires an understanding of Irenaeus' conception of history, we must first of all have a clear idea of what is involved in our modern conception of history. This is necessary if we are to be sure of the ground on which we stand when we assess the conceptions of another era. This also helps us to be aware of our preconceptions and prejudices.

Awareness of time and the sequence of events has always been the subject of much meditation. Over the centuries this has produced a rich complex of ideas. Man's idea of history has differed considerably among men of different times and cultures. Even today there are several different schools of thought on what constitutes the essence of history. Nevertheless, if we put aside the very controversial issues, it might be possible to state some basic principles that would be acceptable to the majority. To this end we could choose no better guide than the classic work of H.I. Marrou on the meaning of history. This choice seems the more apropos in view of the author's stated purpose

...At least a certain set of basic principles may now be considered as established...This is why it seems to me that the moment has come to take a systematic inventory of it...13

These "basic principles" may be stated briefly as follows:

- a. History is a kind of knowledge about man's past. This implies an objective element, i.e., the events of the past and a subjective element, i.e., the historical knowledge in the mind of the historian.
- b. The specific kind of knowledge of the past that an historian can attain depends in large measure on his point of view and the kind of questions he asks.
- c. The historian can reach the past only by way of intelligible vestiges left behind. This includes any clue from man or

his environment that can reveal something about his past.

d. The historian must conduct his investigations with scientific precision.

e. It is virtually impossible to acquire certainty about any object of history. What we hold as true about history is by way of a human faith based on reason.¹⁴

f. Historical knowledge is not possible without the use of more or less universal concepts and aggregates of ideas about man and humanity that the historian derives from his own civilization.

g. The validity of concepts used by the historian depend in the main "on the validity of the philosophy...which made it possible for him to elaborate them..."¹⁵ This is true because all our ideas about man are related to a philosophy of man.

h. History must not only establish "facts" but also search for their causes and consequences. To this purpose certain unified historical structures such as "Zeitgeist", "civilization", "industrial revolution"...aid understanding but can never totally explain historical realities.

i. In the search for causes the historian intuitively both inevitability as implied by "Destiny" or "the hand of God" and contingency as implied by "Fortune", "luck" or "accident".¹⁶

j. History is of existential value to the historian. It is an extension of one's desire to know one's personal roots and an expression of the desire for release from the limitations of temporality. Questions arising from personal existential problems can direct the historians' quest.¹⁷

k. While the historical quest for truth may be considered as being primarily personal,¹⁸ it nevertheless has important social dimensions. It enlightens our understanding of man, helps to explain the validity of philosophies and liberates us to a degree from the limitations of our time and place.

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1. History can provide man only with partial truth. Due to the complexity of causes in the flow of events through time, it is impossible to construct a universal history that will answer all questions put to it. It is impossible to discover general laws that govern humanity's advance through time and that would indicate the course of future events.

7 While it may be true that the modern conception and methodology of history as outlined here represents the end product of a developing empirical tradition dating back to the ancients,¹⁹ we must have no illusions about the differences that existed from period to period and from culture to culture. L.G. Patterson has demonstrated that the clash of cultures which followed the emergence of the Christian Church into the Greco-Roman world was due in large measure to fundamental differences in the understanding of history and its significance for human destiny.²⁰

The period of particular concern to us is that roughly defined by the Second Century. From its philosophical aspect this period is described as "Middle Platonic". A reappraisal of platonic traditions seems to be the basic inspiration for the various developing schools of that time.²¹ This revival of the Platonic heritage apparently tended to divert attention away from the exercise of a disciplined historia and, according to Patterson, one finds this same disinterest in the leading Christian intellectuals of that period. This led to inevitable clashes of ideas which were difficult to resolve.²² A case in point is found in the tendency to read ancient "historical" events allegorically in the hope of resolving rational difficulties. This only served to obscure the main contours of the course of events.²³ It was this milieu that caused writers like Justin and Tatian to pay little attention to the importance of historical events as determined by a disciplined historia. For example, they judged the ancient Greek

philosophers on the basis of presuppositions about the history of their philosophy without recourse to any kind of serious historical investigation.

We have seen that the Second Century marks the period of the first confrontation of the Gospel with the "Middle Platonic" world view. It was a period in which the Christian thinkers had to concern themselves with the rational implications of the Christian Faith. This involved anthropological and cosmological issues. This concern, we have also noted, is accompanied by a contemporary devaluation of the pursuit of historia as a methodological enterprise. This represented a new development which was partly due to trends in the developing tradition of historia itself. L.G. Patterson has traced this development from its beginnings. It would be helpful to review briefly this development.

The classical Greek term *ἱστορία* (historia) originally signified "inquiry". Later, this term referred more specifically to a disciplined inquiry into past human events of special interest. This later meaning arose during the classical period of Greek culture and was part of the intellectual awakening which gave rise to a systematic search for knowledge. As inaugurated by Herodotus it was more precisely an attempt to find the "causes" of present or recent events by way of an inquiry into past events.²⁴

This meaning of historia bears some resemblance to our modern conception of history in that it includes, for example, a concern for actual human events of the past, a desire for accuracy in the account and attempts to search out the causes of events. It also differs significantly from the modern conception. The modern conception views the totality of human happenings while historia centers around events in the lives of key individuals involved in a series of events of special interest, e.g., national wars or the rise and fall of city

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states. Modern history concerns itself only with natural causes. While historia concerned itself with natural causes primarily, it was less scrupulous about it. As historia developed the tendency was to include more and more of the involvement of gods, spirits and supernatural forces in the course of human events. Finally, modern history is more critically methodical and thorough in its approach to the truth of history.

From its beginnings in Greek antiquity to its development in second century Greco-Roman culture, we find historia gradually becoming less rather than more like modern history. Already with Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War we find some falling away from the ideal set by Herodotus' exacting "inquiry". Patterson views his work as "an attempt at a rational description of the same aspects of observable phenomena which had engaged the attention of his predecessor".²⁵

With the inauguration of the new era brought about by Alexander the Great came a revival of interest in a philosophical approach to human nature. This was instrumental in bringing about a tendency to a greater "universalization" and "personalization" of historia.²⁶ The universalization trend is indicated by Polybius' Universal History which continues the search for meaning in contemporary events from a new perspective, viz., the rise of Rome. In this case the supernatural cause is also universalized according to current Stoic notions of Fortune as the determining factor in human affairs.²⁷

We find an example of the "personalizing" trend in Plutarch's Lives. The study of the life histories of noble Greeks and Romans portrays the dimension of the personal struggle of the Stoic to conquer vice and develop virtue. Patterson suggests that this Stoic influence is the reason why Plutarch's work represents the last great product of the development of classical Greek historia. Henceforth the

revival of philosophy will eclipse historia as a valued intellectual discipline.²⁸

A more traditional historia does however continue among the Latin intelligentia but with a different outlook than among the Greeks. Historia now attempts to show how events point to Rome's victorious advance over the known world. Even the Greek gods are seen to assist the cause of the welfare of Rome which is the culminating point of history and the ideal toward which each member of the Empire must strive.

Meanwhile, corruption in the internal life of the Empire was a scandal. Perceptive and introspective writers like Lucretius and Catullus were not so confident of an inevitable providence. Cicero in his De Republica remains nevertheless undaunted. He envisions a Rome coming out of the past, as it were, from nature to become the ideal commonwealth. Cooperation in furthering its welfare constitutes virtue. In this way Cicero uses his historia to serve his Platonic-Stoic anthropology.²⁹ During Augustus' reign of stability and peace this approach is reinforced by Virgil's Aeneid.

Patterson sees in Sallust's Punic Wars and Livy's From the Founding of the City a break with the contemporary Latin applications of historia and a return to a more Hellenic historia of the classical type. They presume less about divine involvement and rely more on the "facts" as witnessed by observers.³⁰

One must concur with Patterson's general conclusion that the writers of the Latin phase of the development of historia unlike those of the Greek phase "have no sense of an opposition between the attempt to describe events and the search for the meaning of existence..."³¹ They tend rather to view the interpretation of events as the focus of their work.

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This interpretation evidently arose from a concern with the events surrounding Rome's rise to power inasmuch as these served to support or disclaim the contention that Rome was the emerging collective realization of all that was good in man.

3. "History" Conceptions in the Early Church

In addition to the development of historia in the Greco-Roman world we need also to consider how a different conception of history developed among the early Christians. It is well known that the Christian Gospel produced a conception of history which was quite different from that of the Middle Platonic philosophies of the period. The Judaic-based Christian conception centres in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. All present and recent events must be viewed in the light of Jesus who bears witness to the fact that God is now in the process of fulfilling His promises to Israel. This obviously differs from our modern conception of history as well as from the pagan conception of classical historia.

This Gospel view of history may also be described as "eschatological" in that the final events (τὰ ἔσχατα) by which God would realize His purposes for man and bring the age to a close were now beginning to take place. The early Christians saw themselves as the eschatological people of God now at the center of God's eschatological activity in the world. Accordingly they laid special emphasis on the later eschatological aspects of the Jewish tradition giving them a special christocentric interpretation. Unlike both Pagans and Jews, the Christians viewed God as Someone no longer remote from human affairs but rather involved here and now in the present course of events. The fruition of union with God was no longer viewed as something for the distant future but was already beginning. This meant that future as well as past was virtually continuous with the present. The only discontinuity lay in the fact that the present foreshadowing of divine power revealed in the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus must await the "Parousia" or full manifestation of the Lord in His Kingdom.

An example of how the designs of God are viewed in the light of present events is found in the way that the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus "explains" the testimony of the prophets who witnessed not only to the Messiah's final manifestation in glory but also to His humiliation and death. Since the apocalyptic tradition was strong at that time they also attempted to show how present events relate to the anticipated apocalypse.³²

As an apostle to the Gentiles, Paul also interprets the Gospel in the light of present events. In the case of the event of the conversion of the Gentiles and the obstinacy of the Jews he is led to the realization that the assembly of the Christians was not coextensive with Judaism but rather a new "eschatological" Israel composed of both Jew and Gentile and based on the faith of God's promise to Abraham rather than obedience to the Torah. From here Paul suggests further that the prophecies referring to the responses of Israel and the Gentiles to God's call mean that Israel will be converted only after the Gentile elect but before the final return of Jesus to inaugurate His kingdom.³³

How does the early Christian conception of history differ from historia? Historia describes events about man in such a way as to make man himself the central object. Its medium of truth is man's powers of observation, recall and judgement. The Gospel writers on the other hand describe the course of human events in such a way that the central object to be comprehended is man as saved by God and the medium of truth is faith in Jesus of Nazareth. The significance of the past in relation to the present is also quite different in both. For the writers of historia the past sheds light on why the present is as it is and, on further reflection, why man is as he is. This is viewed primarily on the basis of natural causes. For the writers of the Gospel, however, there

was a constant need to come to terms with present events and this from the viewpoint of divine involvement. Moreover, they were themselves so intimately involved in the course of these events that they felt themselves to be a part of the very salvation history they were explaining. On this basis the present was explained in terms of the past and vice-versa.

The writers of historia did not as a rule concern themselves with the future. Gospel writers, on the other hand, saw the future already foreshadowed in the past and already beginning to come to pass in the present. They felt it necessary to state what could be expected in view of what had already been revealed. When predictions or expectations of the immediate future were contradicted by actual events, a reappraisal of the interpretation had to be made. For example, when the expected Parousia did not actually occur or when the expectation of Jewish conversion was shattered by the events following the destruction of Jerusalem, reappraisals of doctrine had to be made.

Another difference between historia and Gospel can be observed in the way that each relates the divine to historical events. The writers of historia thought of their divinities as being above or outside of the course of events. Divine or supernatural beings may reveal themselves in connection with human events from time to time but their reasons for doing so always remain obscure to the human "observer". The Gospel writers, on the other hand, while conceiving of God as transcendent, nevertheless saw Him as the personal determiner of all history in general and of special events in particular. Since the Christians felt personally involved in these events they were writing not so much as "observers" of events as participators with God in them. They were, so to speak, "seers" from the inside.³⁴ This is why, for example, the Roman Empire in its persecutions of Christians is understood to be the

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manifestation of the powers arrayed against God before the end.³⁵ Patterson sees a certain "logic" in the way that Christians as well as Jewish writers before them left the way open for continual "revisions in the Christian understanding" of the Gospel as events unfolded.³⁶

Already by the beginning of the Second Century we find a shift in emphasis among Christian writers in respect to recording of events in which God's purposes are realized. It is a shift to a consideration of the person or nature of Jesus Himself. Who is He? What is He? How does the Christian relate to Him? We find an example of this shift in Ignatius of Antioch who focusses on the historical appearance of Jesus as the Parousia itself and on the Church as the Body of Christ in which the Christian is united sacramentally. There is strong emphasis also on the two natures in Christ as a genuine incarnation.³⁷

After the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersal, Rome became the Church's center of activity. The Church was still predominately a Greek community. Rome becomes the center for debate about the meaning and relevance of the Christian Faith. Christian leaders debate with Pagan philosophers and others such as the Gnostics on the relative merits of their systems of thought and way of life. St. Justin was an outstanding Christian philosopher-convert of the period.

In explaining the meaning of the Old Testament, Justin uses Christ as a hermeneutical principle. He searches out new types in Genesis which proclaim beforehand Christ and His sufferings.³⁸ For Justin, these types in the Old Testament scriptures are not mythical but "historical" in the sense that they were actually living persons at the center of actual events just as surely as Jesus was an actual person acting historically. Just as actual events were the intended object of the writers of historia so were they also for Justin.

Unlike the historia writers, however, Justin does not seek his witnesses or documents at random but rather in the accepted collection of Old Testament scriptures recognized as authoritative by the believing community. It is the same community which bears within it the witness to the actual events of Christ and His followers.

There was a difference also in the way that meaning was read into historical events. In historia the present arose from the past as effect from cause. This provided a certain comprehensibility to the sequence of events. In the later period of "universalization" when Platonic-Stoic conceptions of the divine were introduced as factors, the historical sequence was still considered from the point of view of the natural order. Justin, on the other hand, is insisting that for those special events recorded in Scripture not only is man acting but God is acting in and through man. There is something in these events that transcends the natural order. This "divine" element is not fully grasped by the observer or witness of the event because it is in the nature of a promise by God to man in lieu of future events. The followers of Jesus, however, are witnesses to new events which mark the beginning of the fulfillment of the promises contained in the past events of Israel's history. It is for this reason that the Christian sees in Jesus the "key" to the meaning of Israel's past. This means that not only Christians but also the Patriarchs and Prophets of Israel's past are witnesses to the truth of God's involvement with man in Christ. In this sense "history" gives added weight to the Christian claims concerning Jesus. After all, fulfillment of prophecy is universally recognized as the seal and sanction of divine involvement:

We shall do so not by trusting in mere statements without proof but by necessarily believing those who predicted these things before they happened, for we are actual eye-witnesses of events that have happened and are happening in the very manner in which they were foretold...³⁹

and this guarantees also that what has been prophesied for the future will also surely happen

...it must of necessity also be believed that those things which were likewise foretold, but are yet to happen, shall with certainty come to pass...for the Prophets have foretold two comings of Christ...⁴⁰

Justin is speaking to contemporary philosophers when he introduces Jesus as the universalizing and unifying principle of the Cosmos. Jesus must be the "Logos" and "Nomos" of the Cosmos inasmuch as we now know that He is the one in whom the world was created, in whom it is ordered and in whom the history of mankind is centered. It is clear that Justin gives here a new Judaeo-Christian meaning to these Platonic conceptions of Logos and Nomos that he had carried over from hellenic philosophy. In the words of Grillmeier, "Justin... incorporated these concepts into a theology of history and completely transformed them..."⁴¹ In other words, what were originally hellenic a-historical cosmic concepts have now been transformed into historical conceptions by being transposed into a Judaeo-Christian "historical" context.

As we have noted above, however, Patterson has demonstrated how the other hellenic tradition involving the discipline of historia had already brought Greek cosmic concepts into an historical context and one wonders whether the awareness of this precedent in the historia tradition influenced Justin and possibly other Christian intellectuals of the period to introduce Greek cosmic conceptions into their Judaeo-Christian salvation history.

Irenaeus was a young man living at Rome when Justin was an important teacher and writer there. It is evident that Irenaeus was influenced considerably by Justin's cosmic-historical theology. This is true even though Irenaeus' motivation for and approach to theology was very different from that of Justin.⁴² It is also well known that Irenaeus was influenced by many other Christian and Jewish writings. There is first of all his great devotion to the earlier traditions witnessed by his extensive knowledge of the Scriptures and the New Testament writings. Other influences are indicated in that writers contemporary to Irenaeus express novel and specific theological ideas which are found also in Irenaeus. For example, Theophilus of Antioch held the view also held by Irenaeus that man's recovery from his original disobedience is analogous to the growth and development of a child to adulthood. He relates this to the contemporary Pagan philosophical theme of the step-by-step discipline that the soul must undergo to achieve perfection.⁴³ We have another example in Melito of Sardis who like Irenaeus emphasizes the role of Jesus as the God-man within an extensive salvation history scheme.⁴⁴

In general, these and other Christian writers of Irenaeus' day were trying to tell the contemporary pagan philosophy that Christian thought about God, the universe and man was not only legitimate and credible but provided answers to the most vexing problems debated in the various schools. While Irenaeus' attention was directed not to Pagan philosophers but to the Gnostics, he nevertheless utilized many of the Christian ideas that were currently being used in the struggle against contemporary philosophy. It would appear that when Irenaeus could realize that the pagan philosophical notions employed in these ideas were sufficiently transformed so as to avoid any connotation that might radically alter Christian

belief, he would then feel safe about incorporating them into his theology. The Christian doctrine so expressed was still clearly distinguishable from pagan philosophy on fundamental points. For example, it held firm on the point of God's will as the cause of creation⁴⁵ and on the persistent elaboration of the theme that the events centering in Christ and His Church mark the final stage of God's dealings with his people. This was also the focal point of an historical view clearly distinguishable from any development of the pagan discipline of historia. Patterson explains that while Christian philosophers were clearly aware of the discipline of historia and its rhetorical value they realized that it had no parallel with the Christian salvation history seeing that it looked only for natural and human causes.⁴⁶ Irenaeus, also, would not have required great erudition to have appreciated this simple fact.

4. Irenaeus' Conception of History

From what perspective did Irenaeus evaluate the significance of human events? We have already outlined the viewpoints of his Christian and pagan contemporaries as well as that of his Gnostic opponents. We cannot isolate Irenaeus from these viewpoints since they form a large part of the milieu in which he thought and worked. At the same time, we cannot evaluate his conception of history only on the basis of modern conceptions.

We can begin with a consideration of Irenaeus' response to the contemporary Greco-Roman tradition of historia. Like his Christian contemporaries he appears to show little interest in it. Nevertheless he does indicate an awareness of the discipline in his employing a kind of historia to trace some aspects of Christian tradition. For example, he attempts to establish the authenticity and apostolicity of Christian traditions by lists which witness to an continuous and unbroken succession of bishops beginning with the apostles.

While the objectivity and finesse with which Irenaeus pursued his investigation would be totally inadequate by modern standards, it might have been considered adequate for his day. Preller has pointed out well known possibilities for error in Irenaeus' investigations: a. in respect to the oral tradition Irenaeus may have confused John the Apostle with another "John the Elder" who may have been the real author of the Fourth Gospel;⁴⁷ b. in respect to the list of bishops of Rome (Adv. Haer. III,3,3) Irenaeus used an already available list (probably originating from Hegessippus) of which the first eleven are uncertain.⁴⁸ Irenaeus appears to be unaware of these discrepancies and considers that his research establishes the authority of the tradition with certainty.

Preller takes the view that Irenaeus is not an "historian" since he is not primarily concerned with the discipline of historical research but with belief from authority. While it is certainly true that Irenaeus is not an historian in the common meaning here intended by Preller, this is not to say that Irenaeus is not concerned about history's object, i.e., actual events of the past insofar as they actually happened. The fact that Irenaeus tried to establish the authenticity of the tradition by appealing to records or the personal experience of men who actually lived and who actually bore witness to the Faith indicates his concern for the object of history. When we say actually happened here we mean as experienced and witnessed to in the flesh or, in other words, with the senses.

Like his Christian contemporaries, Irenaeus was not primarily interested in a history which looks for the "facts" of history with a view to seeking out their natural or human causes and deriving meaning on that basis alone. He would not be so superficial. He would search out rather the deeper underlying causes of events while focussing on those events wherein God's work or self-disclosure became evident — especially the events in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. It is from the understanding gained at this level that meaning for all events of history can be derived. If this is what Preller intends by the statement that Irenaeus is a "Dogmatiker" primarily concerned with "Heilsgeschichte"⁴⁹ then we may agree with his point of view. In this understanding both the "historian" and the "dogmatician" are concerned with actual events of history as their object of study but the purpose attained and the method employed are different in each case.

Irenaeus' understanding of the historical is a fundamental ingredient of his theology. This is also true of his Christian contemporaries and of the bearers of the

Christian tradition who preceded them. Justin's historical types of Christ taken from the Old Testament are examples of this kind of application of history to theology. He means to consider events of the Old Testament as actual events because he appreciates the fact that an historical event in which God acts can have meaning only if it can be observed and experienced by man and if it refers to other historical events in which God acts or will act.⁵⁰ Moreover, for Justin just as for Irenaeus, there is an inner response of the soul and spirit of the "observer" in concord with the experience of the senses just as there is an underlying divine cause and meaning in the event itself.

With this understanding as a background and our stated purpose in mind, we shall now attempt to pursue our investigations of that special and unique view of salvation history peculiar to Irenaeus which involves a persistent anti-Gnostic stance, emphasis on the historicity of Jesus, movement from personal to universal history and back again and an all-encompassing linear plan. We can then indicate why Irenaeus insists on this linear plan of salvation history and how this plan is the unifying principle of his theological synthesis.

5. Previous Works in the Field

Research on Irenaeus has been very extensive in recent years. Virtually all of these works bear some relationship to our topic. We thought it expedient, however, to select for mention here only those works which seem to bear more directly on the topic. In this way the reader can be sufficiently informed on the essentials of the background without needless repetition.

First mention should be given to a work by Martin Widmann in that it bears more directly on the topic in a fundamental way. Der Begriff οἰκονομία im Werk des Irenäus und seine Vorgeschichte⁵¹ investigates thoroughly Irenaeus' conception of the "divine economy". It seems clear from this investigation that Irenaeus derives his understanding of "history" primarily by way of this concept. It is a "gnosticising history-conception" (gnostisierenden Geschichtsbegriff) wherein the Christ-event (i.e., the advent of the historical Jesus taken as a whole; from His conception to His death on the cross) is central to a salvation history that takes on cosmic dimensions. This is shown also on the basis of its being an anti-Gnostic (anti-Valentinian) application of the traditional Judeo-Christian concept of the "economy".

R.A. Markus in "Pleroma and Fulfillment..."⁵² demonstrates the significance of Irenaeus' conception of history in his opposition to the Gnostic conception of "fullness" (πληρωμα) in respect to the divine milieu. While the Gnostic divine "Pleroma" is totally and forever outside of history, Irenaeus' concepts relating to πληρωμα refer to God's sovereignty over all things throughout all time.

While Houssiau's La Christologie de St. Irénée⁵³ does not refer directly to our topic, it does provide an excellent background analysis of many principle words and

concepts used by Irenaeus which have important relationships to his historical view. This is especially true with regard to the manner in which Irenaeus understands the Incarnation as opposed to the Gnostic conception.

In "Les deux mains de Dieu dans Irénée"⁵⁴ Jean Mambrino demonstrates Irenaeus' understanding of the closeness and intimacy with which God transforms His creation throughout history. The Word and the Spirit are the "hands" of God in this task.

Pierre Evieux explains Irenaeus' understanding of history as a gradual revelation of God by way of a process of gradual mutual "accustoming" throughout history between God and man.⁵⁵

Jean Daniélou has shown in several works⁵⁶ the prominence of Irenaeus in the formation of the Christian conception of history. He has placed special emphasis on the typology used by the Church fathers as a form of history-writing. A case in point is the application in Irenaeus of Adam-Christ typology to the recapitulation concept and its implications for the Christian conception of history. Daniélou also makes an important contribution to the understanding of Irenaeus' role in the development of millenarianism as a significant aspect of the end and purpose of history.

Juan Ochagavia in Visibile Patris Filius...⁵⁷ clarifies in Irenaeus the role of history in revelation insofar as the Father reveals Himself through His Son in history.

Gustaf Wingren in Man and the Incarnation⁵⁸ deals with Irenaeus' view of history from several perspectives. For example, history is the forum wherein is enacted the dramatic struggle between good and evil. God and man (in Christ) are ranged against the forces of evil headed by Satan. History terminates when evil and death have been completely conquered in man's total resurrection in the Resurrected Christ.

J.T. Nielsen investigates the way that Irenaeus uses the Adam-Christ typology of Paul. He explains how Irenaeus alters it somewhat so that it may better serve the historical continuity of the divine salvation economy.⁵⁹

Two relatively recent dissertations have also been helpful. The purpose of The Doctrine of Man in Irenaeus of Lyons⁶⁰ by Dai Sil Kim is to define and describe the theological anthropology of Irenaeus. Several facets of this work bear upon Irenaeus' historical view. For example, Irenaeus' anthropology is teleological or developmental so that history as a forum for human development becomes essential to the divine plan. Kim also explains well the role of Satan as a force in history preventing human growth and development and that Christ is the one in whom man's full development and destiny is ultimately realized.

Finally, the dissertation by D.R. Schultz⁶¹ provides convincing evidence that Irenaeus used various non-canonical apocalyptic authors to assist him in forming his views on the historical origins of evil.

6. Method

The method employed in the construction of the dissertation is systematical. The method is also to a limited degree historical and descriptive.

The method is systematical in that it is designed to achieve a rearrangement of the major elements of Irenaeus' theology into a comprehensive system or synthesis. The *raison d'être* of the system has its basis in Irenaeus' view of salvation history. The system, viewed as a system has a beginning, a progression through time and an end in a way that is ontologically all-embracing.

Our pattern of research begins with an investigation of what Irenaeus considers as the beginning of the historical process. This involves God as Creator, the Divine Plan, the divine "economy" and creation itself as a beginning (Chapter II). The next investigation involves those forces of history which Irenaeus considers to be in opposition to God's creative action throughout history (Chapter III). The third area of investigation is concerned with how Irenaeus understands God as resolving the problems created by the forces of evil. This is actually the major part of the salvation aspect of salvation-history and represents the core of the dissertation (Chapter IV). The next investigation involves a consideration of how Irenaeus conceives of the salvation-history process from the point of view of man and his personal development. This involves an understanding of the nature of man as "seer" of God to which history corresponds as the expression and means of God's gradual self-disclosure to man and its consequent effects upon man's personal development toward perfection (Chapter V). Finally we investigate Irenaeus' conceptions regarding the future wherein is realized the end of the process of salvation-history which coincides

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with the end of the process of human development (Chapter VI).

Because of the extensive scope of the project it was necessary to limit the investigations to the major areas and the broad outlines and to avoid as much as possible detailed and controversial issues. Otherwise the project would be much too large and cumbersome to handle. A survey of the literature related to the subject indicated that enough research had been done in the required areas to provide reasonable ground for the dissertation. We have enlisted these authors as guides in selecting and interpreting passages that best illustrate the theological points comprised under our system or synthesis.

Our method is also historical to the extent that we attempt to describe Irenaeus' historical milieu in order to throw some light on the background from which he was thinking and his motives for writing. We have given brief outlines of the political, theological and philosophical aspects of his milieu in the Introduction and in Chapter I as well as in parts of other chapters where appropriate. By these means we hope to gain a more accurate understanding of Irenaeus' way of thinking.

Finally, in the Conclusion, the significant theological facts of each area of Irenaeus' theology (as deduced from the investigations) are incorporated into their proper place in a reconstituted salvation-history scheme. By virtue of this scheme we have an effective demonstration that Irenaeus' view of salvation-history functions as the principle of synthesis for his theology.

CHAPTER I

IRENÆUS AND THE SECOND CENTURY

1. Irenaeus: The Man and His Works

i. Irenaeus

Irenaeus was born about the middle of the Second Century somewhere in the neighborhood of Smyrna in Asia Minor. Although there can be no doubt about his historical importance, information on his personal character and life is minimal. It is significant that he was historically close to Jesus Christ by way of a line of personal relationship. Eusebius reports that Irenaeus in his youth was a personal friend of Polycarp¹ who, in turn, was personally close to Ignatius, of Antioch.² After Jerusalem, Antioch was the first center of expansion for the church of the Apostles.³ Irenaeus claims for himself an even more direct relationship to the Apostles through Polycarp

But Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried on earth a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles...⁴

Irenaeus was greatly influenced by Christian tradition and by the Christian teachers and leaders of his time. This is obvious from the many and various sources employed in his works. But it is purely conjectural how many of these men Irenaeus knew personally. There is evidence that he travelled to Rome before he was Presbyter at Lyons.⁵ At Rome, he probably made personal contacts in ecclesiastical circles. Richardson is of the opinion that enough of his ideas and turns of phrase are from Justin Martyr to make it probable that he had been a pupil of Justin at one time.⁶

There are indications that while at Rome Irenaeus also acquired the basics of an education in Latin and Greek. Moreover, it was at Rome during that period that Gnostics were gathering to hear and to preach their new doctrines. It was likely there that Irenaeus first learned of their erroneous systems.⁷

We know of Irenaeus' presence in Gaul in A.D. 177 because of a letter he carried for his captive superiors during a time of persecution. This letter quoted by Eusebius indicates that he was highly esteemed.⁸

Irenaeus became Bishop of Lyons about A.D. 177-8.⁹ Eusebius relates one of the few known incidents in Irenaeus' tenure as Bishop. He mediated a quarrel between Pope Victor I and the churches of Asia Minor.¹⁰ Historians refer to this as the "Easter Controversy". The incident is a good illustration of the traditions within the Church at that time. It also illustrates the importance of Irenaeus in the ecclesial and liturgical functioning of the Universal Church; even to the practical level of day-to-day administration. In this role he is compassionate, understanding and desirous of unity and peace.

Irenaeus was especially important to the Church for his teaching. Altaner describes him as "the most important of the Second Century theologians and in a sense the father of Catholic dogmatics."¹¹ Even in earliest times he was well recognized as a leading theologian. He is often quoted by Eusebius and other Church Fathers.¹² Eusebius draws special attention to Irenaeus' writings

In addition to the published treatises and letters of Irenaeus, there is in circulation a certain treatise of his against the Greeks, very concise and extremely forceful, entitled Concerning Knowledge and another which he dedicated to a brother named Marcion on the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching, and

a book of various discourses in which he makes mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, quoting certain passages from them. Such is our knowledge of the writings of Irenaeus which have come down to us.¹³

ii. Works of Irenaeus

Of the several works of Irenaeus only two have come down to us in their entirety. The largest and by far the most important of the two is entitled: *Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδογνώμης γινώσκουσας* (Exposition and refutation of Knowledge Falsely So-called).¹⁴ In Latin it is usually given as Adversus Haereses (Against Heresies). The other work is entitled: *Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος* (Presentation of the Apostolic Preaching).¹⁵ Fortunately these two works are sufficiently large and comprehensive to provide adequate data in determining Irenaeus' theological thinking.¹⁶

a. The Adversus Haereses

The Adversus Haereses was written during the episcopacy of Eleutherius (A.D. 174-189).¹⁷ Of the original Greek text only fragments are extant. These were preserved by way of quotations in the works of later ecclesiastical writers, notably Eusebius, Epiphanius and Hippolytus.

Our basic text is a fairly literal Latin translation of the complete work. The date of the translation is disputed. W. Sanday would place it as early as 200, H. Jordan and A. Souter as late as 420.¹⁸ The translation has come down to us by way of about eleven or twelve manuscripts which can be historically traced as belonging to one or other of two "families" of manuscripts: the "Irish" or the "Lyonine." These, in turn, appear to have originated from one source.¹⁹

With the help of three manuscripts, since lost, Erasmus produced the first printed edition in 1526. Progressively better editions have been produced over the years since then with the aid of other manuscripts and fragments. Three of the later more important ones are the following: 1712, R. Massuet, Paris; 1848, A. Stieren, Leipzig; and 1857, W.W. Harvey, Cambridge. The Migne collection uses the Massuet edition. Page references in later editions are generally made to the Harvey edition. We also have modern language versions based on the Latin editions.

A very valuable recent discovery is that of a very old Armenian translation from the original Greek. Dr. Karapet Ter Mekerttschian discovered the manuscripts at Eriwan in Armenia in 1904. These include an ancient Armenian translation of Books IV and V of Adversus Haereses as well as of the hitherto undiscovered Presentation.²⁰ The original translation was probably made sometime between 1270 and 1289. The translation is rigidly, almost slavishly literal but this has definite advantages in determining the wording of the original Greek.

We have, therefore, three major traditions by which Irenaeus' works have come down to us: the Greek, the Latin and the Armenian. It would not be the place here to digress on the relative merits of each or on how one can be employed in interpreting, evaluating and correcting the other. Suffice it to say that sufficient data is now available to allow a reasonably accurate reading of Irenaeus.

Special mention should be made of a project for Sources Chrétiennes. A team of researchers under A. Rousseau have collaborated to produce a critical reconstruction of the Greek text for the third, fourth and fifth books of Adversus Haereses and work is now being done on the first and second books as well. A French version is included in the project.²¹



In this dissertation we shall use the Harvey edition as the basic text while consulting the available material in Sources Chrétiennes. The English edition of Roberts and Donaldson²² will be used in quoting Irenaeus unless it might be considered defective or controversial. In any case footnotes will be included if necessary.

Against Heresies comprises five books. In the first Irenaeus attempts to expose or unmask the various Gnostic systems. He presents a detailed description of the Valentinian system as exemplifying the principal or central ideas of the movement. He then describes other major systems. He introduces the leading personalities involved in the movement both for the present and the past; even to the "beginnings" in Simon the Samaritan as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. The accuracy of some of the information can be contested, but, in the main, it is still recognized as the best source of information on the Gnostics as well as an invaluable contribution to the study of that period.²³ In the second book Irenaeus refutes the Gnostics by way of reason. For example, he points out how outlandish and laughable are their claims to truth or knowledge; how their systems are full of inner contradictions as well as conflicting with each other; and how their moral lives belie their claims to divinity.

In a sense the first two books already accomplish the task set forth by the title: "to bring to light" (Book I) and to "refute" (Book II) the false Gnosis. But in his preface to the third book Irenaeus writes that he will now give further proofs because "the love of God...confers upon the suppliant more than he can ask from it." With the third book, then, begins the more positive and theological part of his work. As Sagnard observes

C'est ainsi qu'avec le livre III commence une section qu'on peut appeler "positive" et qui va se

continuer avec les livres IV et V. L'enseignement des gnostiques n'y est plus considéré en lui-même et sur le plan philosophique, mais il est maintenant comparé aux enseignements de l'Ecriture et de la Tradition.²⁴

Just as the "false Gnosis" shows itself to be false when the system is exposed so also will the "true knowledge" show itself to be true when brought to light. Book III begins with a preliminary section which establishes the validity of the Church's tradition then shows what the doctrine of this tradition is on two principal subjects: The One God and the One Christ. His method here is to follow a logical sequence of scripture quotations as witnessing to the doctrine as he explains it. Whereas the Gnostics present these same two principal subjects, each as a conflicting dualism, Irenaeus lets tradition witness to the complete oneness and unity of each as well as their unity with each other. In Book IV he continues the argument showing how it is the same God who creates and reveals through the Word and the Spirit before Christ and who becomes incarnate by the Word and the Spirit in Christ. By many quotations he illustrates how the Old Testament and the New Testament (especially the words of Christ) present one united testimony to this unity inasmuch as it is the same Word who speaks and acts through the prophets of the Old Testament and who speaks and acts in the Incarnate Christ. Book V deals mainly with the doctrine of the Resurrection.

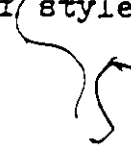
A. Rousseau sees a three-fold division: chapters 1-14, proof of the resurrection of the flesh based almost exclusively on Paulinian texts; chapters 15-24, proof of the identity of God the Creator and God the Father by three facts of the life of Christ; and chapters 25-36, proof of the identity of God the Creator and God the Father by the teaching of the scriptures concerning the end of time.²⁵

There is a logic in the sequence of all three books, III, IV and V. The consequence of the Gnostics' dualistic doctrine of the divine is their view of the separation of the flesh from man's spirit and its consequent rejection. By many proofs from tradition Irenaeus shows that the true doctrine requires the unity of flesh and spirit in resurrection with Christ by the Spirit of God. This truth is consequent upon the truth that God the Creator and God the Father of Christ are not two differing and opposing deities but one and the same God. In the last portion of the book our author presents his reasons for holding the doctrine of the "Millenium". He sees it as consistent with the process throughout history of man "growing accustomed" to unity with God. The Millenium is seen as the last stage of this process.

It seems that Irenaeus did not write Adversus Haereses all at once. He wrote intermittently over a period of time. This could be a reason for an apparent lack of unity and clarity in the work taken as a whole. One must not however say this without qualification. Closer examination indicates that the work does have a plan which is followed quite faithfully.²⁶ Nevertheless, at least from modern standards, the work does seem to lack coherence. There is so much repetition and so many digressions that the reader, unless he is careful, may lose his train of thought.

Irenaeus himself seems aware that his work lacks artistry and shape. He confesses:

Thou wilt not expect from me, who am resident among the Keltae, and am accustomed for the most part to use a barbarous dialect, any display of rhetoric, which I have never learned, or any excellence of composition, which I have never practiced, or any beauty or persuasiveness of style, to which I make no pretensions.²⁷



b: The Presentation of Apostolic Preaching

The Presentation was written after the Adversus Haereses.²⁸ No part of the original Greek text is available. The only extant translation is the Armenian found by Ter Mekerttschian (Cf above, p 5).

Altaner describes the Presentation as an apologetic type treatise²⁹ but others classify it as being also catechetical in tone.³⁰ It is not polemic in character like Adversus Haereses. It simply presents the basic points of doctrine of the Christian Faith according to the tradition of the Church.

The treatise consists mainly of two parts. The first part, Chapters 4-42, deals with the basic tenets of the Faith: Trinity, Creation, the Fall, Incarnation and Redemption. Throughout he covers the main aspects of the Divine Economy from Adam to Christ. The second part, chapters 42-97, consists of proofs of the truth of Christian revelation by way of Old Testament prophecies. There are many parallels between this work and the Adversus Haereses.

For this dissertation we shall use the English translation of Joseph P. Smith³¹ in all quotations. However, the French translation of L.M. Froideveau³² has been consulted.

2. The Historical Milieu

One may say that Irenæus' milieu was not restricted to the region around Lyons in Gaul. As the historical sketch of his life suggests, his wide-ranging experience made him very much a "man of his times." The fact that he was raised in Asia Minor, spent a good deal of his youth in Rome and administered to the Church in Gaul indicates vast opportunities for contact with the varieties and complexities of the Second Century Greco-Roman world.

We have also noted that as bishop Irenæus' concerns and involvements were not restricted to the local scene but to the Church at large already spread to the four corners of the Empire. One might well imagine that his priestly endeavor to defend the doctrine of the Church against the most powerful religious movement of his day required that he at least acquaint himself with the various currents of thought of his times.³³ We must say, therefore, that Irenæus' milieu was the entire second century mediterranean world or roughly that area comprising the Roman Empire.

The task of assessing such a milieu must necessarily be a difficult one not only from the viewpoint of its vastness but also in view of the fact that during this time the intellectual, religious and cultural undercurrents of the Greco-Roman world were manifold and complex. To complicate the situation further, we find that substantial changes and developments were taking place in the intellectual realm at this time. It was a time of philosophical and religious transition dominated by what many historians describe as "Middle Platonism" in the process of development toward Neoplatonism. In view of these complexities and the vast amount of material to be covered, one can only provide general outlines.

Although Rome was the supreme political force in the area (and one must not underestimate its influence), it must be said that the major cultural influence was Greek. Greek culture had enjoyed this dominance especially in the eastern half of the Empire since the time of Alexander the Great.

It would appear however that the dominant Greek philosophies and way of life were not left unaffected by the eastern cultures that it seemed to outshine and eclipse. Rather, one can perceive a mutual exchanging, developing and mixing of ideas and, in some cases, the emergence of a kind of eclecticism. Jonas has described the main thrust of this process as a "Greek conceptualization of Eastern thought."³⁴ Older eastern religious thought, instead of being eclipsed was transformed and universalized in a way that made it more appealing to men generally. Thus by the time Christianity began its rapid growth and development we can see from within the predominant hellenism the bursting forth and reemergence of Eastern religious conceptions rejuvenated by new hellenistic forms. In these new eclectic streams of thought one can recognize new forms of Iranian dualism, Babylonian fatalism and even Jewish monotheism.

In this list prepared by Jonas one may appreciate the various and interrelated currents of thought emerging upon the scene in the First and Second Centuries

...They are in the main as follows: the spread of Hellenistic Judaism, and especially the rise of Alexandrian Jewish philosophy; the spread of Babylonian astrology and magic, coinciding with a general growth of fatalism in the Western world; the spread of diverse Eastern mystery-cults over the Hellenistic-Roman world, and their evolution into spiritual mystery religions; the rise of Christianity; the efflorescence of the gnostic movements with their great system-formations inside and outside the Christian framework; and the transcendental philosophies of late antiquity, beginning with the Neo-platonic school.³⁵

As for the philosophy of the period loosely described as "Middle Platonism", it is dominated by a developing tradition which can be traced back to the ancient Greek Academy. John Dillon who has researched the development thoroughly concludes that the philosophers of this development oscillated between Peripateticism and Stoicism with considerable leaning also to Pythagoreanism. Added to these (after Antiochus) is a strong commitment to "a transcendent supreme principle, and a non-material intelligible world above and beyond this one which stands as a paradigm for it..." Dillon nevertheless believes that despite these variations in doctrine one can detect on the whole the growth of a consistent body of thought carrying on a Platonic heritage.³⁶

In all this diversity is there some one "spirit" or "general principle" that could suggest a basis for an underlying unity? Jonas believes that what he terms "the gnostic principle" might very well be the key to the whole period.³⁷ At least this much can be said. There has been for some time a growing consensus that the "spirit" of the epoch was a desire for that knowledge (gnosis) which might so transform the human mind and being that man's destiny might therein be realized.³⁸ This would mean that the heterodox Gnostic schools against which Irenæus fought so resolutely were not an isolated anomaly but rather an extreme distortion of a much broader "gnostic" movement which inspired to a greater or lesser degree virtually all of the contemporary schools of thought.

i. The Roman Empire

To anyone living in the second century mediterranean world the most visible and imposing historical reality was the Empire of Rome. At least from the political point of view it gave the impression of omnipotence, universality and impregnability. This was the "Golden Age" of the greatest empire the world has ever known.

There can be no doubt that the stability, order and peace afforded by this regime contributed greatly to the advancement of culture. The free movement of peoples by way of the Great Sea and a marvelous system of roads facilitated sharing and exchanging of all the different cultures and ideas. The standardization of two universal languages, Latin and especially Greek also contributed to the communication of ideas.

Although the Roman regime was generally tolerant of and even protected the different cultures and religious systems it embraced within its sphere, it seemed to move more and more toward a position of intolerance toward the Christian Faith. In many respects this placed Christians at a distinct disadvantage insofar as promotion of the Faith was concerned.

Already in the beginning of the Second Century, Trajan's letter to Pliny had set a precedent that guided Roman policy toward Christians for two centuries. A refusal to sacrifice to pagan gods could bring the death penalty. The reason for such harsh measures was never clearly defined by the Roman authorities. There were rumours of "immoral" lifestyle among Christians but these were never substantiated. Pliny, in fact, persecuted Christians but not because they were immoral (he had discovered that they were not), but because it seemed to him that this "superstition" posed a threat to other religions. This seemed to be in keeping with the general impression that

the Christian way was inimical to the Greco-Roman way of life or as they put it "odium humani generis" or "misanthropia". With few exceptions, however, the impetus to bring on a campaign of persecution came not from the Roman authorities but from the hostility of pagan or Jewish populations in local areas.

Roman persecution was by no means restricted to Christians. In these cases, however, the persecution was based more on political circumstances than on religious or ideological grounds. This was certainly the case on the occasion of the Jewish revolts of 115 at Cyrene and under Bar Kosba in 135. It is not surprising that before Christians were clearly dissociated from Jews in the minds of the Roman authorities, Christians were sometimes persecuted because of their association with Jews. Christian Asiatic millenarianism was sometimes confused with Jewish zealotism. This may account for much of the earlier persecutions in Asia Minor and the traditional hostility of Asia Minor Christians towards Rome. Again, Christians were sometimes associated with other alien groups. The secret meetings of Christians sometimes aroused suspicions that they were associated with oriental mystics who practiced secret immoral rites. Christians therefore strove to dissociate themselves from Jews and other groups which tended to be radical, immoral or disruptive of public order.

ii. The Apologists

Since the ultimate responsibility for persecution of Christians rested with the Emperor, many Christian intellectuals felt that their only recourse lay in obtaining a new precedent from a reigning emperor. During much of the Second Century we find Christians appealing to the reigning emperor directly by way of "apologies". In these letters they hoped to expose the true nature of the Christian Faith and way of life in order that all prejudice against it might be dispelled once and for all.

The "apologies" follow much the same pattern. The Christian Faith is not a superstition but is rather something most reasonable and truthful being grounded in the most venerable tradition. It is not immoral but far superior to the other traditional religions of the Empire. Christianity is not opposed to the Greco-Roman way of life and Christians in general are most loyal to the emperor and all legitimate authority. Their only objection is that they may not worship false gods or the emperor. It is therefore unjust to persecute those who hold steadfastly to the name of Christian.

Among the first apologists of the Second Century was Aristides. He was a Christian philosopher living in Athens. His apology was probably addressed to the emperor Antonius Pius about the year 138. In this apology he attempts to show how the religion and life of Christians is true and good whereas that of the barbarians and Greeks amounts to idolatry and immorality.³⁹

Perhaps the most outstanding of all the Apologists was Justin. According to Tertullian he was born in Samaria of a pagan Greek family. He was an outstanding Greek philosopher of the period who conducted his own school at Rome. He was converted to Christianity early in his career. He attempt-

ted to harmonize Christianity with Greek philosophical concepts following to a large extent Philo's attempt more than a century earlier to harmonize Old Testament teachings with Greek philosophy. Of his works only three are extant: two apologies addressed to the reigning emperor in which he demonstrates that Christian doctrine accords with and is superior to the best Greek philosophy; and another intended to demonstrate the relationship of Christianity to Judaism (Dialogue with Trypho). Justin was considered by the Roman authorities as "subversive" which led to his martyrdom in 165.⁴⁰

Tatian, a native of Assyria, was a disciple of Justin. Unlike Justin, instead of trying to harmonize Greek philosophy with Christianity, he sets them in opposition to each other. The truth of Christianity is set over against the error of Greek philosophy. His Adversus Graecos, written about 170, was a fierce attack on Greek culture. Before his death he had promoted a highly encratic way of life for Christians.⁴¹

Melito of Sardis wrote an apology to Marcus Aurelius about the year 176 of which only fragments are extant. His Pascal Homily has proven important in tracing the early development of Christian theology.⁴²

Athenagoras was a philosopher at Athens. His Legatio seu Supplicatio pro Christianis was addressed to Marcus Aurelius about 177. He refutes the three principal charges brought against Christians. In De Resurrectione he attempts to establish the reasonableness of belief in the resurrection of the body.⁴³

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, wrote three books about the year 180. These were dedicated to Autolicus, a pagan friend. These writings constitute, in a sense, an official

reply to the anti-Christian writer Celsus. One of his books is on God, a second deals with the origin of the world and a third treats of Scripture. Of his other works, only fragments remain.⁴⁴

Although the Apologists did not succeed in reversing the official Roman policy of intolerance toward Christians, their efforts were not wasted. One may say that the persecution provided important motivation for these Christian intellectuals to come to terms with the realities of the pagan world. They found it necessary to reassess on a broader scale the truths of the faith in the light of human knowledge. They had to see the Faith in the light of the hellenic world-view. This meant that they had to consider the salvation of man from the perspective of the hellenic concepts regarding the origin and nature of the Cosmos, the nature of man and the significance of events in time. Already in these writings we find attempts to correlate cosmic history and salvation history.

Since the Christian Faith was regarded by the pagan intellectuals as a new "superstition", the apologists had to show it as credible and acceptable to the Greco-Roman mind. They hoped to dispel this prejudice by linking historically and logically the Christian Faith with the ancient and venerable traditions. This required demonstrating its ties with the long tradition of Jewish salvation history from which the Christians had seemed to have separated as well as showing the correlations between Judeo-Christian salvation history and the long-standing conceptions of the Greek philosophical tradition. This resulted in the emergence of new theological developments in the Church.

This process which has often been termed a "Christianization of Hellenism" was not without its dangers. The Christian writers themselves were aware that in this mission

to the Greeks they must keep the essential message of the Gospel intact.⁴⁵ Since the lines between orthodoxy and heterodoxy were not yet clearly drawn, these writers had to sense in what direction the truth must lie. Sometimes this was indicated quite clearly when the excesses of certain radical movements like those of the Gnostics led to conclusions that were clearly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel as it had been handed on in Church tradition.⁴⁶ Insofar as Irenæus' position and role in the Second Century attempt at consolidating the true direction of theology is concerned, one may say that the general lines of an emerging theology seemed to reach a certain ripening and completion in his works. Several authors have, in recent years, covered this development from one point of view or another. Hans von Campenhausen has followed a development up to and including Irenæus in a way that bears directly upon our thesis.⁴⁷ Let us briefly consider the aspects of that development relevant to our topic.

iii. Development of a Christian Salvation History

Right from the start the Church considered the Old Testament as Sacred History.⁴⁸ The events of the Old Testament were reinterpreted from the "Christ event". For example, Jesus was the Messiah foretold in the Prophets. Jesus was the ultimate anointed King of the line of David. In the Acts we witness Stephen's "history-discourse" to the Jews which is designed to demonstrate the key position of Jesus in relation to the Old Testament salvation history.

Following upon New Testament writers we have those of the Early Church of the Second Century. These accentuate the prophetic character of the Old Testament personalities and events as types of Christ and the Church.⁴⁹ For example, Jonah in the whale is seen as a type of Christ in His passion and death. Along with these positive references one can

observe a developing anti-Jewish exegesis. Since the Jews reject the Gospel and the Church, this is shown to parallel the many instances of the Jews' rejection of God in the Old Testament as well. No doubt this attitude is motivated by the original persecution of the early Church by the Jewish authorities and further enhanced by a desire to dissociate from the Jews in view of the Roman persecution of Jews during the times of the Jewish revolts. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was therefore taken as a clear sign of God's judgement and the end of the Old Testament era. The Crucifixion was viewed as the last frightful apostasy of Judaism.

For the early Church the prophetic and the anti-Judaic view of the old salvation history went hand-in-hand. They both drew their meaning from the Christ-event which was at one and the same time the fulfillment of prophecy and the sealing of the fate of His rebellious people. For the moment there seemed to be no need to explore the matter further.⁵⁰ Nevertheless such a view left certain questions unanswered and presented special difficulties. For one thing, the matter of what values from the Old Testament should be retained in the Church had not been completely settled. The Mosaic Law posed special problems in this regard. Since the Mosaic Law is the perfect law of God, in what sense must it be retained?

Paul had come to grips with this question before when, in his particular situation, he could not avoid it. He had to have recourse to biblical history. He went back to Abraham to show that in the beginning justification was acquired through faith and not the Law. In this way the Law could be seen as a sort of divine historical expedient in view of the condition of sin (Rom 2-7). This first attempt by Paul at an historical solution to the problem was not pursued by early Church leaders. This was partly due to the fact that by this time they had separated from Jews and were free of the Law...there was no

pressing need to settle the issue.⁵¹

It is only with the advent of the Apologists that we can detect a serious attempt at developing a consistent Christian salvation-history. Undoubtedly this was motivated by the need to justify the Christian presence in the intellectual and religious life of the Greco-Roman world. By the middle of the Second Century we can discern the beginnings of a new stage in the development of salvation-history. Its basic thrust is the viewing of Old and New Testament as manifestations of one overall continuous divine economy.

Although Melito of Sardis (d ca. 190) appears somewhat later, Campenhausen sees him as the most typical representative of a tradition which effects the transition to this new approach. This is not an entirely original creation but rather the expression of a developing theology exhibiting similar basic traits.⁵² In his Pascal Homily, Melito stands clearly in the "allegorical typology" tradition yet his way of employing it is historical in a different way. He employs the events of the Passover as recorded in Exodus as a type of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. Moreover, he shows that the whole of the Old Testament is full of types foreshadowing the saving passion of the Lord. Melito, however, places real value in the historical types themselves. The historical persons involved really share efficaciously in the Passion of Christ. Furthermore, Melito is aware of an historical order in these events. This order is determined by the activity of Christ Himself in history according as He fulfills the Father's creative design. In the words of O. Perler

Cette théophanie grandiose est suivie d'une énumération solennelle des diverses activités du Christ dans l'histoire de l'univers. Elle se termine ainsi: "Par lui le Père a fait tout dès le commencement jusque dans l'éternité." "C'est lui qui est l'alpha et l'oméga, c'est lui qui est le commencement et la fin", no. 104,811-105,813.⁵³

Melito understands that in this "economy" Christ suffered with and in the "just" of the Old Testament. The Passion of Christ thus fulfills the whole progress of salvation history which is recapitulated in the history of His own life from birth to resurrection. In this way the Old and New Testaments are united as one history. Already in this tradition as represented by Melito we can detect the outlines of a Christ-centered cosmological and soteriological salvation-history.

Justin (d ca. 165) seems to represent a further development on the abovementioned tradition represented by Melito. One can observe the same kind of historical typology within the same all-embracing economy of salvation. Justin, however, goes a step further. He attempts to answer the question as to why certain laws given by God to the Jews of the Old Testament no longer apply. No doubt he was motivated in this enterprise by a desire to defend the Law against the Gnostics who were proposing that its origin was from a different and lesser God. His solution is to state that God did, in fact, give real power to the law in view of the fact that it was a special step or stage in the divine plan. That stage has now given way to a new stage and therefore the rigour of the law no longer applies. In this way we have a past that moves step-by-step progressively to Christ. The anti-Jewish aspects so prominent in earlier theologies are now pushed into the background and the accent is placed on the unity and continuity of the two testaments.⁵⁴

Irenaeus is fully in the tradition of this historically oriented theology. He builds upon the traditions of his predecessors and contemporaries. Actually the contact was very close as there is every indication that he knew both Melito and Justin personally as well as other outstanding Christian writers of the period. Unfortunately, Irenaeus does not as a rule name his sources so that it is very diffic-

ult to know how he derived his ideas and patterns of thought. While attempts at delineating these sources have been in the main unsuccessful, they have nevertheless served to indicate that the lines of his theology are similar in many respects to his predecessors and contemporaries.

Progressively in this line of salvation-history development, Campenhausen includes Irenaeus (d ca. 200) and Theophilus of Antioch (d 180). Insofar as Irenaeus is concerned it is our stated purpose to demonstrate a development which includes a theological view of history that is unique in its comprehensive and all-embracing qualities. We shall see this to be true even though the influence of Irenaeus' predecessors and contemporaries (including Theophilus) may have been enormous. The similarities and parallels between them and Irenaeus is demonstrated by many authors even though there has been considerable controversy as to the manner in which or the extent to which he employed and/or absorbed their works into his.⁵⁵

If the more or less orthodox authors were an imposing formative factor in Irenaeus' milieu, no less imposing and no less formative (in a negative sense) were the heterodox schools of the Gnostics of his day. Although it now seems unlikely that these movements arose from within the Church itself or, for that matter, from Judaism, they had taken on and distorted enough of the elements of Judeo-Christian doctrine to constitute a serious danger to the Faith. Moreover they had surreptitiously invaded the membership of the Church and, from a pastoral point of view, were of immediate concern to Irenaeus.

If we may say that it was the cosmic and historical view that characterized the "orthodox" approach in Second Century doctrinal development, it was, in Irenaeus' view at least, an anti-cosmic and anti-historical view that characterized

the essence of the Gnostic error. We may detect an awareness of this fact already in Melito and Justin and a consequent anti-Gnostic approach in these and other Christian authors. In Irenæus, however, this was his principal concern and motivation which prompted him to produce his written testimony to orthodoxy.

iv. Valentinian Gnosticism

Although Irenæus describes several branches of radical Second Century Gnosticism, he singles out the Valentinians as the principal group. He describes the speculative system of Ptolemaeus as representative of that group even though there are relatively minor variations within the group itself. We shall present here the basic tenets of this system as described by Irenæus.⁵⁶

a. The Pleroma: The Pleroma consists of thirty aeons. These are divine beings which were produced in male-female pairs by way of a series of emanations which originated in the first eternal aeon. Propator (Father), also called Bythus, is perfect and preexistent to all. He is eternal, unbegotten, invisible and incomprehensible. Existing along with him is his Ennoia (Thought) also called Sige (Silence). By way of a kind of conception from Propator, Ennoia brings forth a male aeon, Nous (Mind), who is also called Monogenes (the First-begotten), and a female aeon, Aletheia (Truth). Only Nous who is like and equal to the Father can comprehend him. These four comprise the first Tetrad.

Nous with his consort Aletheia now produces the pair Logos (Word) and Zoe (Life). The former is father of all things coming after him and the latter, the beginning and form-mother of the whole Pleroma. From these emanate, in turn, Anthropos (Man) and Ecclesia (Church). All of the foregoing aeons together constitute the original Ogdoad. From Logos and

Zoe are produced ten more aeons and from Anthropos and Ecclesia, twelve. The last female aeon to be produced is Sophia. These thirty aeons altogether constitute the Fullness (Pleroma).

b. The Fall and Recovery of Sophia: The Pleroma exists in unity and harmony. To all of the aeons except Monogenes, Propator remains invisible and incomprehensible. Monogenes wished to communicate his knowledge to the other aeons but was restrained by the Father through Sige for he wished that they continue to desire and seek him. The aeon most removed from Propator, Sophia, nevertheless leapt forward apart from her consort (by virtue of a passion originating from Nous and Aletheia) to such an extent that she went beyond the limits of her power. It was folly and presumption to attempt to comprehend Propator's greatness. This being impossible, she fell into great agony and would have been destroyed in the sweetness of the Abyss were it not for Horos (Limit) who restrained her and brought her back to herself. But the Intention (enthymesis) and passion that she abandoned now subsist by themselves as a formless entity.

c. Consequences of the Fall: At sight of the formless entity which is the objectivation of her passion, Sophia is moved with varying emotions: grief, fear, bewilderment, shock and repentance. These passions also become embodied in the formless entity. This Intention and the Passion caused by it, once conceived and affected, cannot be undone. It is a formless spiritual substance which must be expelled from the Pleroma. Thus Horos now separates what is inside the Pleroma from what is outside of it. The appearance of Horos is therefore the beginning of this special type of Gnostic dualism.⁵⁷

d. Restoration of the Pleroma: The event of the fall of Sophia disturbed the peace and harmony of the Pleroma especially in Sophia herself who was full of grief about her enthymesis which had to be expelled. The aeons therefore beseeched the Father on her behalf whereupon he produced Christ and the Holy Spirit to deal with the disharmony lest a similar calamity occur again. Their mission is to restore peace to the aeons and to grant form to the enthymesis of Sophia now expelled. Christos reestablishes this harmony by enlightening the aeons on the unknowability of the Father (i.e., Gnosis) and reconciling them to their proper station within the Pleroma. Perfect peace now reigns and from the ensuing unity the whole Pleroma give birth to a new unpaired aeon, Jesus, in whom their new unity is gathered and symbolized. He is the "perfect fruit" of the Pleroma.

e. Events Outside the Pleroma: The rejected enthymesis of Sophia outside the Pleroma is a new personal being who is called the Lower Sophia or Achamoth. Christos, reaching out over Horos (or Stauros) imparts to her a first fashioning (but not the informing due to knowledge) and returns into the Pleroma. By the action of Horos, Lower Sophia receives a more acute awareness of her separation from the longing for the Pleroma.

f. Suffering of the Lower Sophia: The Lower Sophia undergoes on her own level the same suffering as the Sophia above except that these passions now become definitive states of being which constitute the extra-pleromatic world. This "substance" is psychical as well as material. The various aspects of the material world derive from these various passions.

g. The Origin of Matter: The aeons of the Pleroma had pity on Achamoth as she suffered in her desire for Christos. They sent Jesus to her to be her consort and to cure her. Jesus with the angels (who had emanated with him) emerged from the Pleroma and cured her by imparting the "informing" of knowledge. He separated her passions from her and formed them into independent substances which now received the capacity to enter into compounds and form bodies. Achamoth received the celestial light from Jesus and his angels and from their conception came pneumatic (spiritual) fruit in their image. This is the origin of the pneumatic element existing in the extra-pleromatic world which is eventually deposited in certain men. After being informed by "knowledge" (Gnosis) it is destined eventually to enter the Pleroma. The three distinctly different kinds of substance within this world therefore all originate from Sophia. The material substance originated from her passion, the psychic from her "turning back" and the spritiual (pneuma) from her union with Jesus, the Savior. She had the power to give shape and form to the first two but the last, being of the same essence as herself, had to derive its form from above.

h. The Demiurge and the Creation of the World: Achamoth now forms the demiurge as supreme father and creator of all things outside of the Pleroma. He is father of all psychical substances and "artificer" of all material things. The Demiurge is unaware, however, that this creation is actually guided by Achamoth.

The structure of the creation is cosmic with seven concentric realms (heavens) encircling the earth. The Demiurge is called the "Heptad" and Achamoth the "Ogdoad" as she inhabits a realm above the seventh heaven but below and outside the Pleroma. There she must remain until the "consummation".

The Demiurge is an extremely important Gnostic concept for in him rests the explanation for the nature of our world and our terrestrial historical existence. These are his characteristics.⁵⁸ He is psychic by nature as opposed to Sophia who is pneumatic.⁵⁹ He is ignorant of all things above him even of his own mother, Achamoth. Of the things he himself has created he is "unthinking and foolish" and doesn't know what he does or effects.⁶⁰ This makes it easy for Achamoth to insert her own designs into creation.⁶¹ He is conceited and presumptuous. He thinks himself to be the only God. Were Sophia to enlighten him, he would divulge it to no one.⁶² This means, in effect, that in order that man might receive the saving gnosis, Sophia must resort to an agent of her own. This agent is the "incarnate" Jesus or Christos from the Pleroma in the person of the "historical" or dispensational Jesus.⁶³ Some Gnostics claim that the mother sometimes conveyed the message of Christ's advent by disguising her message in the words of the prophets of the Old Testament but others call them "ignorant fools speaking for a foolish God".⁶⁴ In Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, however, a more moderate view is taken.⁶⁵ Finally, the Demiurge is a God of "justice" as opposed to the Father above who is a God of love and mercy.⁶⁶

Two doctrines concerning the Demiurge which are peculiar to the Valentinian school are: a. The Cosmocrator (Devil) together with his demons (Archonts in the Barbelo system) are creatures of the Demiurge. These are created from "spiritual substance of wickedness" originating from the grief or perplexity of Sophia. It is peculiar that he knows about things above himself whereas the Demiurge does not.⁶⁷ b. Demiurge's ignorance of the Pleroma is not entirely complete as his creation of time according to "times, epochs and great number of years" was an attempt to imitate the infinite and eternal nature of the Ogdoad.⁶⁸

v. Gnosticism and Time

Nowhere is it possible to find an explicit statement on the Gnostic conception of time. Consequently all conclusions on this subject must be drawn indirectly by inference from how man's earthly condition is conceived.

H-C. Puech believes that, in spite of the lack of specific references to "time" as such, the "time problem" is nevertheless at the heart of the Gnostic doctrine.⁶⁹ Insights into their view of time may be gained by observing what happens to aspects of other world-views such as the hellenistic and the Christian when they are incorporated into the Gnostic system. According to Puech, what characterizes the Gnostic conception of time is a revolt against world and time conceptions that were popular at that time, e.g., those of hellenism and Christianity

...le comportement de la Gnose à l'égard du temps et, plus généralement, du monde se caractérise d'emblée par un mouvement de révolte contre le temps et le monde tels que les concevaient - de façon divergente, du reste - l'hellénisme et le christianisme, c'est-à-dire les philosophies ou les religions des milieux où le gnosticisme se répand et auxquels il s'adapte durant les premiers siècles de notre ère.⁷⁰

In this connection one must realize that the Gnostic is not reacting as though he possessed a point of view totally foreign and unique in all respects to other philosophical or religious systems. From the point of view of Christian heresy this Gnosis is specified by the fact that it incorporates aspects of the Judeo-Christian tradition into an essentially "dualistic" view of the Deity. This constitutes the root of its heresy because orthodox Christianity is by its very nature essentially monotheistic. But there were apparently orthodox Christian theologies developed which possessed a certain "dualistic" conception of man which paralleled to a degree the

Gnostic dualism, e.g., those of the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen.

There were, again, other aspects of Gnosticism which seemed to have a broader base than within the heretical Gnostics. The esoteric character of Gnosticism was widespread during this period. Many groups believed that they were the "chosen" few who could know inner mysteries of the heavenly world. Third century Manicheism as well as being strictly dualistic would fall into this category. Yet it was an amalgamation of many earlier gnostic traditions: Babylonian, Iranian and possibly also Buddhist.⁷¹ There was also the purely pagan gnosticism of "hermetism" and theosophy: the Hermes Trismegistos.⁷² Even the belief in angels and detailed apocalyptic events which was widespread among Christians and believers generally could be classed as "gnostic". History of religion scholars have long been asking whether or not "gnosticism" in the broad sense is, in fact, a general phenomenon of the history of religion.⁷³

When some Christian historians considered the Gnostic heresy in relation to Christianity they tended to think of it as a result of a hellenization of Christianity pursued to the extreme (e.g., Harnack, Burkitt, Casey...). They came to this conclusion primarily by way of the Gnostic conception of time. The hellenic concept evaluates the temporal in terms of a postulated a-temporal. Since the Gnostic tends to transpose the essentially historical vision of Christianity to a-temporal perspectives, it was easy to confuse this with the hellenic view.

Other investigators (Bousset, Reitzenstein, Lietzmann...) however, saw Gnosticism as the consequence of a penetration or invasion of Christianity by oriental influences in which case the time idea would be mythical.

It would appear that neither of these two conclusions is exactly correct. It is true, of course, that Gnosticism uses Christian elements and that it also has a certain hellenic perspective. Puech, however, makes it his purpose to prove that not only does the Gnostic time concept differ in essence from both the hellenic and Christian conceptions, but that it effectively rejects them.⁷⁴ On the other hand, Puech is able to prove that Gnosticism differs essentially from Oriental-mythical conceptions of time as well. He arrives at the conclusion that it is mythical in nature but not in the same way as that of the oriental religions. In brief, in respect to other conceptions of time, the Gnostic view is in essence quite unique.

This uniqueness of the Gnostic conception may be drawn by implication, for example, from the Valentinian system described above. The division of the "divine" world into two "gods" in opposition to each other continues into the realm of time. The god of creation and nature inflicts time and dominates it; the god of salvation and grace delivers from it. The universe also is split into two domains which are at cross purposes with each other: the one invisible and spiritual, the other visible and material.

What happens when this Gnostic theme combines with the "Weltanschauung" of hellenism or Christianity? Certainly Gnosticism adopts the image of a hierarchic universe (common to the Mediterranean world at that time) all the way from, celestial beings to terrestrial realities. Yet only the framework is similar. The manner of its acceptance is not.

The Greek system is a "cosmos" where the idea of order is an essential ingredient. This order is all-prevading and reflects the divine. The divinity above manifests its action and immutable presence in the celestial cosmos by the intermediary of regular movement. It never ceases to animate the

astronomical world which, in turn, transmits this regularity to the lower rhythms of duration of the "here-below". Thus the stars in virtue of their regularity or the world in respect to its harmonious totality may be considered as "divine".

For the Gnostics, on the other hand, it is inferior or evil beings, the Demiurge, demons or "Archonts" who govern the order of the stars. Consequently the action and position of the stars exert a tyrannical slavery on man and human affairs. Only in this limited and distorted sense can the world be termed "divine".⁷⁵ The action of the supreme God of love, the Father, together with the Pleroma is to destroy or "break" this tyrannical order of the cosmos or "heimarmene". Jesus is sent from the Pleroma to break the heimarmene and bring to the planetary spheres a diametrically opposed movement. Puech is correct in his observation that the cosmos "borrowed" from hellenism is not accepted in this essential respect. It would be correct therefore to say that the Gnostic system is "anti-cosmic" or "acosmic".⁷⁶

We must also concur with Puech's conclusion in respect to the corresponding notion of time in this system. Unlike the Greek system, the Gnostic conception of time places the "atemporal" (or intemporal) beyond the "temporal". This means that there is no common measure or commerce one with the other even by way of a de-gradation. Cosmic time receives the same condemnation as the cosmic world. Time is a creation of the Creator-god, the Demiurge, not in the manner of a true image of the eternal but as a caricature, a defective imitation with a chasm separating it from its model.⁷⁷

Let us now consider how the Gnostic conception of time is related to the Christian conception. When the "two-god" theory is transposed to the Christian cosmic conception, the "creator-god" is assimilated to the god of the Old Testament; especially as he is described in Genesis. The Demiurge now as Yahweh

creates and organizes the Cosmos. He establishes law whereby he exercises his proud, jealous dominion to the point of rigorous application of strict justice. On the other hand, the unknown transcendent god of peace and goodness is the Father of Jesus who reveals the utterly new and ineffable message of the Gospel and by this means pardons and saves. He is therefore incomparably superior to Jahweh, the Creator-god. As a consequence it follows that Christianity is necessarily completely detached from Judaism and therefore from all its historical perspective. It is totally new - without connection with past humanity. The revelation which Christ announces goes counter to all that man could know or do before. The prophets were servants of the Archontes or of the false God of Justice.⁷⁸

Thus with the coming of the Gnostic Christ, time does not reach a "fullness" and "centre" as in the Christian system, but rather is broken into two mutually contradictory parts where the second part dissolves the first and renders it vain. History must therefore be pointless since it is the result of the work of the inferior god. When the transcendent God suddenly intervenes, he breaks it into two revealing it as an imposture.

Clearly, the non-historical or anti-historical character of the Gnostic cosmic view runs counter to the essentially historical nature of the Christian view. Irenæus' long and elaborate argumentations on the various historical continuities of the Old and New Testaments especially through Book IV of Adv. Haer. clearly shows that he understands what is involved here and the importance of his anti-Gnostic endeavour.⁷⁹

3. Irenaeus' Approach to Theology

Just prior to and during Irenaeus' time a major preoccupation of Church leaders was to try to persuade the Roman authorities of the validity of the Christian faith. The threat of persecution was present in Irenaeus' situation. He succeeded to the see at Lyons after his predecessor had suffered martyrdom. It is significant that in his extant writing Irenaeus does not direct his efforts against the persecutors of the Church but rather against the Gnostics. It signifies that he viewed Gnosticism as the more dangerous adversary. He writes as a Bishop deeply concerned about the growth of an heretical movement not only within his own flock but throughout the Church at large. Irenaeus' approach to theology is, first of all, anti-Gnostic.

At first glance, it might appear that his attitude and motivation arise more from pastoral than theological concerns. His opening words suggest that he attacks Gnosticism to protect his flock

...These men falsify the Oracles of God and prove themselves evil interpreters of the good word of revelation. They also overthrow the faith of many, by drawing them away, under a pretense of superior knowledge...⁸⁰

In opposing the "knowledge" of the Gnostics, however, Irenaeus is not against knowledge as such or the pursuit of it.⁸¹ He merely warns that one's approach to the mysteries of God must be humble according as our created status renders us incapable of penetrating these mysteries.⁸² His own humble approach is first to thoroughly expose the false doctrines of the enemies of the Faith before attempting to explain Christian doctrine itself. The first two books of the Adversus Haereses are written to realize this objective

...In fine, as I (to gratify thy long-cherished desire for information regarding the tenets of these persons) have spared no pains, not only to make these doctrines known to thee, but also to furnish the means of showing their falsity...⁸³

In the third book of Adversus Haereses before he begins his explanation of the true doctrine, Irenaeus deems it necessary to establish how and where authority operates in the teaching of the faith. Authors differ considerably in their interpretation of this part of Irenaeus' work. Such differences are no doubt attributable in large measure to the fact that Irenaeus presents several authorities as involved in the process of conveying truth: Scripture, Tradition, Ecclesiastical Magisterium, regula veritatis (Rule of Faith), Revelation, Bishops and the Creed. Philip Hefner makes a strong case for a "highest authority" which allows an important perspective on each of the others. At the same time this perspective deepens our understanding of Irenaeus' theological approach

One highest authority stands out rather clearly in his work; it gives him the substance of his assertions, and it serves as a lever for compelling the attention of his audience, as well as a source for self-confidence.⁸⁴

The "highest authority" for Irenaeus is "the system, framework or ὑπόθεσις ("hypothesis") of the Faith whose substance is comprised in God's redemptive dispensations on man's behalf.

The whole point of Adversus Haereses is to show that this "hypothesis" is utterly different from and superior to that other "hypothesis" that the Gnostics have advanced. This system is truth whereas that of the Gnostics is figment, blasphemy, pseudo-knowledge.⁸⁵ This is his whole operating concept to which several words relate: ὑπόθεσις, argumentum and regula. Hefner's investigations into the meaning of the terms seems to justify his contention that we are dealing

here with a normative concept, i.e., "a first principle from which the very being of the thing in question unfolds."⁸⁶ It is an organic structure or framework which is constituted by God's dispensational action on behalf of men. It is what was announced by the prophets, what happened in Christ, what the Apostles bore witness to and what the Church received, maintains and proclaims. It is, in short, the total communication of God with men in its full historical dimension. The authoritative value of all the other factors in this communication hinges upon the fact that without them one would not grasp the "hypothesis". At the same time, without the "hypothesis" Prophets, Christ, Apostles, Church, Bishops, Scripture... would have no significance.⁸⁷

What is the origin of this "hypothesis"? It is rooted in God Himself, in the "economy" of redemption and in God's revealing Himself to man. This would imply, of course, the integration into one consistent whole of all the events that give history its meaning and purpose: Creation, the history of the Patriarchs, the Prophets and the Law, the Christ-event, the Church and the Last Things. Thus the origin of the "hypothesis" is in God but it becomes reality by way of a history governed by events necessarily connected by divine intention, i.e., an "economy".

Hefner's thesis is most helpful in that it directs attention to the focal point of Irenaeus' "authority" in his approach to his theology. It points to historical realities. The framework of the "hypothesis" is realized, after all, in the divine framework of history which embraces time from beginning to end. God is truth but He makes Himself known and loved by way of events in time; not in a haphazard fashion but in an ordered sequence of unfolding from an all-embracing Plan. It is the Gnostic's failure to see the role of history in the "gnosis" of God that makes their error most evident.

We shall see how Irenaeus, both in laying bare the error and in portraying the true "hypothesis", reveals an underlying view of salvation history.

CHAPTER II

WORD OF GOD: LORD OF HISTORY

Before beginning a search for Irenaeus' view of history it is important to realize that he does not write with the intention of explaining the meaning of history as such. His primary object is to refute the Gnostic system and at the same time explain and expose the truth of orthodox Christian belief. Consequently his work tends to be polemic and pastoral in tone and is not organized along the lines of a speculative system.

In this context one would search in vain for specific statements on the nature of history or its importance for understanding the gospel. He nevertheless does have a profound sense of history which penetrates and influences all areas of his theological system. This historical view, however, is implied and not stated directly. It is only by studying the various facets of this theological system that one discovers the nature and role of the historical view implied within it.

As we study the polemic in Adversus Haereses we can detect an awareness in Irenaeus that the error of the Gnostics is due, at least in part, to a false conception of history as the Christian must understand it. For this reason we shall discover the various theological facets of his concept of history coming to light in his arguments with the Gnostics over various points of doctrine.

A logical place to begin our investigation is in the area of Irenaeus' conception of God. For reasons already considered in the Introduction¹ Irenaeus' conception of God must be seen as theological rather than philosophical. First of all, Irenaeus' knowledge of philosophy is minimal and his use of it in his writings is mainly rhetorical.² Secondly,

it was Irenaeus' firm conviction that we know God only to the extent that He chooses to reveal Himself. The key to this revelation is Jesus of Nazareth and He is known only through the Judeo-Christian tradition. Thus Irenaeus would not be motivated to search for knowledge about God among philosophers.

Yet for all that Irenaeus could not escape from the many philosophical terms, phrases and nuances that were handed on to him from his predecessors and contemporaries of the Christian theological tradition. Nor could he escape from the general influence of the philosophical milieu of the time. This is not to suggest that this influence was such as to change his conception of God from a Christian conception to, let us say, something that is more Platonic or to lead him to compromise on the "breaking points" between Platonism and Christianity.³ Irenaeus seemed to have that peculiar ability to know what he could accept and what he could not in order to maintain and enrich the Faith and provide a fuller understanding of God.

Irenaeus' conception of God is very rich and varied. He has the ability to approach the subject of God from many points of view. He holds that God can be known not only from the multifold sources of the Judeo-Christian tradition but also from creation as well. A good approach to his conception of God would be a study of his dispute with the Gnostics on how one must understand Creation. The subject of creation is a central issue among the Gnostics generally and a subject of much meditation. Irenaeus spends a great deal of energy refuting the various Gnostic positions in this area. This of course leads into considerations on the principles of change and duration.

For Irenaeus, who interprets the Genesis accounts of creation literally, creation of the cosmos and creation of man are virtually coterminous. Cosmic development therefore

is understood in terms of the development of man. The close relationship between God, Creation and a conception of history becomes immediately apparent. The Creator is compared to the created; eternity to time. God is seen as both transcendent and immanent, invisible and visible, hidden and revealed.

1. God, the Creator

i. God is One and Transcendent

One must always be aware of the essential inadequacy of human concepts to describe God. What we today express as "otherness" or "transcendence", Irenaeus would express as "aboveness". God is above all human conception. Whereas we may properly apply such terms as "Understanding" or "light" to God it can only be done with a realization of their inadequacy. God remains essentially indescribable.

He is, however, above all these properties and therefore indescribable. For He may well and properly be called an Understanding which comprehends all things, but He is not on that account like the understanding of men; and He may most properly be termed Light, but He is nothing like that light with which we are acquainted. And so, in all other particulars, the Father of all is in no degree similar to human weakness. He is spoken of in these terms according to the love we bear Him; but in point of greatness, our thoughts regarding Him transcend these expressions....⁴

God is incomprehensible and indefinable. It is vain to attempt, as do the Gnostics, explanations of the inner life or motivations of God from speculation derived from various aspects of man.⁵ It is this transcendence which characterizes God and in respect of which He is utterly unique.⁶

Whatever is known about God is known by way of love for it is in love that we are led to God by His Word.⁷

Irenaeus seemed to possess a deep awareness of God's absolute perfection, sovereignty and power. There is nothing of inachievement, limitation or void in the "fullness" which is God Himself.⁸ Nothing can exist outside of God. There can be no "Kenoma", as the Gnostics suggest, since God is all in all.

Irenaeus holds to the Symbol of the Faith which confesses to the belief that God is triune: Father, Son and Spirit:

The Church...has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [She believes] in one God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven, the earth,...and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit...⁹

Although the existence of the Word (Son) of God is revealed in the Scriptures and held to by the Church, it is useless and vain to attempt speculation on the manner of His generation from the Father.¹⁰ God is one in spite of the proper application of the word "God" to the Son and the Spirit.¹¹ The Father, Son and Spirit exist always in mutual accord¹² and in mutual perfection.¹³

When Irenaeus states that God can be known only by His love, he means that it is the love relationship within the divine life that allows man access to God's knowledge and life. It is only in a love relationship that man begins to "see" God and enter into fellowship with Him. Here Irenaeus is following in the tradition of Second Century apologists who maintained that God can be known only by His Word. This is true even of knowledge of God that is gained through contemplation of creation. Such knowledge would have to have

the closest possible unity with that gained through the Incarnate Word.¹⁴ The Trinity takes into the communion of their knowledge whomsoever they will.¹⁵

ii. God and His Creation

In the mind of Irenaeus "God" and "Creator" are inseparably linked. He speaks repeatedly of God as "one" and God as "creator" to emphasize his opposition to the Gnostic position that the ultimate and supreme deity (Bythus) does not create and that creation must be the work of a lesser deity, the Demiurge. Since this latter is the result of a defect in the divine Pleroma, both he and creation are forever excluded from the Pleroma. Creation is essentially defective being.

Irenaeus, on the contrary, upholds the Judeo-Christian view that there is only one supreme deity who is Creator of all things both spiritual and material

Such then, are the first principles of the Gospel: that there is one God, the Maker of this universe; He who was also announced by the prophets, and who by Moses set forth the dispensation of the Law...which proclaim the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ignore any other God or Father except Him...¹⁶

For that all things, whether Angels or Archangels, or Thrones, or Dominations, were both established and created by Him who is God over all, through His Word, John has thus pointed out...¹⁷

Irenaeus himself considers his statements about the one God as Creator as being the most important just as it is the first article of faith in the Church's creed. J. Mambrino maintains that this emphasis on "Creator" is so strong in Irenaeus that it suggests irresistibly a permanent, continual creative action.¹⁸

God, however, is distinct from His creation. He, being uncreated, is a different kind of being altogether:

But the things established are distinct from Him who has established them, and what have been made from Him who has made them. For He is Himself uncreated both without beginning and end, and lacking nothing...19

This distinction between created and Uncreated is a most basic principle of theology. It establishes, for example, the contraries between the natures of God and man: Being versus becoming; eternity versus time; perfection versus imperfection...

And in this respect God differs from man, that God indeed makes, but man is made; and truly, He who makes is always the same; but that which is made must receive both beginning and middle and addition, and increase...God also is truly perfect in all things...but man receives advancement and increase...20

...He is Himself sufficient for Himself; and still further He grants to all others this very thing, existence; but the things which have been made by Him have received a beginning...21

While God, by virtue of his very essence is in no need whatsoever, man is constantly and always in need of God:

In the beginning, therefore, did God form Adam, not as if He stood in need of man, but that He might have [some one] upon whom to confer His benefits...Nor did He stand in need of our service when He ordered us to follow Him; but He thus bestowed salvation upon ourselves...22

The need to grow and to become which man has by virtue of his created status is a "law" which man must not transgress. Irenaeus implies that the Gnostics, like Adam, transgress this law when they wish to make themselves "like God"

Irrational, therefore, in every respect, are they who await not the time of increase, but ascribe to God the infirmity of their nature. Such persons know neither God nor themselves...but go beyond the law of the human race, and before that they become men, they wish to be even now like God their Creator...23

Created things have their whole being entirely from God. Irenaeus implies that if there might be a "matter" out of which things had been formed (a popular hypothesis among the Greeks) that also would have been created by God

...His power and goodness appear in this, that of His own will He called into being and fashioned things having no previous existence...²⁴

As opposed to the Gnostics who propose that creation arises from a being remote from the supreme deity, Irenaeus maintains that God creates directly by His Word and His Spirit. He needs no intermediaries distinct from Himself in the act of creating.²⁵

God, while being fully transcendent from His creation, is also fully immanent to it. So much is this true that all living things, especially man, live and move and have their being in Him. Paul is a main support for this doctrine

...He (Paul) said to them: "God, who made the world, and all things therein...dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is He touched...by men's hands, as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things..For in Him we live, and move, and have our being..."(Acts 17,24, etc.)²⁶

This is according to the original true gnosis concept of fullness ("pleroma") wherein God is the universal unity who contains all. No "kenoma" outside of God can possibly exist. God fills "all in all". R.A. Markus has shown how Valentinian Gnosis had departed radically from this original pleroma concept.²⁷ In the Valentinian system the supreme deity does not fill all in all but rather fills only a spiritual "Pleroma" of divine emanations. This world of matter is a "Kenoma" outside of divine presence and favour. It is the result of an original "fall" within and rejection from this Pleroma.

For Irenaeus, on the contrary, God is fully immanent to this world of history which He has created by His power in

full freedom. From within its innermost depths He governs and directs it according to His plan of love so that His munificence and glory might shine forth.²⁸ Moreover, the separated and degenerate creation of the Gnostics could not "bear" the Word of God or the Father within it. This is contrary to what is most emphatic in the Scriptures and the Church's teaching

...For indeed the creation could not have sustained Him /on the cross/, if He had sent forth /simply by commission/ what was the fruit of ignorance and defect. Now we have repeatedly shown that the Incarnate Word of God was suspended upon a tree... How, then, could the fruit of ignorance and defect sustain Him who contains the knowledge of all things, and is true and perfect? Or how could that creation which was concealed from the Father, and far removed from Him have sustained His Word? And if this world were made by the angels...when the Lord declared, "For I am in the Father, and the Father in Me." ...how could this workmanship of the angels have borne to be burdened at once with the Father and the Son? How, again, could that creation which is beyond the Pleroma have contained Him who contains the entire Pleroma? Inasmuch, then, as all these things are impossible and incapable of proof, that preaching of the Church is alone true /which proclaims/ that His own creation bore Him, which subsists by the power, the skill, and the wisdom of God; which is sustained, indeed, after an invisible manner by the Father, but, on the contrary, after a visible manner it bore His Word...²⁹

This creation carries the Word primarily from its very center, man. God is carried not in spirit ("pneuma") only but in body, soul and spirit as an integrated whole.³⁰ It is from man at the center that God acts creatively through time. Irenaeus wishes to demonstrate that there can be no "break" or dissolution of the continuity between God's act of creation and all other acts of God throughout history

...He it is who formed man, who planted paradise, who made the world, who gave rise to the flood, who saved Noah, He is the God of Abraham...the God of the living: He it is whom the law proclaims, whom the prophets preach, whom Christ reveals...³¹

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Why did creation come about? The Gnostics' answer to this question was born from a certain attitude or frame of mind about the world. In their view, this visible world of cosmos, of men and of history is defective in its very nature. It is a world which of necessity must run counter to man's true destiny and salvation. In other words, this world is alien to man. It is something to be rejected - to be freed from. From this point the Gnostic presupposes that there also can be no relationship between the all-perfect transcendent Father and creation. He cannot be the author of it. He must always remain totally aloof from it.

How, then, in the Gnostics' view, can one account for the existence of Creation? On other words, how is it possible to bridge the gap between the source of all things and an alienated creation? The Gnostic solution rests with the presupposition of a system of divine emanations which result in a series of divine beings of diminishing ontological value. Creation, then, results in an indirect fashion from a kind of accidental error in the Aeon most removed from the primordial Father.

Irenaeus' answer to the same question: why did Creation come about: is based on entirely different presuppositions about the created world. As we have seen above, God is the one and only God that must be intimately in contact with His creation at all times. He creates all from nothing. He creates freely and as He pleases. He is transcendent from and immanent within His creation at one and the same time. In this way does Irenaeus break down the chasm which the Gnostics have placed between the Uncreated and the created. J. Mambrino has shown how Irenaeus heightens the intimacy and active proximity of God to His creatures by special application of the Church's trinitarian doctrine. The analogy of the Word and the Spirit as the "hands" of God has many applications portraying a very special personal relationship of the Creator to His creatures.³²

Why does a God of such total self-sufficiency and freedom wish to create? He creates not out of need but simply because He wishes to be generous - to have someone on whom He may lavish His gifts.³³ All of God's creation is a gift to man.³⁴ This generosity reaches its ultimate measure in forgiveness as exemplified in the Cross. Indeed, the whole economy of salvation throughout history is divinely directed to man's benefit:

God, therefore, is one and the same, who rolls up the heaven as a book, and renews the face of the earth: who made the things of time for man, so that coming to maturity in them, he may produce the fruit of immortality: and who, through His kindness, also bestows upon him eternal things, "that in the ages to come He may show the exceeding riches of His grace:" (Eph. 2:7)...³⁵

The conception of a God who creates with "hands" as an artisan creates his art leads to another important Judeo-Christian concept: the created being is an "image" which must resemble the Archtype Creator. This resemblance must necessarily follow; otherwise one would have to accept defect in the artisan - an impossibility for God.³⁶

Balthasar's study on this theme points out important aspects of Irenaeus' historical view. Irenaeus understands the trinitarian relationship in God to be the measure of God's creation. The Son is the perfect measure of the Father. He is the Archtype in whom all things are created. It is for this reason that the Father needs no emanations or "world of ideas" or "Aeons" to function as types after which or by which things might be created.³⁷

It is the order and harmony of Creation as it moves through time, centers in man and manifests itself in history (according to the Scriptures) that expresses the wisdom, justice, goodness...of the divine Archtype.³⁸

In contradistinction to the all-powerful and independent God, His creature, man is totally dependent on Him. Man must therefore acknowledge his humble status. Man must have faith in God's infinite goodness and always hope for greater gifts from Him. Man is obliged, for this reason, to love, obey, serve and praise God always.³⁹

iii. Creation, Time and History

In Irenaeus' view, creation, by its very nature, must be linked to time. As far as man as creature is concerned, this means that Creation must also necessarily have a history. The Scriptures describe the religious history of man. By the very fact that created things begin to exist at some particular moment whereas before they were not, they can never have the uncreated status of the perfect God. They must therefore lack perfection. They do not have an eternal "before" but rather only an "after". This necessarily implies that they are "infantile" and in need of development and growth:

...But created things must be inferior to Him who created them, from the very fact of their later origin; for it is not possible for things recently created to have been uncreated. But inasmuch as they are not uncreated, for this very reason do they come short of the perfect. Because as these things are of later date, so are they infantile; so are they unaccustomed to, and unexercised in, perfect discipline...⁴⁰

All creation must move through time in a process of development and growth. Where man is concerned, this necessarily means a "history" of "progressive education" wherein is involved a development of the whole man especially in his relationship to his Creator. Man's growth has a direction, i.e., toward the Uncreated. Duration and time is clearly coincident with God-sustained and God-directed development. One would be inconceivable without the other:

...For from the very fact of these things having been created, it follows that they are not uncreated; but by their continuing in being throughout a long course of ages, they shall receive a faculty of the Uncreated, through the gratuitous bestowal of eternal existence upon them by God...But being in subjection to God is continuance in immortality, and immortality is the glory of the uncreated One...⁴¹

This necessity for time in man's development establishes what must be the fundamental attitude of man towards his Creator. One must humbly and patiently await the transforming hand of the Creator

...If then thou art God's workmanship, await the hand of thy Maker which creates everything in due time; in due time as far as thou art concerned, whose creation is being carried out...⁴²

This time-conditioned aspect of the created being implies a constant dependence on God. This dependence is not restricted to the initial point of creation but endures as long as an individual exists

...But whatever things had a beginning, and are liable to dissolution, and are subject to and stand in need of Him who made them, must necessarily in all respects have a different term (applied to them).⁴³

At this point it must be reemphasized that this conception of time and history represents a development of the Judeo-Christian view that each event in the history of salvation is unique. Like the initial event of creation itself, each such event brings something entirely new into existence which never existed before and will now, at least in its consequences, endure forever.

This Judeo-Christian view of history was quite new and in opposition to that generally held in ancient times. The prevailing Middle Platonic view, inspired mainly by Greek philosophy, was that time is caught up in an "eternal return." It is therefore merely a reflection or expression of an eternal

order. No event, in this view, could ever be unique or charged with eternal consequences.⁴⁴

This understanding of irreversible progress in time is now blended with the insight expressed above that the created is made in the image of the Creator. It must necessarily follow that this creation in the image is not completed once and for all at the beginning but rather that it comes about gradually in a process of development through time

And therefore throughout all time, man, having been moulded at the beginning by the hands of God, that is of the Son and of the Spirit, is made after the image and likeness of God...⁴⁵

This progress of man is slow but orderly. Man becomes accustomed to each degree of development and to the help given at each step along the way.⁴⁶ Yet one must be always willing to advance and not to remain in retrograde steps.⁴⁷ Moreover, man must respect the divine purpose intended for each step:

...And how do the Scriptures testify of Him, unless all things had ever been revealed and shown to believers by one and the same God through the Word; He at one time conferring with His creature, and at another propounding His law; at one time again reproving, at another exhorting, and then setting free His servant, and adopting him as a son (in filium); and, at the proper time, bestowing an incorruptible inheritance⁴⁸ for the purpose of bringing man to perfection?...⁴⁸

This historical sequence of development may be viewed as a kind of "framework" which sets the pattern which every man ascends to God. To recognize this is of great benefit:

...But by preserving the framework thou shalt ascend to that which is perfect, for the moist clay which is in thee is hidden by the workmanship of God... If, then, thou shalt deliver up to Him what is thine, that is, faith towards him and subjection, thou shalt receive his handiwork, and shall be a perfect work of God...⁴⁹

It is precisely in his cooperating within this "framework" that man realizes his own freedom.⁵⁰

iv. God Creates by His Word and His Spirit

In order to understand what Irenaeus means by saying that God creates by His Word we must first of all understand what he means by "the Word". The Word is identified with Him who is incarnate in Jesus. Jesus is named both "Son of God" and "Word" in such a way that both refer to the same Person. Jesus is the Word and He is also the Son of God.⁵¹

It is clear from many texts that Irenaeus understands that the Word existed before creation (and consequently before time began). He invariably mentions the Word's preexistence to creation in connection with His role as the One "by whom all things were created

As it has been clearly demonstrated that the Word who existed in the beginning with God, by whom all things were made...⁵²

I have also largely demonstrated, that the Word, namely the Son, was always with the Father; and that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was present with Him, anterior to all creation... There is therefore one God, who by the Word and Wisdom created and arranged all things...⁵³

...And that there was born a Son of God, that is, not only before His appearance in the world, but also before the world was made... To this purpose also His disciple John, telling us who God's Son is, who was with the Father before the world was made, says also, that it was through Him that all creatures were made...⁵⁴

Although we are confining our attention for the moment to the role of the Word in and His preexistence to creation, we must bear in mind the close association of the Spirit in the divine work of creation. This will be more evident below.

The Word is Creator with the Father in an active sense. He does not withdraw from that which He has made but remains inherent within it. This inherence is manifested in a special way when He is made man

For the Creator of the World is truly the Word of God; and this is our Lord, who in the last times was made man, existing in this world, and who in an invisible manner contains all things created, and is inherent in the entire creation, since the Word of God governs and arranges all things...⁵⁵

Granted that the Word is inherent to a changing Creation, what, then, is His precise relationship to time and to history? The answer to this question is difficult to find in Irenaeus partly because conceptions of duration ranging from the "eternal" to the "temporal" differ considerably from modern conceptions. According to A. Orbe, early Church writers including Irenaeus were accustomed to think in terms of three types of duration: "eternal", ante tempus and "temporal".⁵⁶ Eternal duration applies to God alone and signifies a state of being without beginning or end. To this state of being are predicated all the attributes of divine perfection. Ante tempus refers to a duration with a beginning. It is a state of being other than by way of creation yet exists for the purpose of creation. This state is proper to the "substantial Wisdom". Temporal duration begins with creation which occurs in three stages:

- a. creation of non-formed substance (creatio prima)
- b. creation of all things in the Cosmos from the creatio prima. This state involves a moulding and forming process (creatio secunda)
- c. a dynamic inner effecting of change which brings all creatures of the Cosmos to their proper end or destiny ("teleiosis").

At this point in our investigation certain basic questions should be asked. In Irenaeus' view, is the "Word of God" divine? Is He "eternal"? Is the Son's (i.e., the Word's) generation from the Father eternal and necessary or does it come about by an act of the divine will? When we realize the complexity of the concepts involved, it is not surprising that answers to such questions have not been easy to find. Among investigators there has been much controversy over meaning of passages in Irenaeus which could provide clues to the resolution of these questions. While a thoroughgoing investigation of these questions is beyond the scope of this work, some observations would contribute to our purpose.

First of all, it must be said that Irenaeus never considers the Word in se ipso but always in view of the divine work of creation and salvation. More precisely, the Word is always seen from the historical event of the Incarnation. From this point of view at least, the Word is understood to be divine (Cf below, p 119-122). One text where this meaning is very clear is

...He, therefore, who was known, was not a different being from Him who declared, "No man knoweth the Father", but one and the same, the Father making all things subject to Him; while He received testimony from all that He was very man, and that He was very God...⁵⁷

Seeing that "eternal duration" is an attribute most specifically divine, it might seem curious that Irenaeus does not apply that type of duration to the divine Word of God in his extant writings. Juan Ochagavia has suggested three reasons for his reluctance to speak of the Word in this way:

...The attribute "eternal" was at that time almost inextricably linked to "ingenerate" ($\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$) or to "uncreated" ($\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$), which were both predicated of God the Father. Hence we can well understand the unwillingness of Irenaeus to call

the Son eternal; if the Eternal is the Ingenerate Father, how could he name the Only begotten also "eternal"? Secondly, the contest of the Gnostic controversy did not circle around the eternal generation of the Son, but around His revealing activity in the Old Testament. While the Gnostics affirmed that the Son had not manifested Himself to man, and hence that the Father had remained unknown in the Ancient Economy, Irenaeus insisted on His activity "from the beginning" as the Hand and the Manifestation of the Father. No wonder, therefore, that he passed over the problematic of the eternal generation. Thirdly this way of considering the problem was general among Irenaeus' ecclesiastical contemporaries. It is found in Justin, Tatian, Athanagoras and Theophilus of Antioch...⁵⁸

We may add that part of the difficulty here arises from Irenaeus' stated policy not to discuss or speculate on the "how" or "why" of the Son's generation from the Father.⁵⁹

We now direct our attention to the line of research that led Ochagavia to a clarification on the meaning of the Son as the "visibility" of the Father in Irenaeus. Elements of this research do have a direct bearing on the historical implications of the meaning of the "generation" of the Son from the Father.

First we find a reference in A. Orbe regarding the discovery in Irenaeus that the Son's generation from the Father is the first of two crucial moments in the life of the Son:

Saint Irenaeus opposes the two crucial moments in the life of the Son: His generation or appearance before the Father when the world was not yet created, and His birth in the flesh. He insists on the first one, but always within a cosmogenic context that seems to display its dialectical movement: He was made a beginning before heaven and earth in order to be the principle of the universe...⁶⁰

Ochagavia, following Orbe, argues that Irenaeus has the same mentality as the Apologists regarding the doctrine of the "expressed Word" (Λόγος κτιστατός), i.e., the Word as expressed in terms of His activity in the realm of created being. We can see this exemplified in the way that Irenaeus groups in simultaneous fashion the Word's generation from the Father, from the Virgin Mary and from the dead:

...also our Lord's birth, which the Word of God underwent for our sake, to be made flesh, that He might manifest the resurrection of the flesh, and take the lead of all in heaven: as the first-born, first-begotten of the thought of the Father, the Word, Himself in the world making all things perfect by His guidance and legislation; as the first-born of the Virgin, a just and holy man, a servant of God, good, pleasing to God, perfect in all things, freeing those who follow Him, from hell; as the first-born of the dead, head and source also of the life unto God...⁶¹

From the way that Irenaeus understands the Father as the origin of "life", Ochagavia concludes that the Word's generation was determined by an act of the Father's will. From his overall analysis he can then draw two conclusions:

First, whatever the generation of the Son may mean it does not mean that He was created (...God could not create the Logos since He was totus existens Logos; Cf Adversus Haereses II, 28, 5). Secondly, the Father was operative in this generation (cf Dem 43 & Ochagavia, op. cit., p 108-9)...⁶²

The "establishment" of the Son was the result of the Father's emerging from His "silence" to give "form and circumscription" to the One who rested in His depth in a formless state.⁶³ But what is the nature of this form or circumscription? Irenaeus, according to Ochagavia, sees it as concretely as possible, i.e., from the basic historical viewpoint which is so characteristic of him:

...In contrast to our modern mentality used to grasping reality through a process of successive abstractions, Irenaeus tries to grasp it as concretely as possible, from its origin up to the final consummation, including therein all the fluctuations of a history directed by divine providence...⁶⁴

...Since the Son gave form and substance (creatio secunda) to the amorphous matter created by the Father out of nothing (creatio prima), thus making subsistent beings out of the original chaos...and since He, as Logos infixus, is present in the world preventing things from returning back to chaos and steering the course of history, then it follows that the beauty and mysteries of nature and the events of history are nothing but a manifestation and constant unfolding of the potentialities hidden in the Son at the moment of His generation: Sic semper Verbum Dei velut lineamenta rerum futurarum habet, et velut species dispositionem Patris hominibus ostendebat, docens nos quae sunt Dei (IV,20,11 of Adversus Haereses).⁶⁵

History is clearly an essential part of the created manifestation of the uncreated Word. The unity between the created and the Uncreated is, however, so close that it is beyond human comprehension. While this unity achieves its apex and culmination in the Christ-event,⁶⁶ it was already potentially present in its total scope at the initial generation and "establishment" of the Son from the Father's bosom.

The close association of the Spirit with the Word in the divine act of creating has already been mentioned. Beginning in the fourth book, Irenaeus employs the expression, "the two hands of God" to express the roles of the Word and the Spirit in His creative action. He emphasizes time and again the intimacy with which by His "two hands" He creates man in His own image and likeness.⁶⁷ Mambrino has shown how the tradition of this anthropomorphic analogy is employed in new ways by Irenaeus to deepen understanding of divine immanence by way of the Word and the Spirit. Here we are made

aware of a divine Presence so absolute, immediate and all-prevading that it can be nothing else than the image of His Love which is continually manifested to man

...C'est par ses Mains que Dieu se fait connaître continuellement, affirme saint Irénée. Mais ses mains, nous venons de le voir, ne sont que l'image de Son Amour qui nous est toujours connu, car en aucun lieu du monde nous ne pouvons Lui échapper...⁶⁸

Irenaeus seems to prefer viewing the Spirit more specifically as the agent or "Hand" of divine immanence. Certainly this is true as regards man as this passage indicates:

...Hence too His Apostle Paul well says: one God, the Father, who is above all and with all and in us all; is the Father, but "with all" is the Word, since it is through Him that everything was made by the Father, and "in us all" is the Spirit, who cries: Abba, Father, and has formed man to the likeness of God...⁶⁹

While the creative action of the Word may be described as a creatio secunda, the Spirit's action seems to refer more to the third stage of creation. The Word "establishes" (gives form and circumscription, i.e., creatio secunda), but the Spirit develops and disposes the inner powers to their end or destiny (i.e., teleiosis). This way of conceiving a unitive deployment of creative activity for the "two Hands" seems to be indicated in

...as the prophet also says: by the Word of the Lord the heavens were established, and all the powers of them by His Spirit. Hence since the Word "establishes", that is, works bodily and consolidates being, while the Spirit disposes and shapes the various "powers", so the Word is fitly and properly called the Son, but the Spirit the Wisdom of God...⁷⁰

This united Word-Spirit creative activity is carried on throughout history by way of revelation:

...So the Spirit manifests the Word, and therefore the prophets announced the Son of God, but the Word articulates the Spirit, and therefore it is Himself who gives the message to the prophets, and takes up man and brings him to the Father.⁷¹

In this revelatory action throughout history (which is also creative) the teleiosis or final creative action of the Spirit is again apparent in the following

...And the third article is the Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied and the patriarchs were taught about God and the just were led in the path of justice, and who in the end of times has been poured forth in a new manner upon humanity over all the earth renewing man to God.⁷²

It is significant also, as Aubineau and others have demonstrated, that Irenaeus develops a Christian anthropology by distinguishing "image" and "likeness" in man according to the differing creative activities of the Word and the Spirit. This conception is a development on an already existing tradition within the Church which even more coherently integrates man into a cosmic-historical overview.⁷³ This "history" of the continuing creative action of the Word and the Spirit is expressed several times in summary fashion by Irenaeus of which the following is one example

...By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies, and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God - the Father planning everything well and giving His commands, the Son carrying these into execution and performing the work of creating, and the Spirit nourishing and increasing (what is made), but man making progress day by day, and ascending towards the perfect, that is, approximating to the uncreated One...⁷⁴

2. The Divine "Economy"

The "economy" concept is basic to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Very early in this tradition it served as a unifying principle in the synthesis of what at first appeared as disparate elements in Christian theology.

From his anti-Gnostic viewpoint, Irenaeus finds it necessary to place special emphasis on the role of time and history in man's relationship to God. In this context, the "economy" concept is vital to a theological synthesis. It permeates virtually all aspects of Irenaeus' theology.

Irenaeus understands the "economy" concept according to its traditional Christian meanings. He does nevertheless employ it in ways that provide new and important insights into the role of history in man's relationship to God.

i. Derivation of the "Economy" Concept

"Economy" (*οἰκονομία*) is one of those words which, having originated in common or domestic speech, subsequently, by virtue of usage in a developing thought field, comes to signify complex technical notions. In this case, although the meaning is altered by new and wider applications, it does retain something of its original meaning. For this reason, the tracing of the origins of this word has proven helpful to the understanding of its theological applications in the early Church. A brief mention should be made of this work.

K. Duchâtelez, in a comprehensive yet summary article, traces the origins and applications of this word in the ancient world and in the early Church.⁷⁵ It appears that among the Ancient Greeks *οἰκονομία* originally referred to domestic affairs, i.e., the art or skill involved in good administration of a household. In later development it came to mean the regularization of any object: speech, poetry, art, the human body... At the same time it seems to have had an application in political life. In ancient documents including the Bible, the *οἰκονομ* root can be recognized in words applying to stewards or administrators of various functions at the royal court. It seems that the word had a variety of meanings along these lines depending on the context.

The Ancient Greeks conceived of a god who manifests his universal "economy" in the beauty and order of the Cosmos. One discovers, however, considerable variety among these sages as to the way that this can be understood. Sometimes their meaning was not entirely clear.⁷⁶

As to the application of the word *οἰκονομία* itself to God, again it was the Greeks, especially the Stoics, who freely spoke of God's providential economic activity

...Xénophon déjà emploie *οἰκονομεῖν* pour expliquer de manière assez limpide que la divinité, qui

accomplit dans l'univers les plus sublimes choses, les économise sans se rendre visible (Mémoires de Socrate, IV, 3, 13). La vision de Zénophon exercera une influence importante sur le Stoïcisme postérieur, qui se rattachera à Socrate et dissertera plus volontiers sur l'économie de Dieu, de "la nature".⁷⁷

The Hebrew scriptures lack an equivalent word for *οἰκονομία*. Septuagint translations, however, generally expressed the corresponding notion of divine involvement with the world by *διοίκησις*. Philo, however, does use the word *οἰκονομεῖν* a few times. These applications refer to divine providence or cosmic government.⁷⁸

The Christian concept of the "economy of God" shows a development involving several factors. Moreover, with its accent on God as Saviour through Jesus, Christian development of the economy concept had necessarily to include from the beginning a soteriological aspect. One can perceive here a developing Christian "gnosis" influenced by various gnostic-type movements originating in the intertestamental and early Christian periods. For example, there were attempts to blend elements of later Jewish apocalyptic (the conception of the future arrival of a "day of Yahweh" as the realization of a universal divine plan to establish justice on the earth) with newer Christian thinking (the Christ-event and Second Coming as an extended Parousia of the "last days" and a fulfillment of history). This gave to the "economy" concept what Martin Widman has termed a "gnosticising history-conception" (gnostisierenden Geschichtsbegriff).⁷⁹

Indicative of influential non-Christian gnostic developments of the "economy" concept during the same period is that found in hermetic literature. Here the concept of the divine economy is associated with the notion of "fullness" (*πλήρωμα*). The divine life fills to capacity every element of a divinely-ordered Cosmos.⁸⁰ As we shall see below,

such conceptions seem to have directly or indirectly influenced both heterodox gnostics (e.g., Marcus and the Valentinians) and orthodox ecclesiastical writers like Irenaeus.

Certain early Church Fathers are among those with a "gnostic" outlook who attempted to christianize Greek and oriental religions of their time and place. Many were influenced by the sweeping cosmic perspectives of the Greeks. Justin is a case in point. He saw in the ancient Greek philosophy an attempt to arrive at a notion of divine providence. This concept had elements of the Christian "economy of God".

Duchatelez has explained how, in this trend to further development of the economy concept, the Christian writers had the advantage of biblical inspiration which enabled them to assess and correct values within the Greek philosophies. For example, the true sublimity of creation can be perceived only in the light of a personal Creator-God who directs with love His creation through time. The Greek conceptions did however stimulate the Christian mind to consider the cosmic dimensions and implications of this Creation. The Book of Wisdom seemed to present a point of departure for such new perspectives.⁸¹

A line of development of the economy concept from St. Paul to early Church Fathers seems indicated particularly with regard to its soteriological dimensions. Again, one can trace a line of development among the Fathers themselves. At first, *οἰκονομία* was used along with synonyms like *διοίκēσις* and *τάξις*. St. Justin employs the concept not so much in its all-embracing aspect as in details of biblical history.⁸² Tatian writes of the Cosmos as it were the organization of the human body: "a harmony like unto a symphonic economy..."⁸³ Theophylus of Antioch views the Cosmos from its created origins. He notes the cooperation of the Word in the divine economy without employing the word *οἰκονομία* itself.⁸⁴ The Epistle to Diognetus affirms that God has disposed all economically

in Himself and His Son...⁸⁵ Clement of Alexandria wrote:

...For the economy of Creation is good, and all things are well administered; nothing happens without a cause...⁸⁶

Moreover, salvific designs follow a general and eternal economy to which Paul bears witness:

...All things, therefore, are dispensed from heaven for good, "that by the Church may be made known the manifest wisdom of God according to the eternal foreknowledge (Clement reads $\pi\alpha\sigma\gamma\ \nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ for $\pi\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) which He proposed in Christ" (Dph. III, 10, 11)...⁸⁷

This sketch of the development of the economy concept in the early church fathers is based on that by Duchatelez.⁸⁸ It is meant only as an indication. The subject is much too vast to be adequately dealt with here.

One further observation should be made at this point. According to a conclusion arrived at by Widmann, the economy concept is tied in with a gnosticising redemption-teaching which holds to the doctrine of incorporation into the Saviour (Anakephalaiosis). This tradition originating for St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, continued within the Christian community in the form of an Adam-Christ dialectic. The variations in this salvation-teaching are many but the basic characteristics remain the same even up to as far as Irenaeus on the one hand and his Gnostic opponents on the other.⁸⁹

ii. The Economy as Divine Plan

The Christian concept of the divine economy gains its inspiration in large measure from the concept of the divine plan of universal salvation outlined in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, 1:3-14. Although this plan was a mystery hidden in

God since before creation, it comes to be known and realized in Jesus. By His Pascal Mystery and Parousia he draws all of creation under one Head (anakephalaaiosasthai) by reason of which all are saved. The divine economy is therefore the realization of this divine plan through time and history.

Ecclesiastical writers following Paul who preferred to deal with particular aspects of the redemptive process, tended to lose or to obscure the all-embracing character of the Pauline vision. They preferred to employ the term "economy to particular historical events of salvation especially those in the life of Christ."⁹⁰

Irenaeus, however, reestablishes within Christian tradition the original Pauline emphasis on the universal character of the divine plan of salvation. We invariably also find in Irenaeus that the economy of God (οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ) as expressed in this way in the singular refers to God's universal plan of salvation for men as it is realized in all of history:

...But the fact referred to simply implies this, that one may...bring out the meaning of those things which have been spoken in parables, and accomodate them to the general scheme of the faith; and explain...the operation and dispensation of God (οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ) connected with human salvation...⁹¹

Irenaeus then envisages a new dimension in the Pauline concept of the "economy" of salvation. The now Christianized Hellenic-Stoic conception of the Cosmos is viewed as a "construct" of God in which the divine Logos or divine Spirit has ordered all things well.⁹² The Cosmos is a unity of multiplicity by way of the Word or the Spirit:

For the Creator of the world is truly the Word of God; and this is our Lord, who in the last times was made man, existing in this world, and who in an

invisible manner contains all things created. and is inherent in the entire creation, since the Word of God governs and arranges all things...⁹³

...For there is but one vineyard, since there is also but one righteousness, and one dispensator, for there is one Spirit of God who arranges all things;...⁹⁴

Now Irenaeus extends this cosmic principle of the arrangement or ordering of the many in the one to history. History is also a meaningfully ordered pattern of many saving events (*οἰκονομία*) according to a single overall plan (*οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ*).

...Das ist für Irenäus nun auch die Geschichte: sinnvoll gestaltete Ordnung des Vielen durch einen Überlegenden Plan. Die Geschichte ist ihm so gegenständlich wie der Kosmos. Er kennt ihren Sinn: die salus hominis...⁹⁵

This way of conceiving of the manifold saving events in history is repeated many times throughout Irenaeus' work. He expresses it by way of a kind of "formula" which is oft-repeated with slight variation: "Unus et idem Deus, ab initio usque ad finem variis dispositionibus adsistens humano generi...⁹⁶ Clearly, Irenaeus conceives the Pauline economy principle in both a cosmic and historical way. The universal divine plan of God unfolds throughout time cosmically and historically in a way in which each event is meaningful, significant and unique for the salvation of men.

Of course, it is not by accident that this is precisely the kind of concept that proves most effective in refuting the Gnostic system. It overthrows the full range of the Gnostic dualism which permeates their notion of the divine, of creation and of history. For Irenaeus, it is clearly a failure to grasp the dispensation (economy) of God that is at the root of their perversity:

...Ignorance of the Scriptures and of the dispensation of God has brought all these things upon them...⁹⁷

iii. The Economy as History

The Adversus Haereses is somewhat similar to the Demonstration in that both are a kind of "exposé" of the Faith.⁹⁸ The "given facts" of the Christian tradition in this case, however, are purposefully organized under the overall vision of a divine plan so that their unity is more visible while at the same time the disunity of the gnostic doctrines becomes more obvious. The economy concept as applying to the whole history of salvation lends itself most admirably to this purpose. This economy rooted in concrete historical events contrasts with the mythical notions of "economy" conceived by the Gnostics. They conceive of an "economy" of the Pleroma which is outside and beyond history.⁹⁹ Even the "dispensational Jesus" is not truly historical but only appears to be.¹⁰⁰

R.A. Markus draws attention to another contrast between Irenaeus' system and that of the Gnostics'. This regards the concept of "fullness" as applied to the "economy". Irenaeus sees a single world "full" of God's glory. This glory shines forth as He governs the world's history by His providence.¹⁰¹ To emphasize how different is the true conception of the economy as regards "fullness" (πληρομα), he turns their phrase, "dispensation of the pleroma" to "fulfilling of the dispensation." He returns to this turn of phrase time and again.¹⁰² Man, together with the Cosmos, being created and temporal, attains the perfection and salvation only gradually. All salvation-events throughout history, therefore, are means by which God "accustoms" men to bear His Spirit and to advance towards Him. It is in this way that man comes "to harmony with salvation"¹⁰³ All events are "time conditioned", i.e., each has its own special "kairos"¹⁰⁴

To Irenaeus, "fulfillment" as applied to economy is therefore conceived in terms of the unfolding and realization of the divine plan in history. Markus has caught Irenaeus' meaning precisely in this description

...it is the 'filling', by the occupant of each moment in it, of the place allotted to him. Just as the patriarchs and prophets 'fulfil' their appointed 'dispensations', that is to say by foreshadowing and foretelling, Christ 'fulfils' his dispensation by 'fulfilling' theirs: by fulfilling, in other words, the promises, the Law and the prophecies of the Scriptures. The Word is the eternal co-author with the Father of the whole dispensation. Hence Christ's fulfilment of the Old Dispensation is not only the fulfilling of his 'dispensation' in the same way as the prophets and patriarchs, and all who accept God's demands on the particular moment fulfil theirs, it is this, but it is also more than this. For in fulfilling his self-appointed task, the incarnate Word fulfils the whole dispensation, 'recapitulating' it in himself as head and the Church as his body.¹⁰⁵

The soteriological economy concept made it possible to distinguish "saying-events" from world events generally. Since the Gnostics were preoccupied with the issue of salvation just as were the orthodox theologians they also found the concept useful to their purpose. Of course, this meant that they had to radically alter its meaning when it was employed in the context of their system. It seems most likely that it was the Gnostic distortion of the economy concept in view of the consequent implications for the meaning of history that prompted Irenaeus to approach the issue from this viewpoint. Correct thinking here as on all theological issues must begin with the datum from salvation history as found in the Scriptures.

iv. The Word of God as Center of the Economy

As Irenaeus speaks of a dispensation (economy) of God, he also speaks of a dispensation of the Son of God

...For our Lord never came to save Paul alone nor is God so limited in means, that He should have but one apostle who knew the dispensation of His Son (dispositionem Filii sui)...106

This dispensation of the Son is also termed the dispensation of His "advent", i.e., His coming in the flesh

...And David, knowing by the Spirit the dispensation of the advent of this Person (Cuius et David dispositionem adventus per Spiritum cognoscens), by which He is supreme over all the living and the dead, confessed Him as Lord...107

It would seem, however, that the dispensation of God and the dispensation of the Son are essentially one and the same seeing that the whole economy of God is accomplished in the Son's advent in the flesh

...the heretics...blaspheme the Creator, and disallow the salvation of God's workmanship, which the flesh truly is; on behalf of which the Son of God accomplished the whole dispensation [of mercy] (propter quam omnem dispositionem fecisse Filium Dei), and have shown that there is none other called God by the Scriptures except the Father of all, and the Son, and those who possess the adoption...108

The universal plan of God is realized in this economy by the Son who "works out" the various historical realities of which it is composed

With Him there is nothing incomplete or out of due season just as with the Father there is nothing incongruous, For all these things were foreknown by the Father; but the Son works them out at the proper time in perfect order and sequence...109

In the fourth book of the Adversus Haereses Irenaeus outlines the various historical realities (from the Old Testament as well as from the Gospels and Epistles) that makes up this economy. In this way he demonstrates that the Word (Son) of God was active in the whole economy and not merely during His advent in the flesh. Moreover, the unity and harmony of the two testaments is also displayed on the basis of one economy.¹¹⁰

As we shall see in Chapter IV, the mode of presence of the Word in history by way of the Incarnation is nevertheless profoundly different from that of before the Incarnation. It might well be described as the difference of a presence "from within" as opposed to a presence "from without".¹¹¹ One may say that the Word fully enters human history when He becomes fully human. From His position as man He holds history together and becomes one with it. This is what is meant by recapitulation wherein is taken up again all that is human including the whole of history.

Irenaeus is able to view the historical implications of recapitulation in this way because he sees the human nature of Christ from the point of view of all mankind and all that is human. Indeed, he sees recapitulation in respect to the whole Cosmos since he sees Adam as the center of the Cosmos.¹¹² This unity of the whole of creation by way of man and Christ moves gradually throughout history towards its perfecting center and end in God.¹¹³

It now becomes clear why Irenaeus can say that the whole economy of God is accomplished in Christ. He fulfills the whole dispensation and goes on fulfilling it in the Church until the final consummation

...For by His advent He Himself fulfilled all things and does still fulfil in the Church the new covenant foretold by the law, onwards to the consummation [of all things]...¹¹⁴

SUMMARY

1. God is the Creator of all things. He creates directly by His Word and His Spirit. He creates ex nihilo.
2. Although Irenaeus does not use the words "transcendence" and "immanence" to describe God's relationship to His creation, it is clear, especially from the way he attacks the Gnostics on this matter, that he understands God to be both transcendent and immanent to His creation.
3. Man is created to be the center of Creation. All of creation is for man's benefit.
4. By their very nature as created all created things including man must grow and develop through time. Each event in time is significant and unique and occurs in an orderly sequence. In this sense Irenaeus would understand that created things, especially man, have a history.
5. Man is created in God's image and likeness. God's creative action is an ongoing process through time which gradually brings this image and likeness in man to realization.
6. The Word of God as divine is never considered in se ipso but rather in view of His divine works of creation and salvation. In this sense He is known from historical perspectives.
7. The Judeo-Christian conception of "economy" of God as a coming to realization in history of the Divine Plan forms the background for Irenaeus' conception of the "economy of God".
8. Irenaeus gives broader and deeper cosmic and historical dimensions to the traditional economy concept of his day. This is intentionally in opposition to the a-historical, mythical economy concept of his Gnostic opponents.

9. By His historical involvement with Creation, the Word of God gradually effects the realization of the economy in history according to the Divine Plan. In this sense we may say that Irenaeus understands the Word of God to be the "Lord of History".

EVIL IN HISTORY

What is wrong with man? From time immemorial this has been a basic philosophical question. The presence of evil of all kinds has always been and still is a most obvious aspect of the human condition. Yet it strikes the mind as somewhat of a paradox when one perceives that, even in the face of evil, man is capable of most sublime thought and virtuous action. Good and evil seem to struggle constantly for supremacy in man and society.

Evil is even seen to be a problem for man's understanding and acceptance of God. This "problem of evil" may be expressed in this famous dilemma: "either God is able to prevent evil and will not, or He is willing to prevent it and cannot. If the former, He is not merciful; if the latter, He is not omnipotent..."¹

Evil is also an historical reality. It is part of the fabric that has moulded history. The influence of evil on history has been both personal and sociological. Personally it has induced crises of conscience, guilt, anxiety, fear, anguish, death...sociologically it has resulted in injustices of all kinds, laws, sanctions, penal systems...Moreover these personal and sociological dimensions of evil are obviously interdependent and have mutually influenced each other.

From the beginnings of recorded history, thinkers have attempted to theorize about the nature and origin of evil in the hope of thereby being better able to cope with it. This has produced a remarkable variety of different traditions.

The way that one comes to terms with the problem of evil also tends to characterize one's understanding of God, creation and life. The converse is also true. We find this to be the case for thinkers of Irenaeus' day. The various

theories attempting to account for the origin and nature of evil may be said to fall into three or four main categories:

- a. evil originates in the divine
- b. evil originates in gods or angels who are either evil by nature or become evil as a result of free choice.
- c. the cause of evil is in man himself either because he is or is partly evil in nature or because he freely chooses to do evil.

Irenaeus saw the powerful Gnostic movement of his day as the main current of thought opposing the orthodox Christian view on the nature and origin of evil. In order to refute the Gnostic view Irenaeus, while consistent with Judeo-Christian tradition, weaves the orthodox Christian understanding of evil into his all-embracing historical overview. In this way he was able to contribute consistency, strength and unity to the Christian doctrine while at the same time refuting the errors and inherent contradictions in the Gnostic system.

What were the prevailing currents of thought likely to influence Irenaeus in his development of a doctrine of evil? We know that his knowledge of contemporary philosophies was minimal and that he was not motivated to seek knowledge from philosophers.² Nevertheless, these philosophies did have an influence on the development of the concept of evil in the Judeo-Christian tradition generally especially by way of their influence on the prevailing conception of the Cosmos. Since Irenaeus develops his thinking from within the Judeo-Christian tradition, he was indirectly influenced by the contemporary philosophies. We therefore felt that the following background sketches would be helpful to an understanding of Irenaeus' doctrine of evil.

1. Conceptions of Evil in the Greco-Roman World

i. The Influence of Greek Philosophy

We can appreciate the considerable influence of philosophies on the development of the understanding of evil in the Second Century.³ The predominant movement, Middle Platonism, had a certain preoccupation with the problem of evil. It has been suggested that a reason for this preoccupation lay in the sociological conditions characterizing the inter-testamental period. During this time history records sociological upheavals, wars, civil strife, shifting populations...all of which made it difficult for people to relate to the highly ordered, serene conception of the Cosmos originally proposed by Plato and the Academicians generally. The harmonious monism of Plato now gave way to various shades of dualism where transcendence of the divine is accentuated over against a physical human world of disorder and uncertainty. This world, originally conceived as a shadowy reflection in full harmony with and informed by divine forms, now, in the view of many, takes on a hostile, evil, aspect. In this context a determinative Destiny might lead to personal ruin here below. To where might one turn for salvation? There was even a tendency to believe in an evil "world soul" or to consider matter itself as an evil principle.⁴

However, in the Second Century there were long periods of comparative social order and tranquility under a sequence of powerful emperors. In this atmosphere it was easier to conceive of some kind of harmony between this world and the divine as long as "evil" could be somehow "explained" or integrated into an overall harmony. This may explain the popularity of the Stoic philosophy as an ethic or way of life. It is the hallmark of Stoicism to "accomodate" the apparently imperfect human condition with the more universal conception

of cosmic order. One presumably acquires thereby tranquility of mind and a sense of personal worth.

The Stoic would prefer not to see evil in the world or in the Cosmos but rather, if in anything at all, in man's understanding of it.⁵ Through reason man could come to realize that the world is governed by a "Fate" which is fundamentally rational and basically calm and orderly. What we perceive as disorderly or "evil" are the parts of the whole which man fails to see as necessary and good to the whole. For example, death, which is generally considered as an evil, is in reality a regular process of the cosmic rhythm to which man's reason must give its adhesion. The divine is Reason. Man's reason has its source in the universal Reason which informs the Cosmos. It would appear, then, that in the Stoic view evil would be part of the world of sensible experience which changes, appears and disappears. In this view evil is more of the order of the non-real especially insofar as it is ignorance.⁶

Moral or "good" behaviour, according to the Stoic, would consist first of all in realizing the ineffable unity of the Cosmos, nature and the world, e.g., the world of man must be seen as one immense unified city exemplified in political terms in the Imperium Romanum (hence the popularity of this ethic with rulers and emperors like Marcus Aurelius). Loyalty, social involvement, sense of duty, justice, universal brotherhood...all constitute Stoic virtues which lead to tranquility and happiness. Conversely, "immoral" behaviour would follow from the opposites of these virtues.

We must note here that evil behaviour is of no consequence other than loss of tranquility and happiness. In the final analysis, the Cosmos cannot be altered by the presence of "evil". It is not a question of man being integrated into a history of development and progress but rather of man's visible and experiential (historical) life conforming with

the unchangeable divine Logos or Reason.

ii. Mystery Religions

The tendency to dualism and the emphasizing of divine transcendence in the Second Century found its most radical expression in the Mystery Religions. These were groups who met in the manner of secret societies allegedly in order to receive "secrets" from the spiritual or divine worlds. These secrets supposedly came by way of mystical experiences (sometimes, as in the case of the Dionysiac cults, they degenerated into highly emotional and sensual orgies). Communication of this kind presupposes a separation of a world of divine beings above from the world of sense and matter here below. There is also a presumption that the world above has control over the world here below. To share in these secrets of the divine world is to share in its power and freedom.

In this system, good or evil is not the prerogative of either realm but rather the mystery of the nature of good and evil and its causes are somehow primarily explained in the spirit world. The spirit world contains both good and malevolent powers, spirits or "demons". The cult performed by the sect was often considered as a means to gain favour of the benevolent spirits or to placate malevolent ones.

The beliefs or creeds (if any) of the Mystery Religions were often expressed in mythical form. These myths were attempts to explain the origin of the world, creation of the soul, or the soul's ultimate fate. Often these descriptions were similar to what is expressed in Plato's Timaeus and other conceptions of the Greek schools on these matters. Here we have preexistence of the soul in its celestial home, its fall into the world of men and its subsequent redemption.

Many considered the Stoic's immutable destiny of the stars to be an evil from which one must be freed. While admitting that the stars ruled the world and especially that the planets had evil influences, they often refused to surrender the belief that the highest God of the religion (e.g., Serapis in the Isiac Mysteries) stood far above the stars and was their master. A man who decided to become one with such a God or to become his servant could escape from the determining bonds of the stars and enter the sphere of liberty.⁷

In spite of the differences of belief between the Middle Platonic Greek philosophy and the mystery religions of the Second Century one can detect the effects of mutual influence and interaction. This is particularly true in respect to the overall conception of the Cosmos which formed a background for conceptions about the origin of evil. By this time a cosmos split into two opposed domains of "here below" and "the beyond" together with an exaggerated sense of the divine transcendence in the realm above was generally accepted. There was a tendency to understand the problem of evil in terms of this cosmic structure and to place its origin and solution there. For example it was easy to conceive of both benign and malevolent Gods and /or spirits and to assign the here-below to the domain of evil powers.

From this perspective, knowledge (*γνῶσις*) of the world beyond became extremely important whether it came by way of reason or astrology (as with the Stoics) or by way of mystic experiences (as with the Mystery Religions). In any case, sin and evil could easily be attributed to ignorance, virtue and salvation to knowledge.⁸

iii. Evil in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition

The life of Jesus witnesses to the conflict between the goodness of God and the malice of men. This conflict, however, extends in dramatic fashion to the wider cosmic perspective of that day involving the realm of the spirit world and centers in the personal encounter between Christ and Satan. The roots of this way of conceiving the struggle between good and evil can be traced to the Old Testament and Judaic apocalyptic writings.

The Old Testament authors seemed to be constantly wrestling with the problem of evil. The development of ideas were very complex and rich but not entirely homogeneous. Jean Guittou could trace three philosophies of evil in the Jewish tradition for which there seem to be three corresponding theories: mythological, psychological and historical.⁹ The first, mythological, views evil as entering human affairs by way of superhuman beings, both good and evil. Gen. 6: 1-4 is the only remnant of this theory. However, the fact that such a theory existed had an influence on later acceptability of angelology and demonology...which play their role in the final canonical doctrine. The second, psychological, places evil within the human constitution. This is the rabbinic theory of "yetzer" or "cor malignum" wherein man has an inclination to evil in the depths of his nature. This idea is found especially in old biblical documents as in the explanation for the deluge. Later writers like to return to this idea to explain the mercy of God as in the Psalms. It inspires prophetic writings like the book of Jonas which argues that evil in man is not an inherent malignity but a natural weakness. The third, historical, is opposed to the other two. The first two attempt to "explain away" the evil in man; the first by relegating it to evil spirits, the second

by relegating it to evil nature. It can be demonstrated that, in the final analysis, these first two positions result in a denial of liberty. This third or historical theory places the cause of evil squarely on the free-will of man. This becomes solidified in the tradition as the "canonical" or "doctrinal" theory of evil in Old-Testament Israel. For example, evil enters human history by the First Parent's free-will disobedience of Yahweh. This evil is then perpetuated and consolidated throughout history by innumerable evil acts of all of the descendents of Adam and Eve.

Guittou observes that the idea of collective retribution for sins inspired the way of teaching the history of Israel. e.g., "If you obey faithfully the voice of the Eternal, your God, having care to practice all the commandments that I prescribe to you today, the Eternal, your God, will give you preeminence over all nations of the earth..." (Deut. 28:1) This same idea animates the Book of Judges and the Books of Kings and forms, so to speak, the "arrière-plan" of these books.

As the history of Israel moves on into the exilic and postexilic periods, a more personal and eternal idea of retribution emerged. The Book of Job, for example, written after the Exile, was written precisely to show the superiority of the personal-eternal theory over the temporal-collective.

The Book of Wisdom, written under the inspiration of the historical events of martyrdom for the faith under Antiochus Epiphanus, represents the final stage of this development. Here God retributes doers of good (those faithful to Him till death) over against the doers of evil (persecutors of those faithful to Yahweh) by resurrection to eternal life as opposed to resurrection to eternal punishment. This has messianic overtones: the coming of the messianic

Kingdom in the Last Days...

The idea of sin as a constitutive condition of man as a race and having its origin in a primordial historical event, i.e., the Fall of Adam, is emphasized in the New Testament especially in Paul.¹⁰ However, this doctrine of "original sin" does not appear to have originated from canonical Old Testament teachings¹¹ but rather from late Jewish conceptions as expressed in some apocalyptic writings.¹² One may say that the first speculations on the origins of sin seem to have appeared in Judaism during the intertestamental period. It is the conclusion of Donald R. Schultz that while such speculations on the origin of sin both extrinsic and intrinsic to man had some influence on New Testament writers notably Paul, "these thoughts in the New Testament serve only as a fragmentary basis upon which a greater theological development took place in the early history of the Christian Church."¹³

There can be no doubt, however, that in the Old Testament man's personal responsibility for sin is clearly emphasized. The placing of other causes for sin such as evil spirits or a *primaevae* fall is more a matter of a shift of emphasis to soften the impact of human responsibility.

A.J. Philipou suggests that there were two contrasting views on this question in the ancient Church. Those who emphasize man's guilt may be said to have the "ethical vision of evil" (e.g., St. Augustine); those who emphasize the Devil's role in introducing and perpetuating evil are said to advocate the "demonic structure of evil" (e.g., St. Gregory of Nyssa). According to Philipou, Gregory is in the tradition of Irenaeus.¹⁴

That Irenaeus tends to emphasize the demonic structure of evil can be substantiated by many passages. For example, after Adam falls, it is not Satan whom God questions, but Adam and Eve. The implication here is that since God knew that Satan was the primary instigator of the evil deed, no

clarification of Satan's role was necessary

...But He put no question to the serpent; for He knew that he had been the prime mover in the guilty deed; but He pronounced the curse upon him in the first instance that it might fall upon man with a mitigated rebuke. For God detested him who had led man astray, but by degrees, and little by little. ¹⁵ He showed compassion to him who had been beguiled.

Since God places the guilt primarily on the Devil, the punishment of eternal fire falls on him. It is only those men who are unrepentent and persist in serving Satan who will suffer this same eternal fire. ¹⁶

Of course, Irenaeus is drawing the main strength for this view from the Gospels. They present Jesus as the one who consolidates the "historical" understanding of evil inasmuch as He places, more firmly than ever, the cause of evil in the free-will of man. Nevertheless, Jesus also emphasizes human weakness in the face of influences of the "world" and, more important still, the background of a super-human angelic struggle. We can see this in the temptations of Jesus Himself in the desert and His encounters with devils during His public ministry. Jesus is seen to "overthrow" the kingdom of Satan on earth. The names that are given to Satan in the Gospels reveal his adversary character. ¹⁷

iv. Gnostic Conceptions of Evil

The Gnostic understanding of evil follows from a radically dualistic conception of man and the Cosmos. One may say that this conception of evil is basically ontological rather than ethical in that evil is a part of the very nature or structure of creation. Generally speaking, things within the Pleroma and the divine seed (pneuma) from it are both spiritual and good by nature and destined for eternal happiness. Matter and that which is composed of matter is evil and is destined for destruction. Men may be said to be "good" if they possess the "Pneuma" or divine spark. Men that are composed only of matter (sarkic) are "evil" by nature and destined for destruction. There is an intermediate class of men, who possess a soul (psyche) but no spirit. These may attain a certain relative "goodness" if they willfully live good lives and will thereafter be rewarded in a kind of intermediate heaven outside of the Pleroma. If the psychic men do not live good lives they are evil and are destroyed along with matter when they die.¹⁸

The Gnostic cosmos is a creation of the Demiurge, a created inferior God who tries to be absolute. Since he believes himself to be God and creates accordingly his cosmos is a "trap" or deception which tends to deceive man and draw him from his true destiny in the realms above. "Evil powers", e.g., Cosmocrator (Devil), are spiritual beings created by Ahamoth and the Demiurge to control or rule this cosmos of deception. These are his agents of oppression and suffering.¹⁹

Time is part of the limiting, deceiving aspect of the cosmos in that it forces the cosmos into determined never-ending cycles which lead nowhere. Thus man, insofar as he is pneumatic, is a stranger to and a prisoner of this cosmos of time. He yearns to escape from his evil condition in the

body and in the cosmos to his true eternal home in the Pleroma above. This evil condition of man in the Gnostic view is described by Puech

...La naissance et le devenir, la génénesis et la génésis, sont soumis au poids écrasant de la Nécessité, à la domination contraignante et aveugle des décrets du Démiurge, du Cosmocrator, aux coups et aux contre-coups d'un Destin déterminé par la translation, les "aspects", les "conjonctures", les antagonismes ou les influences combinées, des signes zodiacaux, des astres, des planètes. Le ciel étoilé est peuplé d'opresseurs et de despotes (arkhontés, cosmocratorés, tyrannoï); les sphères planétaires sont des postes de douane ou des geôles ...où des gardiens démoniaques s'efforcent de retenir les âmes qui tentent d'échapper aux chaînes perpétuellement reformées du devenir...20

Evil for the Gnostic consists also in the actual "mixing" or juxtaposition of irreconcilable orders of being. The original "break" in the harmony of the Pleroma leads ultimately to a dualism which splits things into irreconcilable parts thus causing disharmony in the being of things. Man himself made up of such a mixture tends to an intrinsic disharmony which further deepens his evil state. This Gnostic anthropology is aptly described by Jonas

...Through his body and his soul man is a part of the world and subjected to the heimarmene. Enclosed in the soul is the spirit, or "pneuma" ...a portion of the divine substance from beyond which has fallen into the world; and the Archons created man for the express purpose of keeping it captive there. Thus as in the macrocosm man is enclosed by the seven spheres, so in the human microcosm again the pneuma is enclosed by the seven soul-vestments originating from them. In its unredeemed state the pneuma thus immersed in soul and flesh is unconscious of itself, benumbed, asleep, or intoxicated by the poison of the world: in brief, it is "ignorant".21

Thus the original "break" in the Pleroma and the sequence of events which follow, "explain" the existence of evil in the world. "Sin" originates not with primordial parents at the beginning of history, nor with evil gods or fallen angels but with a primordial "Fall" within the divine world itself before creation began. In fact, creation itself is a result of that Fall. How can such a Fall be explained? It comes by way of a special revelation or *gnosis* and is expressed in the form of a myth, viz. "the Fall of Sophia". The fall consists fundamentally in the inordinate desire of Sophia, the last aeon, to comprehend the greatness of the Father. This disrupts the harmony of the Pleroma and before it can be restored, Sophia brings forth a defective substance which must be rejected from the Pleroma.²² Irenaeus describes how the Gnostics explain the subsequent origin of material substance

...They say that she, having engaged in an impossible and impracticable attempt, brought forth an amorphous substance...When she looked upon it, her first feeling was one of grief, on account of the imperfection of its generation, and then of fear lest this should end...her own existence. Next she lost, as it were, all control of herself and was in the greatest perplexity while endeavoring to discover the cause of all this, and in what way she might conceal what had happened. Being greatly harassed by these passions, she at last changed her mind, and endeavoured to return anew to the Father. When, however, she in some measure made the attempt, strength failed her, and she became a suppliant of the Father...And hence they declare material substance...had its beginning from ignorance and grief, and fear and bewilderment...²³

From this point the myth is extended to describe how Sophia's "defective substance" gives rise to the spiritual Achamoth and her "seed" and how by various interventions from the Pleroma they are to be eventually reinstated into the Pleroma. The "pneumatic" man who possesses this "seed" of Achamoth is

therefore involved in this reinstatement. Another part of the "defective substance" is non-spiritual and gives rise to Demiurge, the creator-god, who creates the cosmos into which the spiritual seed of Ahamoth is mixed thus producing beings such as men composed of irreconcilable parts. This, essentially is the cause of man's evil condition. Moreover, this condition continues to exist mainly because of man's ignorance of the ineffable Father, the Pleroma, etc., and man's true destiny. Thus ignorance itself is an integral part of this evil condition. Such a system, although very ingenious, could hardly be believable to man of our day. However, in the Second Century it was a very popular and powerful movement. We realize, however, that at that time when mythical dualistic conceptions of the Cosmos were taken for granted and men were searching for answers and comfort in an uncertain world, this system could provide an answer. The movement was strong in and about the city of Lyons where Irenaeus was bishop. The many references to the Scriptures in the Gnostic systems made them attractive to Christians so that Irenaeus saw a serious danger to his flock and to the Church at large. As we proceed, the evil consequences of believing in such a system will become evident; not the least of which is the removal from man of his freedom to seek out, merit and enjoy his highest destiny:

...But upon this supposition, neither would what is good be grateful to them, nor communion with God be precious, nor would the good be very much to be sought after, which would present itself without their own proper endeavour, care or study, but would be implanted of its own accord and without their concern. Thus it would come to pass that their being good would be of no consequence, because they were so by nature rather than by will, and are possessors of good spontaneously, not by choice; and for this reason they would not understand this fact, that good is a comely thing, nor would they take pleasure in it. For how can those who are ignorant of good enjoy it? Or what credit is it to those who have not aimed at it? And what crown is it to those who have not followed in pursuit of it, like those victorious in the contest?24

v. Irenaeus' Approach to Evil

In the study of Irenaeus' doctrine of evil it is important to keep the Gnostic view in mind. After all, Irenaeus is attempting to defend the Church's doctrine against the Gnostics. The problem of evil is in any case always a key issue in any theological controversy for obvious reasons. It would be true to say, in fact, that one's conception of evil determines for the most part one's understanding of theology.

One can realize, therefore, Irenaeus' sense of urgency not only to expose the gnostic conception of evil but also to present, point by point, the "true" conception of evil as taught by the Church. The Gnostics present their doctrine by way of a mythical cosmic overview. Irenaeus will also present a cosmic overview but it is one which is historical and realistic. He thereby hopes to appeal to the contemporary desire for a global-type view within the common-sense framework of the historical "having-happened". Here Irenaeus can follow the generally accepted belief that the principal "facts" of history are recorded in the Scriptures.

The starting-point, then, for Irenaeus is to begin at the beginning, the creation of man as recorded in Genesis. In Gnosticism where the system is basically and fundamentally dualistic, the beginnings of the problem of evil goes back to the divine realm. The conflict between good and evil is thus exaggerated to the point where it is written into the very nature of things and into the very nature of man.

Irenaeus must find from within the Church tradition the proper starting-point to refute that of the Gnostics. Irenaeus must show that while man is involved with evil it is not an involvement in the radical manner of the Gnostics. The good-evil conflict is not between spirit and body, between man

and man, between man and the world, or between man and God. The basic conflict is between God and Satan. The conflict is not between the nature of things but between persons. The cause of evil is therefore fundamentally moral and historical not metaphysical.

Although the point of departure for the study of evil is the beginning of history, i.e., Genesis, one immediately discovers there forces which seem to emerge from the invisible world of spirits. Man does not in the first instance simply disobey God and thus inaugurate evil, rather, man is tempted to disobey God by an evil already inaugurated previous to man's fall and by beings superior in power to men. Here Irenaeus realizes that he must have recourse to that tradition in the Church which deals with angelology and demonology.

As for the nature of man himself, Irenaeus will never see the "flesh" (body) of man as an evil principle in itself. Rather, the body must be seen as an integral part of the human composite to be purified and developed so that it can be ordered and integrated as one with man's spirit. Thus any radical asceticism leading to destruction of the flesh must be rejected.²⁵

In any event, the various causes which may influence man to evil can never remove man's freedom and responsibility to choose the good and merit reward. Moreover, the evil forces that may tend to separate man from God can never eclipse God's love and concern for man. God could never become indifferent to man's plight as is suggested in the Gnostic system. God is long-suffering and merciful to man even in face of his many infidelities which may lead him to the depths of evil and death.²⁶

Nevertheless, since the Devil and his angels have such

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a prominent place in Irenaeus' theology of evil, there must be a sense in which his theology can be said to be "dualistic". Dai Sil Kim has researched this aspect in Irenaeus and writes:

If the Devil is considered to be the real enemy of God in the thought of Irenaeus, now we must ask whether he advocates dualism. When we consider the doctrine of creation and the doctrine of redemption together, we can safely maintain that the background of the Christus Victor idea is dualistic, because we see two lines emerging from the beginning: on the one line we have with God, Jesus Christ and on the other there is the Devil. Man stands somewhere between God and the Devil.²⁷

Many passages from Irenaeus' writings can be cited to support this interpretation of his theology.²⁸ For example, we have the many references to the intense conflict between the Devil and God which continues throughout all history as well as references to the Devil's power over man. On the other hand, however, in respect to what ultimately matters in the final analysis, we must deny that there is any dualism in Irenaeus. There is no dualism in respect to creating power and ultimate victory. In both of these God is exclusively supreme for the Devil can create nothing and must ultimately lose in his struggle against God. The dualism cannot be described as ontological but as "functional".²⁹ The opposing force of the Devil was so strong that only Christ was able to defeat it. The conflict between God and the Devil is seen, however, in an historical overview. It begins at the beginning of history and shapes the pattern of human history until the end.

In the consideration of the problem of evil as with other theological questions, Irenaeus does not presume to know all answers to all questions. Why some angels or some men choose evil will always be a mystery.. Irenaeus refuses to speculate on such questions saying only that the answers will some day be revealed.³⁰ Later, we will see how evil,

although in opposition to God's Plan, is ultimately forced to serve it (Cf. below, p 335-340).

Irenaeus is nevertheless very serious about the reality of the Devil's malice and his opposition to the good. We should not be surprised at this when we realize that, in his day, a dualistic conception of the cosmos was virtually taken for granted. The many-levelled heaven where God and His angels dwelt above was separated by space and by nature from this earth below where dwelt men and evil spirits. Although the Scriptures reflect this view, the more elaborate aspects of it were relatively recent additions and seem to have arisen by way of Jewish apocalyptic literature of the post-exilic and intertestamental periods. It now seems certain that Irenaeus, in developing his theology on the origins of evil had recourse not only to the Scriptures but also directly to many of these Jewish apocalyptic writings.³¹ A brief outline of the views on angelology and demonology current in the ancient Greco-Roman world would be helpful in the understanding of Irenaeus' theology of evil.

2. Angelology and Demonology

1. Angelology and Demonology in the Greco-Roman World

Belief in angels and demons of one sort or another was a very important part of religious doctrine and practice in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Although its various forms seem to have originated very early from ancient Greek, Iranian and other Middle East cultures, it did not appear in Judaeian tradition until after the Exile. It became established in Christian belief relatively late by way of its Judaic roots and also by influence from Pagan sources.

The development of angelology and demonology through the early centuries can be seen to parallel to a degree the development of ideas on how the human relates to the divine especially insofar as this relationship, in turn, relates to the understanding of the Cosmos. We have already considered how conceptions of the nature of evil and its causes became interwoven into the changes in the cosmic view. The development of angelology and demonology, therefore, must parallel these changes.

To outline this development we should begin with Plato since his influence on later patterns of thought was enormous. In The Banquet he posits the existence of intermediaries (δαίμονες) between the Gods and mortals. He understands all of these beings to be good inasmuch as they facilitate communication between the divine and the human. This is consistent with his monistic view of reality.

Following Plato, with the advent of the dualistic conceptions of the Cosmos, these intermediaries were distinguished along the lines of good and evil. The good beings were the gods and/or their assistants inhabiting the stellar and planetary regions, the evil spirits inhabiting the air and the

earth. The world of men became the arena for the struggle between good and evil spirits. The control of man's life and spirit was the prize. With astrology, secret writings or mystical cults one hoped to get clues to the dimension and direction of the conflict and the possibilities for or dangers to individuals and nations.

The depth of this dualism varied from school to school. At one extreme, the very relative dualism of the Stoics where man's reason could be assimilated to the divine logos and evil relegated to ignorance of the purpose of specific beings. At the other extreme, the absolute dualism of those dominated by the Iranian cult of Mithra in which all reality is reduced to two absolute principles or gods, one good and the other, evil. Man is caught in between the never-ending struggle of these two eternal forces.

There can be no doubt that post-exilic Judaism borrowed heavily from pagan angelology and demonology in forming its conceptions of the struggle between good and evil. This is evident in the apocalyptic literature of the period. Three very important differences, however, characterize the Judaic view: a. the created status of all intermediaries in relation to the one transcendent Yahweh, Creator; b. the intermediaries, whether good or evil, were always initially created good and c. the emphasis on a unique and limited time-line along which the struggle between good and evil takes place. Each event in time is unique and meaningful in terms of a beginning from Yahweh and the eventual total triumph of Yahweh.

There were at least two lines of thought to account for the existence of demons. One is that there was a primordial personal fall among the good angels. One category called "Nephilim" were seduced by women and had unlawful intercourse with them (Gen 6:1-6; Enoch 6-9). The leader or prince of these fallen angels is Satan.

Another view is one which is close to the absolute Iranian dualism. This is expressed in the writings of the Essenes. In the beginning God created a "Prince of Light" and a "Prince of Darkness". Each of these are at the head of the good and bad angels respectively. Each of these exerts a total effort for good or evil in the world of men. Man chooses to line up behind one or other of the two forces. The ensuing struggle characterizes the drama of history which continues unabated till the last days. All this is fixed and controlled by an all-wise God and, at the appointed time, He will destroy these evil forces forever. This cosmic overview had a strong influence on the moral code of apocalyptic Judaism.³²

Minnerath demonstrates how all these demonologies depend on cosmological conceptions. To the horizontal dualism which opposes the celestial divine world with a sublunary world containing demons is added a vertical dualism placing the forces of God, angels and good men over against the forces of demons and wicked men. Man is the pawn of cosmic forces which surpass him. He can only pray and let come what may. A fatalism of this sort tends to make man a victim rather than a cause of evil on the earth. It therefore effectively excuses man from responsibility for the evil on this earth.³³

The Christian conception of Angels and Demons carried with it the special Judaic distinctions from pagan view, i.e., their created status and unique historical role. The Christian view nevertheless differed in some respects from the Judaic view. While not altering basic cosmic dimensions inherited from Judaism, Christians placed man clearly at the center of the drama of the struggle between good and evil. Man, not the angels is primarily responsible for his own sins and the evil resulting from them. Again, it is man who is the chief instrument by which God conquers this evil. There are two principal reasons for this: a. emphasis on man's dignity as a free being

created in God's image and b. the Incarnation

In the Scriptures and throughout the early Church one finds the oft-repeated theme that the Kingdom of God is established on earth by the power of Jesus, the Incarnate Word, who "dethrones" Satan as the prince of this world. He delivers man from the "Evil One" and the "Powers of Darkness".³⁴ Justin presents the Adoration of the Magi at the birth of Christ as the first defeat of Satan.³⁵ The various aspects of Christ's life culminating in the Crucifixion are made to show this victory over Satan. In more and more ways Christians see man taking center stage by way of the power of Christ. Man's central position is seen to extend back even to the beginning. Both Justin and Tatian see Satan's original fall as due to envy for Christ and a desire to have the worship of men for himself.³⁶

In Christ, not only God but also man wins the final victory over Satan and the powers of evil. This is seen in terms of man's original defeat at the hands of Satan which left him in a condition of sin, slavery and captivity.³⁷

Schultz has concluded that the Fathers of the early Church made sin and its origin an essential part of Christian theology. They saw the need to view the faith in the dualistic cosmic perspectives of the times. But they were careful to present the origins of sin only as an influence to induce free men to sin. It is only in this sense that the cosmic view with satanic powers comes into play. To help them in this task the Fathers of the early Church probably had recourse to Jewish apocalyptic writings. He shows quite conclusively that Irenaeus in particular used these writers in this way although Irenaeus does not specifically mention them. Irenaeus (because of his special historical overview) needed to develop speculations about sin and its origin along lines that culminated in the doctrine of original sin first proposed in its elaborated form by St. Augustine.³⁸

ii. The Angels

As we indicated above (p 40-41), Irenaeus holds firm to the traditional Judeo-Christian doctrine that God created all things. This creation includes things both visible and invisible to man. Although not specifically outlined in the canonical Scriptures, it was the common belief among early Christians that God had created a heavenly realm above the earth where dwelt angels. No doubt this belief was in part at least due to and reinforced by the generally accepted notion of an extended cosmos as outlined above. Irenaeus reflects this common belief in his claim of the existence of created angelic beings inhabiting realms of "seven heavens" encompassing earth:

But the earth is encompassed by seven heavens in which dwell Powers and Angels and Archangels, giving homage to the Almighty God who created all things, not as to one having need of anything, but lest they too be idle and useless and accursed.³⁹

This order of angels is according to the seven gifts of the Spirit of God residing in the Son of God.⁴⁰ There are special "Powers" relating to the action of the Word and the Spirit called Cherubim and Seraphim. These and all the angels unceasingly give glory to God

This God, then, is glorified by His Word, who is His Son for ever, and by the Holy Spirit, who is the Wisdom of the Father of all. And their Powers (those of the Word and of Wisdom), which are called Cherubim and Seraphim, with unfailing voice glorify God, and the entire establishment of heaven gives glory to God, the Father of all.⁴¹

Irenaeus makes it clear that these heavens above wherein dwell the angels forms one whole integrated order with the earth. It is clear that for Irenaeus the Cosmos, a creation of God, is not properly represented by the "dualistic" conception of a divided cosmos common to that period nor by the radical dualism of the Gnostics:

...He has established with the Word the whole world, and angels too are included in the world; and to the whole world he has given laws, that each one keep in his place and overstep not the bound laid down by God, each accomplishing the work marked out for him.⁴²

This cosmic unity is further reinforced by the fact that when man was created and given a rule over paradise, it was in conjunction with the rule already established for the angels. Over all was the Archangel, an "administrator-in-chief"

...And this world of creation, prepared by God before He fashioned man, was given to the man as his domain, with all things whatsoever in it. In the domain were also, with their tasks, the servants of that God who fashioned all, and this domain was in the keeping of the administrator-in-chief, who was set over his fellow-servants; and the servants were angels, but administrator-in-chief the archangel.⁴³

At the same time we must keep in mind that Irenaeus sees the Cosmos as a created unity bearing within itself all the characteristics of a created entity (cf above p 42-43). For him, then, the Cosmos is not an eternal quasi-divine substance which in part or in whole never changes or changes only in never-ending recurring cycles. It is not a Cosmos the mystery of whose meaning is forever hidden. It is not therefore the Cosmos of the various Greco-Roman schools nor the created but alien cosmos of the Gnostics. His Christian view of the Cosmos is rather one with a divinely determined beginning and end. It is one which grows and develops in such a way that each event marking its growth is unique and significant. It is a cosmos which progressively reveals God's purpose in its own process of transformation as it unfolds through time. In short, it is a cosmos with a history.

iii. Satan and His Angels

Irenaeus does not take up the issue of the nature and origin of the Devil and his angels as such directly. He seems to presuppose a certain belief about this matter. We can deduce and reconstruct to a degree, however, his belief on these matters indirectly from his references to the Devil as the cause of sin and evil in man. Consider these two passages:

It is therefore one and the same God the Father who has prepared good things with Himself for those who desire His fellowship, and who remain in subjection to Him; and who has prepared the eternal fire for the ringleader of the apostasy, the devil, and those who revolted with him...⁴⁴

...and that He should execute just judgement towards all; that He may send "spiritual wickednesses" (Eph 6:12) and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous...into everlasting fire...⁴⁵

It is clear from these texts that some of the angels of the Cosmos became involved in an apostasy or rebellion against God. The ringleader of this apostasy is the chief fallen angel, the devil (other names such as "Satan", "the Evil One", "the slanderer"...are given in other passages). The nature of the devil's original apostasy and when it occurred are not clear as Irenaeus does not seem to pay attention to chronological order when mentioning the various occasions of this apostasy. It may be significant that when the acts of apostasy of the devil are mentioned, however, they are always connected in some way with some historical event in which man is involved. At least, if Irenaeus had in mind an original apostasy prior to the creation of man he does not allude to it. The apostasy of the fallen angels, then, is an ongoing and continuing apostasy which parallels and is involved in the history of man from beginning to end. This apostasy therefore also parallels and affects the history of the Cosmos since, as we shall note below, man is at

the center of the developing Cosmos.

We note from a text given above (cf n. 42) that the order of "law" of the Cosmos is established by God. We shall note also as we proceed that the fallen angel's apostasy consists fundamentally in upsetting that order or "law" of the Cosmos by tempting man to rebel against that order. This characterizes the devil as a deceiving schemer and the principal initial and continuing cause of evil in the Cosmos.⁴⁶ The reason that the devil does this is that he is jealous and envious of man's privileged position in the Cosmos (cf p 98-99). From this point the extent of our knowledge is limited. The reason that the devil (and the other fallen angels) should be envious of man and rebel or that men should cooperate with him (them) must remain a mystery until the final victory of God over these forces of evil

...In like manner, also, we must leave the cause why, while all things were made by God, certain of His creatures separated themselves and refused submission to God, and others, indeed the great majority, persevered, and do still persevere, in willing subjection to Him who formed them, and also of what nature those are who sinned, and of what nature those who persevere, we must, I say, leave the cause of these things to God and His Word, to whom alone He said, "Sit at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." (Ps. 110:1)⁴⁷

We shall now follow the various steps of the apostasy of the fallen angels as they affect man. We begin with the fall of Adam and Eve.

3. Evil in Man

After considering the problem of evil in the wider context of the whole of creation we now have a better perspective from which to view evil in man as such. Of course, this is of more immediate theological concern. Again, in presenting the Irenaean doctrine from this point of view, we shall have to keep in mind his anti-Gnostic purpose.

As to the fact of evil in man, Irenaeus is realistic. Man is a sinner. Sin and its consequences, suffering and death are everywhere present. How can one reconcile these facts with the goodness of an all-wise Creator who creates man in His own image and likeness? On this question Irenaeus is basically an optimist. He will begin by saying that God is and always will be good. God's creation, therefore, as it proceeds from His hands, is also good. He rejects at the outset any fundamental dualism - especially the radical dualism of the Gnostics. Yet from this point of departure, how is he to explain the presence of evil as far as man is concerned? Whence arise inclinations and passions which incline man to commit evil acts? Here he must effectively refute the Gnostic solution that the body itself and the material cosmos is evil in nature because of an origin which can be traced back to the divine itself.⁴⁸ Moreover, he must make this refutation by drawing faithfully from that which is given from the Judaeo-Christian tradition and preserved in the Church.

As usual, Irenaeus' approach is basically historical. The answers to these questions must be found in the historical events and their interpretation as recorded in the Scriptures. He begins at the beginning. The origin of evil in man must be traced from the primordial event of history, the fall of Adam and Eve.

1. The Fall of Adam and Eve

All creation, including man, was created in the beginning as good. There was no evil in man or in his situation. From his very creation, God showered on man His choicest gifts. Not only was man created in the image and likeness of God but God also created a paradise for him. The paradise held everything necessary to keep man content and happy. Moreover, the whole world (cosmos) together with the servant angels was his domain. The garden even contained a tree of life to ensure man's immortality in body and spirit. Man also possessed that which was most necessary for his spiritual growth, the constant presence of and communication with the Word of God

So having made man lord of the earth and everything in it, He made him in secret lord also of the servants in it. ...and so that he might have nourishment and grow up in luxury, a place was prepared for him better than this world, well favoured in climate, beauty, light, things good to eat...And so fair and goodly was the garden, the Word of God was constantly walking in it; He would walk round and talk with man, prefiguring what was to come to pass in the future...⁴⁹

Eve was created from Adam to be his help and companion ...yet she is like to and equal to him.⁵⁰ Adam and Eve were created childlike and innocent with no inclination to evil. This childlikeness meant that they were inexperienced, naive and susceptible to temptation

...And Adam and Eve...were naked and were not ashamed...for their thoughts were innocent and childlike, and they had no conception or imagination of the sort that is engendered in the soul by evil, through concupiscence and by lust...For they were then in their integrity, preserving their natural state, for what had been breathed into their frame was the spirit of life; ...now, so long as the spirit still remains in proper order and vigour, it is without imagination or conception of what is shameful...⁵¹

...they were both naked, and were not ashamed,... inasmuch as they, having been created a short time previously, had no understanding of the procreation of children: for it was necessary that they should first come to adult age, and then multiply from that time onward...⁵²

...the man, was a little one: for he was a child and had need to grow so as to come to his full perfection ...and his discretion still undeveloped, wherefore also he was easily led by the deceiver.⁵³

It is clear from these texts that Adam and Eve did not possess perfect knowledge in their original state. They were children called to learn according to the pedagogy of the Master. This again, is consistent with a history at its beginning insofar as history is the forum for the divine pedagogy (see Ch. 5, p. 266-269). But in Paradise man was specially privileged even from a pedagogical point of view since he was in the presence of the Master.⁵⁴

God, however, imposed a special law upon Adam and Eve in the garden in order to assert His lordship and to ensure that man would not become proud:

But so that the man should not have thoughts of grandeur, and...fall into sin against his Creator,... and take up an attitude of self-conceit and arrogance towards God, a law was given him by God, that he might know that he had for lord the Lord of all. And He laid down for him certain conditions: so that if he kept the commandment of God, then he would always remain as he was, that is, immortal; but if he did not he would become mortal, melting into earth, whence his frame had been taken...⁵⁵

It is at this point that evil enters the history of man. This evil is not initiated by man although man is involved in it. The chief apostate angel sees man, an apparently inferior and childlike being, the object of extraordinary favour from God. For him it is a sign of things to

come. Is man destined to be at the center of God's creative design? The angel is filled with envy and jealousy of man and cunningly plans to disrupt God's order in creation by striking at man. He will cause man to fall from his position of special favour with God by tempting him to disobey:

This commandment the man did not keep, but disobeyed God, being misled by the angel, who, becoming jealous of the man and looking on him with envy because of God's many favours which he had bestowed on man...⁵⁶

The Devil's malice in tempting man also has the characteristic of untruth. The Devil will henceforth always be the master of the lie and the head and fount of sin:

He had indeed been already accustomed to lie against God, for the purpose of leading men astray ...he then, lying against the Lord, tempted man,...⁵⁷

...So the angel, having become by falsehood the head and fount of sin...⁵⁸

Irenaeus would insist that Adam and Eve acted freely and willingly in disobeying God since they were guilty and punished. However, their "childlikeness" and inexperience offers some explanation as to why they fell. They did not have faculties of intellect and will sufficiently developed.⁵⁹ In fact, the apparent surprise and shock that Adam and Eve seemed to display after having sinned would seem to indicate more an incompetence in dealing with temptation than genuine malice:

...For having been beguiled by another under the pretext of immortality, he is immediately seized with terror, and hides himself; not as if he were able to escape from God; but, in a state of confusion at having transgressed His command, he feels unworthy to appear before and hold converse with God...⁶⁰

That Adam's sin is only a momentary weakness and misjudgement due to inexperience is shown further by his almost immediate spirit of repentance

...Now, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;"...the sense of sin leads to repentance, and God bestows His compassion on those who are penitent. For Adam showed his repentance by his conduct, through means of the girdle which he used, covering himself with fig leaves...⁶¹

That Adam was more a victim of Satan than a co-conspirator can be seen in the way that his kind of sin is placed over against that of Satan and Cain for comparison. These latter are for that reason cursed and hated by God while man is pardoned.⁶²

Following an insight by Bonwetsch, Wingren sees the Devil (in Irenaeus' view) as trying to deprive man of the life he lived in accordance with the image and likeness of God. Satan was jealous that man, in this respect, was superior to the angels. In this way, the Devil hoped to "dethrone" man from that privileged position. He continues, "...Temptation is temptation to anticipate the end which God has set as an objective, by holding out the promise that the child will not have to wait to grow and increase in order to become like God..."⁶³ This seems to pinpoint the observation that the temptation itself centers in the historical dimensions of man's being and situation, viz., the necessary limitation of time in the process of man's growth and development towards his destiny. This, of course, follows from man's created status in the first place. The actual attaining to the image and likeness of God represents perfection and is only the ultimate goal to be attained at the end of history. As we shall see below, it is only the eventual "Christ-event" that makes this possible.

As many authors have testified, Irenaeus' departs somewhat from an earlier Pauline tradition when he shifts the

emphasis for the cause of evil in the world from Adam to Satan.⁶⁴ This allows him a beginning to an historical type-motif which sets the framework for his overall scheme, i.e., Adam as "typus futuri" of Christ. In this way man is also more clearly seen at the center in the whole historical process of God's plan for salvation. More specifically, it means that Adam must be saved and in Adam the human race as a whole insofar as Adam and the race are recapitulated in the New Adam, Christ. More importantly, perhaps, this is seen by Irenaeus as a more effective way of refuting the Gnostic view of the role of man in Christ as well as the rôle of creation and time in the process of salvation. This subject will be developed at length in Chapter IV.

ii. The Immediate Consequences of the Fall

Irenaeus, in keeping with Judaeo-Christian tradition, considers sin against God to be a very serious matter. In the Fall narrative he cites several immediate consequences of sin. The gravity of these consequences vary in proportion to the gravity of sin. One measures the gravity of sin, in turn, by the depth to which one turns away from God and withdraws one's affection from Him.

It is clear from Irenaeus' description of the Fall and its immediate consequences that he considers the Devil's turning away from and disaffection (hatred) of God to be total and complete. This is illustrated by how, in contradistinction to Adam, he incurs God's curse and punishment of eternal fire:

It was for this reason too, that immediately after Adam had transgressed, as the Scripture relates, He pronounced no curse against Adam personally, but against the ground, in reference to his works,...But the curse in all its fullness fell upon the serpent, which had beguiled them...

And this...does the Lord also say..."Depart from Me ye cursed..." indicating that eternal fire was not originally prepared for man, but for him who beguiled man, and caused him to offend and for him I say, who is the chief of the apostasy, and for those angels who became apostates along with him;...65

If man should become hardened in sin in the manner of the Devil, i.e., persevering in works of wickedness, he will suffer the same fate as the Devil:

...which [fire], indeed, they too shall justly feel, who, like him, persevere in works of wickedness...66

As explained above, Adam's sin is not of Satan's kind. It is merely a lapse in adherence to God due to youth and inexperience. It is followed immediately by repentance. God shows compassion on those who, like Adam are penitent:

...and God bestows His compassion on those who are penitent. For [Adam] showed his repentance by his conduct...For God detested him who had led man astray, but by degrees, and little by little, He showed compassion to him who had been beguiled.67

Nevertheless, God finds it necessary, because of sin, to inflict a certain "punishment" on Adam and Eve. They are cast out of Paradise. Irenaeus feels that this tragedy is more the result of Satan's sin than Adam's sin:

...So the angel, having become by falsehood the head and font of sin, both was himself stricken, having offended against God, and caused the man to be cast forth out of Paradise...68

This expulsion from paradise is accompanied by much pain and suffering.69 The sin of Adam and Eve is also the cause of death in man:

...And even as she, having indeed a husband, Adam, ...having become disobedient, was made the cause of death, both to herself and to the entire human race;...⁷⁰

Irenaeus sees these "punishments" inflicted on Adam and Eve more in the way of benefits than sanctions and more the result of God's mercy than His anger. Expulsion from Paradise and death are means by which God helps man to avoid sin. Expulsion removed him from the Tree of Life in the Garden and hence from interminable opportunities to sin. Even death is a benefit if one realizes that man's spirit can live on to be with God. In death man can die to sin and live to God.

Wherefore, also He drove him out of Paradise, and removed him far from the tree of life, not because he envied him the tree of life, as some venture to assert, but because He pitied him /and did not desire/ that he should continue a sinner forever, nor that the sin which surrounded him should be immortal and evil interminable and irremediable. But He set a bound to his state of sin, by interposing death... so that man, ceasing at length to live to sin and dying to it, might begin to live to God.⁷¹

In these descriptions of Adam's condition after the Fall, Irenaeus is building his case for Adam as the visible and manifest historical "type" of man in history generally. Adam represents man in the duration of the flow of history from the Fall to the Parousia of Christ. Here man is the "sinner" as in a general condition or state. He is one who makes the decision to fall and then must make the decision to repent or not. He is one who hopes to emerge from death as escaping from sin in order to be with God. This "typing" of Adam is at one and the same time a description, an explanation and a solution to the problem of evil.

The consequences of sin, however, reach more intangible and imponderable depths still in the contemplation of the horrifying possibility that man in this historical condition can sin and yet not repent. Man, as did Adam, must also feel the effects of even this tragedy. In his own family, brother kills brother out of envy and remains unrepentant. Adam's sin has allowed Satan to enter the affairs of men and gain a solid foothold in men like Cain:

...But the rebel angel, the same who had brought the man into disobedience, and made him a sinner, and been the cause of his being cast out of the garden, not content with this first evil, brought about in the brothers a second one; for, filling Cain with his own spirit, he made him a slayer of his brother...⁷²

Unlike Adam, Cain is an example of true wickedness. Not only is he unrepentant, but he is insolent to God: His wickedness is premeditated and persistent:

...For what he (Cain) had planned, that did he also put into practice: he tyrannized over and slew him...For if it is worse to slay a brother, much worse is it thus insolently and irreverently to reply to the omniscient God as if he could baffle Him...⁷³

The case of Adam, however, had no analogy with this but was altogether different...⁷⁴

Cain is the symbol of the unrepentant sinner. In him Satan finds, so to speak, an "incarnation" of his own spirit. He is Satan's human agent to prey upon, deceive, corrupt and/or kill the rest of mankind. This, also, is part of man's condition. It affects not only the individual but the overall sociological and cultural condition of mankind at large. It brings conflict not only within oneself but within the whole social fabric...i.e., the "just" vs the "unjust". Thus is the ongoing and relentless struggle of good versus evil

throughout the course of history described and explained.

The condition just described is a kind of state where Satan and his angels hold a certain "kingship" over man and mankind. He holds the world in "bondage". First and primarily he holds the unrepentant sinner in bondage because he causes the sinner to be burdened with hate, guilt, fear and despair. These factors prevent his returning to God wherein lies his life and happiness. Even the repentant sinner experiences a certain "bondage" insofar as the suffering in living under all the personal and sociological aspects of the historical condition of sin prevents him from freely enjoying the possession of God. As long as he is in this life he knows that he cannot fully "escape" from this condition. In this sense, death is at one and the same time a part and the most manifest sign of this condition of bondage.

Man in the state of sin is in a state of loss. He has either lost the "likeness" to God as in the case of the unrepentant sinner (e.g. Cain) or he is in a state of being able easily to lose it (Adam). It is possession of the Spirit of God that gives likeness to God. To lose the Spirit, therefore, is to lose the likeness. The symbol of this loss is death. In any case, all men are in constant need of the action of the Spirit in Him which saves.⁷⁵

The divine initiative to save comes also by way of history centering in the "Christ-event". Here the Word by His incarnation becomes the New Adam who reverses the whole process of man's fall, conquers Satan, and releases man from bondage.⁷⁶

4. The Role of Evil Throughout History

i. Evil as the Enemy of Man

Irenaeus presents evil as the condition of being in opposition to God. Evil is also the enemy of man. How do we understand this? As we have seen above, the Devil is at the center of the conspiracy against God and it is he who also holds man in bondage by perpetuating the historical condition of sin. This condition is the "enemy" of man because in it man's growth is impeded or stopped altogether.

Historically, since man is created in the image and likeness of God, his destiny is to grow toward that likeness. Sin, which is at the heart of all evil, turns man's mind and heart away from God so that he loses his likeness to God and ceases to grow. In this way, man's humanity has been spoiled and corrupted. His mind is darkened, and his will is hardened against the good. The only hope is, that in realizing this dreadful condition, he will turn back to God again.

Although the ever-present historical condition of man is inimical in the sense that he is constantly in bondage of and in conflict with evil it is not an undisturbed or unchallenged condition. The Christ-event also introduces a condition into the historical scene, the effect of which extends beyond the time of the event itself to embrace all of history (see Chapter IV, p. 164-170). This in effect means that irrespective of his condition at any time man is never without the opportunity to turn to God and begin again his process of life and growth. Thus regardless of the sequence of events that mark the ebb and flow of the battle between good and evil throughout history, there exists a certain continuity in man's basic confrontation in and opportunities for the attainment of his destiny.

Irenaeus is able to achieve this view of man clearly because he personalizes and centers evil in Satan. In this way it is not man who is the enemy of God but rather Satan is the enemy of both God and man. This has the effect of leaving man (irrespective of time and place) always free to choose God.⁷⁷ In this way, God and man can be together in the struggle against the enemy. This struggle between the Devil and man was witnessed to in the Scriptures from the beginning:

For this end did He put enmity between the serpent and the woman and her seed, they keeping it up mutually; He, the sole of whose foot should be bitten, having power also to tread upon the enemy's head; but the other biting killing and impeding the steps of man until the seed did come appointed to tread down his head...⁷⁸

We can follow this struggle between God and the men who are faithful to Him on the one hand and the Devil, his angels and those men who follow him on the other. It begins with Cain and continues in his descendants:

...Whereupon God become exceedingly angry and cursed Cain; and it came to pass, that every generation in the line of succession from him became like its forefather...⁷⁹

Beginning with Cain, the long history of the just persecuting the unjust continues:

...And thus Abel died, slain by his brother, a sign for the future, that some would be persecuted and straightened and slain, but the unjust would slay and persecute the just.⁸⁰

...he tyrannized over and slew him; God subjecting the just to the unjust, that the former might be proved as the just one by the things which he suffered, and the latter detected as the unjust by those which he perpetrated.⁸¹

For a time, the tide of evil grew ever stronger almost eclipsing the force of justice on the earth:

And wickedness very long-continued and widespread pervaded all the race of men, until very little seed of justice was in them.⁸²

That the source of such wickedness was the fallen angels is implied by the fact that they are always influencing men to do evil. This influence reaches a climax as a result of "unlawful unions" between angels and men (this produced a generation of giants). Through these unions the wicked angels were able to introduce all manner of evil practices in human culture:

...The angels, then, brought to their wives as gifts teachings of evil...hatred, amours, passions...the bonds of witchcraft, every sorcery and idolatry, hateful to God; and when this was come into the world, the affairs of wickedness were propagated to overflowing, and those of justice dwindled to very little.⁸³

God intervenes, purifying the world with the Flood⁸⁴ but one of Noah's sons, Cham, like Cain, falls under a curse because of sin. His descendants, like those of Cain are accursed and therefore increase and multiply in sin.⁸⁵ These were in conflict with the "good strain" from Sem and Japheth who had won a blessing...eventually resulting in the just among the Jews and Gentiles respectively.⁸⁶ Thus there is a dramatic struggle between the forces of good and evil throughout history. The Devil influencing man to pride and ingratitude, God intervening by covenants, blessings, punishments, and other special ways:

...For he (Satan) thus rendered him (man) more ungrateful towards his Creator, obscured the love which God had towards man, and blinded his mind not to perceive what is worthy of God, comparing himself with, and judging himself equal to, God.⁸⁷

To counter and defeat this Satanic influence in history,

God also continues to intervene in a planned and coordinated fashion throughout history. This intervention culminates in the Christ-event. Irenaeus makes frequent allusions to this historical sequence. In the Demonstration he organizes his material into a kind of summary or short history of God's interventions.⁸⁸

ii. God Conquers Satan in the New Adam

As we shall discover in the following chapter, Christ, although truly man, is unique in that He is also God. The humanity of Christ constitutes a new creation of man. Christ is therefore a new beginning and center for man and, as such, constitutes a New Adam. As we shall also discover, however, there is a continuity in the flesh between the Old and the New Adam in such a way that the New Adam recapitulates the Old Adam and with him all mankind. (cf below, p 191).

The point to be made here is that this new man (in Christ) is not the "defeated" man in Adam. Therefore, in Christ, God has the means to defeat Satan from within man himself. In a sense it would be true to say that only in Christ is man truly man as he should be. All other men are "defeated" in Adam. Only God could defeat Satan. By becoming incarnate He presents man with the opportunity to cooperate with Him in defeating the common enemy.⁸⁹

We should not imagine, however, that Satan is defeated in the fact of the Incarnation itself. Jesus is fully an historical figure. He must himself grow, develop and enter the historical struggle between good and evil. He must encounter and defeat Satan on his own ground, i.e., man in his historical condition which now represents, to a degree, his domain. Here we see the Devil's power demonstrated when

to be the stronger adversary. His obedience unto death reverses man's defeat that was inaugurated and symbolized in the First Adam's fall:

...For doing away with [the effects of] that disobedience of man which had taken place at the beginning by the occasion of a tree, "He became obedient unto death, even death of the cross: "(Phil. 2:8) rectifying that disobedience which had occurred by reason of a tree, through that obedience which was [wrought out] upon the tree [of the cross]...⁹⁰

Christ, in accepting death in this way breaks through to the new life of the Resurrection which is eternal life without death. Thus Christ conquers Satan even to his ultimate realm of death and thereby frees all mankind from his power. We see this same concept reflected in the obedience of Mary as opposed to the disobedience of Eve.⁹¹

The matter of how this victory of Christ extends to all mankind for all time and how the realization of this, in turn, effectively refutes the Gnostic system, will be covered in Chapter IV.

iii. Christ Versus Antichrist

Christ, having won the victory, invites His followers to carry that victory to all mankind. The defeat of man that began in a primordial event at the beginning and that throughout history spread to all mankind has been halted. The tide of battle now moves in the other direction.

By announcing the Gospel the Christian (through the Church) carries the victory of Christ back over the same ground where the battle had been lost. This continues the historical process of the conflict into the present and on into the future. Even though the Devil's power is now fundamentally broken, he still tries his utmost to oppose the

spread of the inevitable victory of Christ. This opposition will ultimately culminate in the Antichrist in the last days.⁹² The Antichrist, imbued with the spirit and power of Satan, will rule as king and try to persuade men that he is God

...For he (Antichrist) being endued with all the power of the Devil, shall come, not as a righteous king ...but an impious unjust, and lawless one; as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself all satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols to persuade men that he himself is God, raising up himself as the only idol, having in himself the multifarious errors of the other idols. This he does, in order that they who do now worship the devil by means of many abominations, may serve himself by this one idol.⁹³

The Antichrist will deny the divinity of Christ and His coming in the flesh and will try to replace Christ as the one to be adored.⁹⁴ Thus, like his true master, Satan, he will lie and deceive. All those like Marcion and Valentinus who pervert the Scriptures so as to deny the true nature and role of Christ are therefore already promoting the cause of Antichrist. They are thereby the agents of Satan.

...Let those persons, therefore, who blaspheme the Creator either by openly expressed works, such as the disciples of Marcion, or by a perversion of the sense of Scripture, as those of Valentinus and all the Gnostics falsely so called, be recognized as agents of Satan...For he did not venture to blaspheme his Lord openly of himself; as also in the beginning he led man astray through the instrumentality of the serpent, concealing himself, as it were, from God.⁹⁵

Satan's intention or design is to usurp the role of the Word of God in history and ultimately to have the adoration of men for himself. He hopes to finally achieve this goal by way of a kind of "incarnation" in Antichrist. Irenaeus makes an obvious parallel here. Just as the ultimate expression of God's historical involvement with man is the incarnation of His Word,

so also the final expression of Satan's historical influence with man is a kind of "incarnation" by way of Antichrist. But in the end the Spirit of Christ (the Spirit of truth) will destroy the Antichrist.

...the Apostle Paul again, speaking in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, and at the same time explaining the cause of His advent says: "And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the Spirit of His mouth."⁹⁶

That God must be the victor in the struggle with Satan is obvious from the fact that God only is Creator; the Devil is only a creature. The Devil can only destroy what God has created. God can heal, rebuild or bring back to life what the Devil destroys. God is compared to the Devil as life is to death. Thus God always and at all times holds supremacy over the Devil. If the Devil has time to oppose God's creation it is a time given, controlled and limited by God.⁹⁷

In the final analysis, even evil and Satan will be made to serve the designs of the Creator.⁹⁸

A more complete elaboration of the role of Antichrist will be presented in Chapter VI.

1. Angelic beings are an integral part of the created universe governed by God.
2. The ultimate origin of evil in the universe are those angels who rebelled against God. This rebellion was inspired by envy or jealousy of the special privileges given to man by God. This envy and rebellion is involved in progressive fashion in the history of man. The rebellion is under the headship of Satan (the Devil).
3. Evil in man begins with temptation by Satan of Adam and Eve and their subsequent fall. This is fully an "historical" event. Although Adam and Eve were fully responsible for their sin, their guilt is mitigated somewhat by reason of their "infantile" state. The principle cause of evil in man is therefore the Tempter.
4. The immediate result of the sin of Adam and Eve is the expulsion from Paradise and the loss of its privileges. This constitutes a drastic alteration in man's historical condition which prevails until the present. Fallen Adam is therefore an historical type of fallen man generally. The fallen condition means a life of pain and suffering as well as physical death. Worse still, it means a condition wherein man is constantly under the influence of Satanic powers.
5. Beginning with Cain, the effects of the active involvement of Satan and his angels in perpetuating evil among men can be traced down through history. Satan inspires many to be "unjust" and systematically to persecute the "just". In this sense, he holds a tyranny over men and holds men in "bondage".
6. Man is nevertheless always free and never without the opportunity to overcome evil. This fact is demonstrated first in Adam and Eve's quick repentance after their Fall and God's forgiveness.

7. After Adam's fall and subsequent repentance, the "curse" of God falls upon Satan and not upon Adam thereby indicating the principle cause of evil. This "shifting" of the blame from Adam to Satan allows Irenaeus to make of Adam a "typus futuri" - a type of Christ. In this way man can be seen in Adam to be at the center of an historical process which moves toward the Incarnation.
8. By centering evil in Satan, Irenaeus emphasises man's freedom to be an ally of God in the struggle against evil and its principle causes, the Devil and his angels.
9. "History" is viewed primarily from the point of view of a dramatic struggle between the forces of good and evil. On the one hand, there is the development of Satan's evil influence throughout history and on the other, God's interventions into history to aid man in overcoming these evil forces. In this sense the Incarnation is the ultimate intervention of God. By fully entering into the human condition as true man, the Word of God defeats Satan on his own ground.
10. Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Word continues this victory over Satan in an ongoing historical process. This victorious struggle of the resurrected Christ against Satan culminates in His victory over Antichrist at the Parousia. The Antichrist is Satan's final agent of evil in the world.

CHAPTER IV

REDEMPTION BY THE HISTORICAL CHRIST

From the beginning Christians have always believed that Jesus of Nazareth is the redeemer of all mankind. Why or how one arrives at this belief is consequent upon how one answers the fundamental question: Who is Jesus? In other words, what is the precise origin and nature of Jesus? Thus the doctrine of the redemption can be seen as consequent upon the doctrine of the Incarnation.

What we understand today by the technical term, "Incarnation" or more broadly by "the Christ-Event" is and has always been the central mystery of orthodox Christianity. Of course, the present expression, form and elaboration of the doctrine is historically conditioned and it is the result of centuries of theological thought and development.

However, already in the second century with Irenaeus one can recognise considerable elaboration on the basic ideas involved in the Incarnation and Redemption. Moreover, the essential lines of their central place in the overall theological scheme are clearly indicated.

Evidently, as far as the Bishop of Lyons is concerned, the impetus to attempt such a work lies not so much in the nature of Christian belief itself as in the threat to the faithful posed by the Gnostics. They too see that the question, Who is Jesus?, is central to the pursuit of doctrinal development. It is their answers and conclusions to this question that are radically and dangerously different.

It is understandable, then, that in the last three books of Adversus Haereses and in the Demonstration Irenaeus seems to be constantly preoccupied with this question; Who is Jesus? He exposes clearly from every contemporary viewpoint the Church's stand on this all-important question. He thereby

hoped to draw his flock away from the dangerous and popular Gnostic view of things. As was the case for the doctrinal points discussed in the first three chapters, here again we shall consider the importance of Irenaeus' historical approach.

It would be helpful to recall at this point that the various gnostic approaches to the nature of Jesus were by and large a-historical. Jesus is not seen as being in a truly historical context with all that that implies. (cf above, p 26) These a-historical positions evidently led to a denial of the Incarnation. A further consequence of such positions was a virtual denial of the value attached to the sufferings and passion of the Saviour. In this case "redemption" also takes on a radically different meaning.

Irenaeus sees clearly that the proper starting-point for a correct understanding of the Incarnation is to view Jesus first of all as an historical person not unlike any other human being. Any considerations regarding His relationship to the Divine must not in any way prejudice the fundamental fact of His historicity. Furthermore, any facts or truths about the divine in Jesus or in mankind as a whole, must come in and through this historical context. It is in historical events that the Divine reveals Himself to man.

From this starting-point, as we proceed in our analysis of Irenaeus' works, we will be able to assess how Irenaeus' theological view of history permeates virtually every facet of that theological complex of ideas which centers in the Incarnation.

1. The Incarnation

i. The Meaning of the Incarnation

Irenaeus describes the origin and nature of Jesus in several ways. Usually he will elaborate upon expressions taken directly from scripture. A favorite expression employed in this way is "coming in the flesh"¹. Perhaps he prefers this expression because the phrase itself seems to refute the Gnostic teachings directly. According to Gnostic belief the body or "flesh" of man had no value whatsoever. It was often considered even to be a hindrance or evil to the human spirit. Consequently, for a divine being to come "in the flesh" would be to the Gnostic, unthinkable (cf p 26-30). Irenaeus' rejection of the Gnostic view is clear and emphatic:

These are they against whom the Lord has cautioned us beforehand; and His disciple, in his epistle already mentioned, commands us to avoid them when he says: "For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh..."
(2 John 7:8)²

Moreover, Jesus' coming in the "flesh" regards not only his bodily being but also His relation to and development within a fully human situation. In other words, He, like any other human being is situated within a specific historical context. Although Irenaeus may not use the word "historical", the point to be made here is that his elaborations on the Incarnation when put together do carry all the essential notions associated with that word. For example, he will stress the point that Jesus "passed through every stage of life"³ just like any other individual and this is seen to be necessary.

A further case in point regards the event of Jesus' birth. Irenaeus must hold to Jesus' human condition of

being born of a woman while holding also to the biblical and traditional teaching of His divine nature. This means that although the birth of Jesus is, as such, a real historical event: a fully human event, it is nevertheless also unique in that the person born is also of a divine generation:

That John knew the one and the same Word of God, and that He was the only-begotten and that He became incarnate for our salvation, Jesus Christ our Lord, I have sufficiently proved... And Matthew, too, recognizing one ~~and~~ the same Jesus Christ, exhibiting his generation as a man from the Virgin...⁴

The uniqueness of this extraordinary birth, however, does not make it an isolated event, as it were, abstracted from the flow of history. Quite the contrary, it is fully within and the key to a wider, deeper and ongoing historical context that reaches back to King David. Jesus is the end and the designated heir of a divinely inaugurated royalty line with social, cultural and religious values that are all part of the historical context:

And Matthew, too, recognizing one and the same Jesus Christ, exhibiting his generation as a man from the Virgin, even as God did promise David that He would raise up from the fruit of his body an eternal King, having made the same promise to Abraham...⁵

and this historical continuity reaches back to the very beginning - to Adam and Eve. Here it is indicated that Jesus is the key figure in the Creator's grand design for the conquest of man's mortal enemy:

For this end did He put enmity between the serpent and the woman and her seed, they keeping it up mutually; He, the sole of whose foot should be bitten, having power also to tread upon the enemy's head; but the other biting, killing and impeding the steps of man until the seed did come appointed to tread down his head...⁶

Now since Irenaeus understands Adam and Eve to be the progenitors of the whole human race as an historical fact,⁷ Jesus is understood to be "in the flesh" in the fullest possible historical sense. So it must be clear at this point that the fact of Jesus' being divine does not in any way diminish or eclipse His humanness even to the point of being fully historical. On the other hand, neither does his humanness in any way diminish the fullness of His divinity. This is also part of what Irenaeus means by being "Incarnate";

...For I have shown from the Scriptures (III,3,6,) that no one of the sons of Adam is as to everything, and absolutely, called God, or named Lord. But that He is Himself in His own right, beyond all men who ever lived, God and Lord, and King Eternal, and the Incarnate Word...⁸

Thus the uniqueness of Jesus arises from the fact that He is of two distinct births; two distinct origins, one of divine the other of man. Yet both of these origins are understood from historical perspectives: the divine is before history but is the "Lord of History"; the human arising within history as a specific event in a fully historical context as seen above. There can be no doubt that in Jesus there is a double generation:

...Now the Scriptures would not have testified these things of Him if, like others, He had been a mere man. But that He had, beyond all others, in Himself that preeminent birth which is from the Most High Father, and also experienced that preeminent generation which is from the Virgin, (Isa 7:14) the divine scriptures do in both respects testify of Him...⁹

Irenaeus understands Jesus to be one person in whom resides the magnificently rich and varied facets of both the divine and the human. This is reflected in the manner that Irenaeus employs the various scriptural names referring to Jesus: "The Christ", "Lord", "The Word", "Son of God"...

All of these names and many others had traditionally been used to refer to the one person, Jesus. Unlike the Gnostics who used such names as though referring to distinctly different persons, Irenaeus uses them to demonstrate the varied aspects and rôles of this one and the same Jesus.¹⁰

It is the refusal of the Gnostics to accept the mystery of the divine "becoming flesh" in any truly historical sense that is the root cause of their defection from the truth. The Valentinians deny the human aspect of this "becoming"; the Ebionites deny the divine aspect. In either case, the result is tragically the same: an essential misconception of the nature of Jesus and a cutting oneself off from the source of life:

Vain therefore are the disciples of Valentinus who put forth this opinion, in order that they may exclude the flesh from salvation, and cast aside what God has fashioned.¹¹

Vain also are the Ebionites, who do not receive by faith into their soul the union of God and man, but who remain in the old leaven of natural birth...¹²

There is another way that an historical viewpoint supports faith in the Incarnation. This is what we might term, "Irenaeus' proof from history". As was explained in Chapter Two, the Word of God prepared the way for the Incarnation by announcing His "coming" through the Prophets. The fulfilling of the prophecies in the "Christ-Event"¹³ constitutes "proof" for the event just as the event itself proves the prophecies to be true. Why is that? Because the prophecies and the event itself, separated as they are by centuries of history, constitute a developmental pattern of events that can be explained only by a divine transcending power. This power is the Word of God, the Lord of History who guides all

of history from beginning to end. Now it is clear from the words of these prophets that the coming Christ would be constituted in such a way as to be both God and man:

...thus says the prophet Habakkuk: God shall come from the south, and the Holy One from Mount Effrem. His power covered the heavens over, and the Earth is full of His praise. Before His face shall go forth the Word, and His feet shall advance in the plains." (Hab. 3:3,5.) Thus he indicates in clear terms that He is God, and that His advent was /to take place/ in Bethlehem, and from mount Effrem, which is towards the south of the inheritance, and that /He is/ man. For he says, "His feet shall advance in the plains;" and this is an indication proper to man.¹⁴

Notice also that the prophecies themselves describe this coming in historical parameters: time, place, hereditary descent, again:

And again, specifying the place of His advent, he says: "The Lord hath spoken from Zion,..." And that it is from that region which is towards the south of the inheritance of Judah that the Son of God shall come, who is God and who was from Bethlehem, where the Lord was born....¹⁵

But the uniqueness of the God-man is so extraordinary from the historical point of view that it brings into history something totally new. That is to say, just as God comes into man in an utterly new way in the Incarnation, effecting a change without precedent so also the Christ-event brings a "newness" into history which is also without precedent:

...What then did the Lord bring to us by His advent? --know ye that He brought all /possible/ novelty, by bringing Himself who had been announced. For this very thing was proclaimed beforehand, that a novelty should come to renew and quicken mankind. For the advent of the King is previously announced...But when the king has actually come....the question will not then be asked by any that are possessed of sense what new thing the king has brought... For He has

brought Himself, and has bestowed on men these good things which were announced beforehand...¹⁶

This "newness" brought by Christ's advent "in the flesh" inaugurates a new phase in man's relation to God:

And again, speaking in reference to the angel, he says: "But at that time the angel Gabriel...(Lk 1: 26, etc.). For all things had entered upon a new phase, the Word arranging after a new manner the advent in the flesh, that He might win back to God that human nature (hominem) which had departed from God; and therefore men were taught to worship God after a new fashion...¹⁷

This new phase affects time so profoundly that it brings it to that "fullness" which the Lord of History held in His design:

And again, writing to the Romans about Israel he (Paul) says: Whose are the fathers and from whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed forever." (Rom 9:5) And again, in his Epistle to the Galatians, he says: "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth His Son, made from a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption..." (Gal 4: 4-5)¹⁸

It is now evident that Irenaeus, in several approaches to the question of the origin and nature of Jesus, takes an historical viewpoint. In every case thus far considered, this historical view appears as an integral and essential element of his presentation.

ii. Incarnation, Creation and Recapitulation

The Word of God who created man in the beginning is the same One who became incarnate in Jesus. This joins Creation to Incarnation in such a way as to effect intimate relationships between God and man

There is therefore one God who by the Word and Wisdom created and arranged all things; but this is the Creator (Demiurge) who has granted this world to the human race... Now this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ who in the last times was made a man among men, that He might join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God.¹⁹

By "Wisdom" Irenaeus means the Spirit of God who works with the Word not only to create²⁰ but also to cooperate in all actions of the Word associated with the Incarnation. Only the Word, however, becomes incarnate.

For Irenaeus, then, the Christ-event is not a sudden, unexpected or foreign interjection into history as the Gnostics would have it, but a completion, a perfection of the work of creation which has been supported and directed throughout the course of history. But how is creation to be understood within the Incarnation itself?

As we have seen above²¹ man was made in the image of God. As that image is the Word, we can say (to speak in classical terms) that Jesus is the final and exemplary cause of man. Again, since man cannot attain to perfection except through the constant sustaining and saving operation of that same Word, He is also the efficient cause of man and his development.²²

When God creates He is, in the very act of creating, united to what He creates. In the Incarnation the humanity that is created is united in such a way to its Creator (the Word) that a new creation or recreation of man is achieved. Insofar as Christ is this recreated man he is perfect but non-creative.

Insofar as He is the Word, however, He is the Creator who from this point in time and this creation as center continues to creatively perfect mankind throughout history. Irenaeus would never imply that man becomes creator even in Jesus. In the Incarnation the divine and the human remain clearly distinct.²³

This is not to say that Jesus' humanity does not surpass the humanity of creation. The uniqueness of Jesus is well established in Irenaeus. Otherwise how could Jesus' humanity be the term, the end-point of perfection toward which all mankind progresses?²⁴ More importantly, how could Jesus conquer man's enemy, the Evil One, and save man unless that generation from the virgin was divinely powerful and therefore utterly different from that of any other man? Only in Jesus, therefore, is found that image after whom man is created

And how shall he (man) escape from the generation subject to death, if not by means of a new generation ...that generation which flows from the virgin through faith?...But who else is superior to and more eminent than, that man who was formed after the likeness of God, except the Son of God, after whose image man was created?²⁵

There is, therefore, a creative continuity proceeding from Adam to Christ which is never broken but only increased by a difference in kind.

Irenaeus also sees a continuity by way of analogy between the two creations in Adam and Christ. Adam was created from the virgin earth and Christ from the Virgin Mary. But it is that same flesh of Adam that is taken up in Mary to form the body of Christ

But if the former was taken from the dust, and God was his Maker, it was incumbent that the latter also, making a recapitulation in Himself, should be formed as man by God, to have an analogy with the former as respects His origin. Why, then, did not God again take dust, but wrought so that the

formation should be made of Mary? It was that there might not be another formation called into being, nor any other which should require to be saved, but that the very same formation should be summed up in Christ as had existed in Adam, the analogy having been preserved.²⁶

The doctrine of recapitulation has been thoroughly researched in this century by many authors. Daniélou, however, had recently approached the main lines of the recapitulation from an historical viewpoint.²⁷ We should consider them here. With the words quoted above: "the very same formation should be summed up in Christ as had existed in Adam" we have expressed the first meaning of Irenaeus' doctrine of recapitulation.²⁸ Even this has an historical connotation for Irenaeus because what Christ "sums up" or "recapitulates" is what had been created originally in the beginning in Adam and had been handed on down through history from generation to generation to Mary. It is, in this sense, not a new reality

God recapitulated in Himself the ancient formation of man, that He might kill sin, deprive death of its power, and vivify man; and therefore His works are true.²⁹

It is the same "Lord of History" who creates flesh and blood in the beginning and who incarnates Himself in that same flesh and blood in the Christ-event. By so doing, he effects a recapitulation of that original creation and thereby saves it:

But now the case stands thus, that the Word has saved that which really was created...For the Lord, taking dust from the earth, moulded man; and it was upon his behalf that all the dispensation of the Lord's advent took place. He had Himself, therefore, flesh and blood, recapitulating in Himself not a certain other, but that original handiwork of the Father, seeking out that thing which had perished.³⁰

According to Daniélou, this first meaning is not recapitulation in its full and proven sense. The proper sense

consists rather in a taking up again of the race of Adam (the whole human race) including all its aspects. Here it is the historical unfolding and display of mankind that is indicated. For example:

He thus points out the recapitulation that should take place in His own person of the effusion of blood from the beginning, of all the righteous men and of the prophets, and that by means of Himself there should be a requisition of their blood.³¹

These sacrifices are types (prefigurations) in the concrete historical sense that Irenaeus intends them (cf p 187). They can be included along with many other prefigurations of the same type

For the prophets used not to prophesy in word alone, but in visions also, and in their mode of life, and in their actions...³²

In this perspective of Jesus recapitulating all that has gone before, Irenaeus sees history divided into four "stages" marked by covenants.³³ According to Scharl, this historical sense of recapitulation is not in respect to a numerical totalization of the race but is rather of an intentional nature. Before the Incarnation, the Word was recaptulating the race by intention in view of the Incarnation. A similar "intentional" recapitulation may be seen in the way that Irenaeus draws an analogy between the development of each individual and the development of the race. An individual's childhood recapitulates the early history of the human race, etc.. The historical development of the personal life of Jesus, therefore, recapitulates the development of the personal life of every individual as well as that of the race

Being a Master therefore...He also possessed the age of a master, not despising or evading any condition of humanity, not setting aside in Himself that law which He had appointed for the human race, but sanctifying every age, by that

period corresponding to it which belonged to Himself...He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying those who are of this age...³⁴

In this connection it would be instructive to allude to a point made by Wingren that for Irenaeus recapitulation in a real sense begins only at the Incarnation.³⁵ He seems to agree with Scharl that Irenaeus makes no reference to the movement of Creation towards its destination in Christ by the term "recapitulation". Certainly, though, Irenaeus would understand that the same Word who creates and guides mankind through history and who also becomes incarnate would have a recapitulative intention just as He would have a saving intention. For it is also true that, properly speaking, salvation becomes real only at the Incarnation; yet salvation extends to the just of ages past by "intention". It is clear from the above texts as well as from many others that Irenaeus would conceive of the Divine actions of recapitulating and saving as one and the same in effect.³⁶ Only such a view would be consistent with everything happening in the total time line: past present and future, as one single divine economy.³⁷

When considering Christ's recapitulating action, extending from the present into the future, one must think of Jesus in His humanity not only as to his being but also as to his action. Wingren has made this point well.³⁸ Everything that Jesus has done as the historical Jesus: ministry, passion, death and everything He has done as the resurrected Lord is an integral part of recapitulation. So that recapitulation can be considered as a dynamic process going on continuously from the moment the Incarnation began. This follows from the doctrine that He rose in the same flesh in which He suffered.³⁹ The ongoing recapitulation till the end of time is itself an historical process.

Recapitulation in Irenaeus also includes the idea of a new headship. By the Incarnation and the effusion of the Spirit which follows, all mankind, in its numerical totality, past, present, and future is brought to salvation in Jesus their head. This is the traditional concept drawn from Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians. It is the most powerful and comprehensive of the Irenaeian concepts. The many passages referring to this aspect are well known. This headship and saving power extends to all from Adam himself,⁴⁰ through the generations of man past,⁴¹ to the present through the Church⁴² and to the future, till the end of time.⁴³

Through the action of the Spirit which He sends, this same Incarnate Lord extends his headship also to the invisible realm of the spirit both in men and in the heavens above.⁴⁴ Finally, His headship extends to the whole Cosmos,⁴⁵ The dimensions of which, are signified by the Cross.⁴⁶ The all embracing "Cosmic" view is typically Judaec-Christian in character with its associated characteristic time conception.⁴⁷ In His recapitulating rôle, Christ is conceived as the pivot of Salvation history throughout the height, breadth, and depth of the Cosmos from the beginning to the end of time.⁴⁸

Evidently, by way of concepts of creation and recapitulation, Irenaeus' historical approach penetrates his conception of the Incarnation to its deepest levels. Conversely, His view of history is structured theologically with the Incarnation and Recapitulation at the center.⁴⁹

iii. Incarnation and Unity

Evidently Irenaeus understands the "coming in the flesh" of the Word of God entirely within historical perspectives. The Incarnation is, first of all, an historical event. The nature of Jesus is understood only when His divine and human origins are seen in their proper historical contexts. The relationships between the divine and the human in Christ and, in turn, their relationships to all of creation is envisioned in an ordered historical panorama.

What are the effects or consequences of the Christ-event? For Irenaeus, the point at issue is the bringing together of God and man. The resulting unity can be considered at two levels: a. unity in Jesus Himself and b. unity between God and all of mankind. A further consideration is how this unity extends to all of creation. This unity issue must be understood from an historical vantage-point for several reasons. For example, we noted in Chapter 3 that the Fall of Man was an historical event catastrophic in its consequences as far as this unity is concerned. Man is separated from God by sin and evil. It follows that the Incarnation must effect not only a specific and unique unity between man and God, but also and above all a reunion that would bring salvation to mankind as a whole.

Once again, it is essential to understand that Irenaeus' historical approach to the unity issue is in opposition to an a-historic gnostic approach to this problem of evil and the disruption of unity consequent upon it.

a. Unity in the Person of Jesus

There can be no doubt that for Irenaeus the divine and the human in Jesus are as one. In Jesus there exists an ineffable unity between God and man. However, one will not find in Irenaeus a direct metaphysical elaboration on how such a union is possible.⁵⁰ His purpose is not to write a christology as such but rather to overthrow the doctrines of the Gnostics. In this case at least, it is necessary to deduce indirectly his conception of the unity in the person of Jesus from his refutations of Gnostic claims to disunity in the phenomenon known as "Jesus". In the Gnostic system there is disunity everywhere even within the divine itself. Irenaeus brings arguments against this conception of things at every level but especially where the person of Christ is concerned. Here as his christological views emerge they form also an essential part of his view of history.

Gnostic views on the composition of Jesus vary according to the different schools within the gnostic movement. However, one may consider, as Irenaeus does, the views of "the disciples of Ptolemaeus whose school may be described as a bud from that of Valentinus"⁵¹ as the most important and the most characteristic.

According to Irenaeus, the error in the Gnostic view does not stem from a rejection of Scripture but rather from the manner of interpreting Scripture.⁵² The Gnostics interpret the scriptures erroneously because they approach them with apriori presuppositions about the nature of God and Creation. These presuppositions, however, have no basis in scripture. What this means to Irenaeus is that they have no basis in fact or reality because he considers the scriptures as the recording of what has happened or will happen insofar as God's relationship with man is concerned. In this sense we might term these presuppositions "a-historical". The Gnostics

may employ scriptural words and names but these serve only the mythical creations of their own imaginations. Consequently, the doctrines derived from such presuppositions are also erroneous. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in their doctrine concerning the nature of Jesus.

The ptolemean conception of the nature and role of the terrestrial "Jesus" is directly consequent upon such faulty presuppositions. The disciples of Ptolemeus⁵³ presuppose an irreconcilable ontological division between the spiritual and the non-spiritual; between the Pleroma and everything outside of it. In fact, according to this presupposition, there would not have been anything outside of the Pleroma (i.e., the divine realm) at all were it not for a defect arising from within it. Therefore creation must always be for the Gnostic a defective being if not evil by nature. The necessary consequence of such a view as far as unity in Jesus is concerned is that what is divine in Him must be irreconcilably separate from what is human in Him. The unity here is purely extrinsic - even the operations of each entity do not agree. Even the divine being ("Saviour") in Jesus is not personally or ontologically identifiable with the supreme divinity ("Propator"); in fact, according to the Ptolemeans they are not even immediately related. Again, names normally ascribed to Jesus in the Scriptures such as "Logos", "Christos"...each refer to different persons distinct from the "Saviour". The Saviour is a later Aeon formed by the combined production of all the Aeons.

This "Saviour" enters Jesus only at his baptism remaining only temporarily until the Passion. He remains distinctly different from the "animal Christ" and the "seed" from the mother "Achamoth". These distinct persons or parts in Jesus,⁵⁴ their destinies and origins may be schematically summarized as follows:

person (or part)	origin	destiny
Saviour	generated from all aeons	Pleroma
spiritual "seed"	Achamoth	Pleroma
"animal Christ"	Demiurge	Ogdoad (highest place outside Pleroma)
"dispensational* body" (non-material)	Saviour	annihilated at death of "animal Christ"

*This body is not material yet appears to be so by men by way of a special dispensation. Since matter is incapable of salvation, there can be no material or fleshy part in Jesus.

It is clear from this doctrine that the "Saviour" is not present when the "animal Christ" is created by the Demiurge and therefore cannot be said to be "born" or "come in the flesh" or "become incarnate".⁵⁵ The divine is not even present during the early growth and development of Jesus since he only enters at baptism. The "Saviour" can take no part in the sufferings of Jesus or other activity involving the "flesh" and leaves him before the Passion to return to the Pleroma.⁵⁶ The unity here is purely extrinsic in nature with scarcely any unity of purpose or action. Even the communication of knowledge (gnosis) is broken into separate parts.⁵⁷ At best one could say that for the Gnostic the phenomenon of "Jesus" is nothing more than a condition in which the divine world becomes somehow involved with the human in order to impart knowledge. This is certainly not an "historical" involvement on the part of the Saviour. An historical involvement such as to be subject to the limitations of space and time and the human condition would be quite impossible for a divine person in the Gnostic

scheme of things.

Irenaeus demonstrates first by reason then by the Scriptures that the creating of divisions in God and in Jesus are not only erroneous but also ridiculous. To begin with, there can be no grounds for dividing the divinity into aeons according to some order of production after the way of conceiving some kind of order in human attributes. Any such attributes may be predicated immediately and equally of the one God:

All indeed have a clear perception that this may be logically affirmed with respect to men. But in Him who is God over all, since He is all Nous and all Logos, as I have said before, and has in Himself nothing more ancient or later than another, and nothing at variance with another, but continues altogether equal, and similar and homogeneous, there is no longer ground for conceiving of such production in the order which has been mentioned...58

As to the splitting of the unity in Jesus into several parts, Irenaeus' refutation is clear and emphatic throughout. Apart from the fact that Gnostics never quite agree among themselves, their positions are totally untenable when viewed against the evidence of reason or the Scriptures. For example, in appealing to evidence from the Scriptures, Irenaeus is often selecting texts which prove the "historical" involvement of God with man in Jesus. As God He is "united to and mingled with His creation..." He truly became flesh and truly suffered:

...they thus wander from the truth, because their doctrine departs from Him who is truly God, being ignorant that His only-begotten Word, who is always present with the human race, united to and mingled with His own creation, according to the Father's pleasure, and who became flesh, is Himself Jesus Christ our Lord, who did also suffer for us...59

For Irenaeus it is the historical facts recorded in the Scriptures that give witness to the "fulfilling all conditions of human nature", that makes division in the person of Jesus

untenable. He thereby establishes indirectly Jesus' profound inner unity and integrity

The Spirit, therefore, descending under the predestined dispensation, and the Son of God, the Only-begotten, who is also the Word of the Father, coming in the fullness of time, having become incarnate in man for the sake of man, and fulfilling all the conditions of human nature, our Lord Jesus Christ being one and the same, as He Himself the Lord doth testify, as the apostles confess, and as the prophets announce, all the doctrines of these men who have invented putative Ogdoads and Tetrads, and have imagined subdivisions of the Lord's person, have been proved falsehoods...⁶⁰

This sort of "proof from history" of the unity of the person of Jesus by refuting the contrary position is elaborated on and repeated again and again covering each of the various aspects of the historical human condition: e.g., for His birth (from the Virgin Mary),⁶¹ His historical relationships by generation,⁶² His upbringing,⁶³ His physical needs,⁶⁴ and His suffering and death.⁶⁵ All these things are implied when Irenaeus uses the expressions "coming in the flesh" and "incarnate".⁶⁶

How close, then, is this unity between the divine and the human in Jesus? Closer than anyone could possibly conceive. This unity is so complete that its constitutive elements must be considered as one to the degree that the historical conditions predicated of the humanity in Jesus can also be predicated to Him as a divine person. The Word becomes flesh, is born, suffers... It is the constant use of such "historical" predicates for the Word of God in Jesus in the Scriptures that is, for Irenaeus, the clinching proof for this ineffable unity in the person of Jesus.⁶⁷

When Irenaeus lays the charge of "blasphemy" against the Valentinians for their claiming that the divine in Jesus is not the First-begotten of the Father but some lesser deity

who is the result of a defect,⁶⁸ he is saying in effect: your doctrine constitutes a dethroning of the divine in Jesus and the result is to render His unity merely extrinsic - a mere association of diverse elements. It is obviously Irenaeus' conviction that to the extent that Jesus is exalted to the highest divinity to that extent is His "oneness" with the flesh assured.⁶⁹ For only the Divine Himself could create such a "oneness" between the divine and the human.

This "oneness" also is demanded by a certain necessity when viewed in the light of human need. All of history as recorded in the Scriptures attests to the fact that man needs salvation and sanctification. Only God can accomplish this work of salvation and sanctification. The Scriptures bear witness also that as history unfolds saving and sanctifying is to be the special role of the "Christ" at His coming. It is His special actions within history - instructing, suffering, dying ...that effect this essentially divine action of saving and sanctifying.⁷⁰ This is the special meaning in Irenaeus' statements on the "martyr" in Jesus as the ultimate in perfection as far as a divine action is concerned.⁷¹

A word should be added regarding the work of sanctification by the Spirit. The baptism episode of the Gospels does not intend to signify as the Gnostics claim that the Saviour at this point assumes the "dispensational Jesus" but rather that the Spirit is already with the Word present in the humanity of Jesus from its beginning. The "descent of the Spirit" at baptism therefore signifies that Jesus insofar as He is man, receives the fulness of the Spirit whence it is to flow to all mankind.⁷²

For Irenaeus, Creation, like salvation, is also an activity belonging properly and only to God. Since the Creator and the Sanctifier are one and the same, Creation is also involved in the unity of Christ. The Gnostics, on the other hand,

see the Revealer and the Sanctifier in one level of deity and the Creator in another. This results in Jesus being divided into persons having different roles in respect to man. It means that when the "Saviour" enters the "Dispensational Jesus" he does not "come into his own" and there is consequently no unity

John, however, does himself put this matter beyond all controversy on our part when he says, "He was in this world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own things and His own people received Him not." (John 1:10,11) But according to Marcion, and those like him, neither was the world made by Him; nor did He come to His own things, but to those of another...⁷³

Clearly, if the Word, the Creator with the Father, who created from the beginning is not the same as He who became incarnate, then the unity in Jesus is destroyed. Moreover, as Irenaeus sees it, Creation is inextricably linked to time and history:

God, therefore, is one and the same, who rolls up the heavens as a book, and renews the face of the earth; who made the things of time for man, so that, coming to maturity in them, he may produce the fruit of immortality...⁷⁴

The Incarnation is therefore the culmination of God's creative work throughout history. Consequently, if the kind of unity between God and man in Jesus is not such that one can say that the Word of God in Jesus continues His creative action historically within a fully human condition then all of history as recorded in the Scriptures makes no sense.

As Wingren has suggested, however, Irenaeus would not go so far as to imply that in the unity of God and man in Christ the Creator and the created do not yet remain what they are. God is God and man is man even in Christ. The unity does involve nevertheless an ongoing and continuous dynamic relationship of creating and being created.⁷⁵ It is a mystery beyond

all human understanding.

b. Unity between God and Mankind

A need for unity implies a certain degree of separation or disunity. Before undertaking discussion on unity between God and man, it would be helpful to review how God and man may be considered as separate.

Throughout the orthodox Judeo-Christian tradition as well as the Gnostic tradition before Irenaeus' time there had been a long history of concern with the problem of disunity between God and man. Virtually all of the Old and New Testament material is concerned with this problem in one sense or another. In what respect is man disunited from God? What is the cause of disunity? How can unity be achieved? Such questions were the constant preoccupation of the prophets, evangelists, writers and interpreters of both testaments. Irenaeus was fully within this tradition. The Gnostics were also concerned with these questions. It was their answers that differed radically from those of orthodox tradition and those of Irenaeus.

It may also be said, however, that in the orthodox tradition, the Christ-event is the key and central pivot for the whole unity problem. Whereas the Gnostics may consider some kind of "Christ" and/or "Jesus" conceptions to be pivotal in their unity doctrines, they are, nevertheless, of a kind, radically different from the orthodox view.

Disunity between God and man or separation of man from God may be considered at two levels: ontological and personal. The ontological level has to do with the kinds of beings involved; the personal level involves such things as knowing, loving, and responsible action. Let us first consider unity from the ontological perspective.

At the ontological level, there is a kind of separation of man from God by virtue of the fact that man is a creature of God. From the very first pages of Genesis to the interpreters of Irenaeus' day, orthodox tradition had emphasized continuously and progressively the implications of this fact. God is infinite, man is finite. God is eternal; man is mortal. God is omnipotent; man is limited. God is all-perfect; man is imperfect and sinful. God is invisible, incomprehensible, awe-inspiring, mysterious...to man. God is a different being altogether from man and from anything man can conceive. We mean all this when we say, in more recent theological terms, God stands "over-against" all finite being as such. This is what we mean by divine transcendence.⁷⁶

Irenaeus' theology on the divine transcendence was certainly orthodox and in this view bears the important weight that it merits in his theological system.⁷⁷ His concept of transcendence, however, was balanced, so to speak, by an equally important concept of divine immanence (cf p 140-1). The Gnostics, on the other hand, seemed to be so obsessed by the notion of divine transcendence that they exaggerated it to the point where divine immanence was eclipsed and it could not then be reconciled with orthodox belief.⁷⁸ This created a completely distorted overall picture of the divine realm and of man's separation from God so deep that the gap is never really breached even with their odd conceptions of "Christ" and of "Jesus".

Let us take a brief look at the Gnostic system from the point of view of transcendence. First of all, the divine realm (Pleroma) is so different in nature from "creation" that the very act of creating itself cannot be a part of it. It were as though divine hands must not be soiled by the act of creating. Creating, then, must be the result of a defect. There is an irreconcilable division therefore between all that is

essentially within and all that is essentially outside the Pleroma. This is represented mythically by the aeon Stauros. Beings which create and are created are outside and remain forever outside the divine realm. Within the Pleroma itself transcendence creates further divisions. Only the first aeon, Propator (Proarche) is, so to speak, totally transcendent.⁷⁹ The second aeon, Nous, is "similar and equal" to Propator except that Nous (also called Monogenese for this reason) is begotten of Proarche. There are also thirty or so other aeons (including the consorts of Propator and Nous) begotten by a series of generations. But Propator is invisible and incomprehensible to all except Monogenes.

This transcendent invisibility and incomprehensibility of Propator produces a separation within the Pleroma such that it results in a defect arising within the Pleroma itself.⁸⁰ This ultimately, in turn, by a series of events, gives rise to the creation outside of the Pleroma of the world and mankind. This "outside world" is now ontologically incapable of ever reentering the Pleroma except for those beings in it which are still divine (pneumatic) by nature. These latter include only Achamoth (the most immediate progeny of Sophia) and her seed which are deposited in some men only. This state of affairs produces further divisions within man and mankind whereby man is divided into irreconcilable groups. Again, of those men (the pneumatics) who possess the "divine seed" from Sophia via Achamoth, only the seed is ontologically capable of entering the Pleroma and not the man "human nature" as we know it. Thus access to the divine by the creature and by man is effectively and eternally blocked. Moreover, man's life within the created cosmos, the cosmos itself, time and history have no meaningful role or significance as far as unity of man with God is concerned. On the contrary, the material world, earthly existence and its history are a "trap" from which the divine seed in man must

be freed.

The Gnostics have a "Saviour" in their system but since He is not the first aeon nor his First-begotten but rather the last aeon produced, he is powerless to effect any unity between God and man at the ontological level. The "unity" that he produces in assuming the "dispensational Jesus" is purely extrinsic and temporary. He functions only at the personal level so that nothing can be thereby ontologically altered.

As Irenaeus points out in his second book of Adversus Haereses, the whole Gnostic system ends up not only failing to achieve unity between God and man but also effectively denying the transcendence of the divine realm stated at the beginning. In fact, the whole system ends up as a tissue of contradictions and inconsistencies.⁸¹

One may see in the Gnostic effort a tragic paradox. They had hoped to bridge the ontological gap between the transcendent God and His creature man by interposing a chain of intermediate deities. They end up by destroying the divine transcendence and alienating man from God more than ever before. They had hoped to show how unity is achieved between man and God but they end up showing disunity within and between every realm of being and at every level.

While opposing the Gnostic view, how does Irenaeus explain unity between the transcendent God and His creature, man? We will first consider the ontological aspect of this question. It has two parts: a. to understand God's transcendence in respect to His creative power and immanence and b. to understand the role of the Incarnation in effecting unity at the ontological level.

Following what we have said in Chapter II concerning creation, we can make a resumé for the matter at hand. The act of creating does not limit the divine transcendence. God

creates freely out of nothing and He does so simply because He freely wills it. For this reason, He can be totally in control of Creation without being in any way limited by it. Although He is completely distinct from His Creation ontologically (i.e., as to His Being), He is, nevertheless, never separated from it in the sense that He is constantly holding it in being and drawing it on to greater perfection by His continual and ongoing creative action. That is to say, He is also totally immanent to His creation. Curiously, He can be totally immanent only because He is totally transcendent.

Christian tradition has lent support and enlightenment to an understanding of divine immanence by revelations concerning the Word and the Spirit. Irenaeus speaks of the Word and the Spirit as "the two hands of God" by which he means to say that God is constantly touching and forming His creation lovingly.⁸²

The Christian understanding of God's immanent creative action was significantly enhanced by Irenaeus' understanding of time and history. If God draws His creation on to perfection gradually in an ever-present creative action then change must take place according to a meaningful sequence of events. Time and history are necessarily the measure and the record of this sequence and therefore they must be an essential aspect of His creative design. Perhaps, Irenaeus first came to this view of things by the reverse argument: viz., if time and history are to be meaningful and coherent (as the Scriptures clearly indicate) then God's creative action must be ever-present, progressive and dynamic.⁸³ Besides, only in this way is the divine transcendence not contradicted and unity between God and His creation assured.⁸⁴

For Irenaeus, man is, even at the ontological level, united to God not merely as His creature but also insofar as he is man. As we have seen in Chapter II, man is created in



the image and likeness of the Father. This involves a much closer unity leading to the Incarnation where man and God are united as one in the person of the Son. This special unity in the Incarnate Word, we have already discussed above (p 119-120). Although the unity achieved in the Incarnate Word is usually considered at the personal level, even here there is a sense by which all men share in the unity in an ontological way.

Irenaeus understands it this way. If the Word of God is the perfect image of the Father and man is created in that Image, then, to where must the Father's progressive creative action in man lead? All of history as witnessed in the Scriptures bears witness to the fact that it leads to the Incarnation.⁸⁵ All men, therefore, are in their creative development and in their history, affected ontologically by the Incarnation even before any personal considerations such as responsible action is concerned. It is just this kind of idea that is involved in Irenaeus' various statements about Adam relating to Christ. Adam is one with all men in God's creative action and design. When the Word takes on the true flesh of Adam He is doing it for man of every time and age. As Wingren suggests, part of our difficulty in understanding Irenaeus' way of explaining Christ's redemptive role is a failure to see mankind as a unity in Creation, i.e., at the ontological level.⁸⁶ This is not to say that Irenaeus advocates an exaggerated incarnationalism where the uniqueness of Jesus in respect to all other men may be lost. The unity between God and man in Jesus remains for Irenaeus utterly unique.⁸⁷

To this point, we have considered unity between man and God at the ontological level and how that unity is achieved by way of the Word of God creating so as to lead to the Incarnation. We have noted the important role that Irenaeus' view of history plays in understanding this aspect of the unity question. Now we shall consider unity of man with God at the personal level;

how it is achieved, and again, the important role that Irenaeus' view of history also plays at this level.

Man, as one who knows, loves and acts freely, has the potential to be united to God at the personal level. The following corollaries are well known to Irenaeus as to Christian tradition generally, God loves His own creation, and therefore must love men with an infinite divine love. Man, on the other hand, being finite and fallible man know and love God to a greater or lesser degree or not at all. If man loves God, a friendship bond develops, bringing a unity which is good for man and gives glory to God. If man does not love God, i.e., hates God, then unity is broken. Man is powerless to restore this unity.

Man's response to God's love has moral implications. Man has free will and therefore he acts responsibly. Since God gives His love freely to man, man owes love to God in return. Therefore to love God is an act of virtue and merits reward; to hate God is vicious and merits punishment. Thus man's unity or disunity with or from God at the personal level is increased by the degree of goodness or malice of soul. Also, to the degree that man acts knowingly and to the degree that he acts freely, man's acceptance or rejection of God is virtuous or malicious.

Since Irenaeus is opposing the Gnostics when considering unity between man and God at the personal level, it would be helpful first to consider their position on this matter. At the same time, we shall keep in mind our intention for this section: viz. to understand the divine initiative to preserve unity with man at the personal level (i.e. salvation) especially with regard to the rôle of the "Word", the "Saviour", Jesus... and the rôle that history plays in the working out of salvation.

As we noted in Chapter 3, the Judaeo-Christian tradition tended more and more as it developed to the view that man was basically in a state of personal disunity with his Creator. Man was "turned-away" from God. Even with helping initiatives from God, man finds it difficult to "return" to God. His historical condition and even his own heart tends to draw him away from such a returning. At first, differing theories were advanced to suggest the cause of such a human condition. Some placed the cause in the heart of man himself in that man was a defective creature. Others suggested rebellious angels who sinned in one way or another in dealing with men. Others still suggested some primordial act of disobedience on man's part. By Irenaeus' time, the Genesis story of the fall of Adam and Eve in the Garden was widely accepted as the primary cause of man's sinful condition. However, Irenaeus understood this primordial "Fall" as a real historical event inaugurating an historical human condition which was aggravated by the subsequent sinful actions of men throughout history.

The Gnostics, however, saw the root cause of this evil human condition not in an historical event, but an event in the divine realm. A primordial "Fall" took place within the Pleroma because of a defect in the Aeons; especially of the last Aeon, Sophia. This effectively removes the root cause of evil from the historical sphere and places it in the divine. Moreover, the divine initiative taken to redress the condition is also very different from the traditional Christian view. The rôle of the Word of God is only indirect in that he, together with the Father (Propator) gives rise first to "Horus" then to "Christ" and the "Spirit". These three Aeons, each in his own way, restore Sophia to harmony with the Father.⁸⁸ Then the Aeon, "Saviour" (or "Jesus") was produced by all the Aeons to give glory to the Father for his "saying" action. Sophia's fall was described as "an inordinate passion for knowledge" of

the Father. The nature of this fault is described more in ontological terms than in moral terms. It was passed on to Sophia by generation from the other aeons. Neither is there any suggestion of a need for forgiveness or punishment.

The result of Sophia's "imperfection" was the generation by her of an "enthymesis" which, because of its essential imperfection, had to be cast out of the Pleroma.⁸⁹ Part of the "enthymesis" being spiritual (or divine) in nature is formed into the mother Achamoth and her "seed". This "seed" will be the spiritual part of pneumatic men. The latter, after being perfected by knowledge at some future time, will reenter the Pleroma. The other part of the enthymesis is non-spiritual. From it is formed the Demiurge who creates the whole cosmos as well as the animal and material parts of man. None of this can ever reenter the Pleroma.

Reunion with the Father means reentry to the Pleroma. Evidently, such a reunion is not a reward for moral behaviour but is merely consequent upon the nature one possesses and the acquiring of knowledge (gnosis).

In the Gnostic system, therefore, the personal responsibility for the disunity between man and God is taken away from man and placed in the divine realm. This has two important consequences. Firstly, man thereby loses, in effect, his freedom to decide his own destiny. Secondly, Divine initiative to reunify (to save) is aimed primarily not at man but within the divine realm itself.

Man cannot decide to acquire knowledge and thereby gain access to the divine and form a bond of love. His destiny is determined already by the nature of things. To begin with, insofar as he is, strictly speaking, human, his origin is not directly "from the Father" but rather from the Demiurge whose motive is not love and who is not worthy of love in return.

As for the love of the Father, Propator, it is a question of a kind of knowledge available only to those divinely "seeded" - in which case only the "seed" has access to the Father. The remainder must go with the virtuous unseeded "psychics" to a lower heaven outside the Pleroma. The non-virtuous psychics, the non-psychics, the material (flesh) of all men and the whole material cosmos end in an annihilating fire at the end of time.

The "Saviour" who descends into the "dispensational Jesus" has little to do with saving men. His only role is to develop the "seed" by imparting knowledge (gnosis). But the seed must be saved in any case by virtue of its divine nature. There is no question here of an historical "saving event" or "salvation history". Jesus is either without real flesh (Ptolemeans) or has real flesh but is just like other men (Ebionites). In the former case there is no incarnation and therefore no real involvement in history, i.e., in the historical human condition. In the latter case, Jesus has no power in Himself to effect a saving process. In both cases there is no divine initiative in the flesh to save or to act from within a truly historical condition. Thus, time and history can play no significant instrumental role in uniting man to God. If anything they are counter-productive in that they are an integral aspect of an ignorance-inducing morass of material reality essentially defective by nature and destined for annihilation.

For Irenaeus, as for Christian tradition generally, man's disunity from God is fundamentally a personal matter.⁹⁰ Although there are ontological reasons or consequences involved, in contradistinction to the Gnostics, reasons for disunity, as far as man is concerned, rest fundamentally in man. Man is responsible for his own condition. It is a responsibility which goes back to our first parents in the Garden. However, the history of man's perversity must be seen in the background of a

deeper cosmic struggle between God and Satan.⁹¹

Irenaeus' historical outlook on creation allows him insights into the human condition at various stages of its development. Man at the beginning must necessarily be therefore "like a child". This ontological condition "explains" to a degree the reason for the "Fall" but does not basically change the personal and moral nature and consequences of the event. As we will see in Chapter V, man's sinfulness becomes more serious as he is drawn on to maturity by knowledge and experience.

Again, in opposition to the Gnostics, Irenaeus sees that the divine initiative to save is aimed directly at man in his historical condition. He sends His Son and His Spirit directly into man to save him and bring him back to unity. The Incarnation itself which is the fullest possible unity of man with God, is the ontological condition from which God personally directs His saving and unifying action.

Now this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made a man among men, that He might join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God. Wherefore the prophets...announced His advent according to the flesh, by which the blending and communion of God and man took place according to the good pleasure of the Father, the Word of God fortelling from the beginning that God should be seen by men; and hold converse with them upon earth ...and should be present with His own creation, saving it and becoming capable of being perceived by it...⁹²

...He (the Word of God)...is become a man among men visible and tangible, in order to abolish death and bring to light life, and bring about the communion of God and man.⁹³

...So He united man with God and brought about a communion with God and man, we being unable in any other wise to have part in incorruptibility...For incorruptibility, while invisible and imperceptible, would not help us; so He became visible, that we might be taken into full communication with incorruptibility ...So the Word was made flesh in order that sin,

destroyed by means of the same flesh through which it had gained the mastery...should no longer be in us...⁹⁴

In all of this we see a marked contrast to the Gnostic system. In the Gnostic system, the divine act of saving and uniting is virtually demanded by ontological circumstance. Propator with Nous (Word) are virtually forced, by the circumstance of Sophia's action, to produce "Horos", "Christ" and the "Spirit" to save the tranquility of the Pleroma. Creation follows virtually by necessity. Ontological condition controls personal action to the point that it ceases to be voluntary. The omnipotence, the freedom and consequently the alleged transcendence of Propator is thereby contradicted.

In opposing Gnosticism and upholding tradition, Irenaeus insists on a totally free act of creation motivated by love which precedes the act of saving. The act of saving is itself likewise free and love-motivated. The Father is not constrained by the ontological condition of the Incarnation but, on the contrary, it is His free personal decision that brings this condition into being. Moreover, the historical preparation from the beginning and the follow-through in history exactly as planned clearly proves the Father's omnipotence and freedom of action.

Again, unlike the Gnostic system where ontological necessity and faulty historical view lead to an eclipsing of real and effective personal saving action within history, Irenaeus' ontological considerations are seen fully in historical view and sets the stage for fully free and effective personal involvement both by God and by man. The Incarnation, an historically placed ontological condition, instead of constraining free personal action is rather a most effective instrument in realizing a freely initiated divine plan.

How is the historical condition of the Incarnate Word, taken precisely as incarnate, a most effective instrument for free personal action to unite all men to God? First of all, only the Incarnate Word can destroy the barrier of sin by free redemptive action.⁹⁵ Secondly, the barrier of sin having been removed, only the Incarnation makes possible an ontological condition in the believer and potentially in all men such that a man-God unity similar to the Incarnation thereby results. This condition is referred to by Irenaeus as the "spiritual man". Houssiau sees this as following upon Irenaeus' anti-Ebionite argument. It is shown that this anthropological change follows upon christological unity.⁹⁶ Here, the Word and the Spirit, coming into the "spiritual man" by way of the Incarnation, function as the "breath of life" for man. The Word Incarnate is thus the first spiritual man and the source of the Spirit for all others.⁹⁷ In the former, the subject of operation is the Word⁹⁸ acting in communion with the Spirit and the flesh instrumentally;⁹⁹ in the latter, the subject of operation is man acting in communion with the Spirit - the Spirit being the source of inspiration and life. This "communion of the flesh and the Spirit"¹⁰⁰ is personal with ontological overtones in that this communion brings effects or changes in the composition of the human subject. These changes allow man a greater freedom to respond to God's unifying love and also the capacity and freedom for unifying saving action with God vis-a-vis the world. Daniélou puts the case well:

...Que Dieu puisse tout, ce fut toujours clair,
mais que l'homme aussi le puisse avec Dieu, c'est
ce qui devait être prouvé, et le Médiateur vint
pour réaliser cela avec l'homme...¹⁰¹

In this way the historical involvement of the Word to save and unify initiated at the Incarnation continues historically into the future to the end of time in that it is extended to the "members of Christ" in His Church and therefore, potentially to

all men.¹⁰² Thus does the immanence of the "two hands of God" penetrate to ever-deeper dimensions in creation so that all of creation is reborn, recapitulated and assimilated to the divine.

Finally, the Incarnate Word achieves union of man and God by being the revelation of the Father. He alone can bring true gnosis to man because He Himself is the "visibility" of the Father. For Irenaeus, true gnosis is the life of men bringing changes leading to divinization. Gnosis is not, as the Gnostics believe, facts and details about inner structures of the divine realm or the cosmos but, rather, a knowledge of the Father's love to be held as much in heart as in mind. It is not a gnosis for the "chosen few" told in secret but a knowledge given freely and lovingly to all who will accept it and be changed by it. More detailed coverage of the gnosis concept in Irenaeus will be dealt with in Chapter V.

At virtually every level of his debate with the Gnostics on the unity of man and God, Irenaeus sees the role of the Incarnate Word as central and essential. Moreover, this role can be understood as both personally free and eminently effectual partly because it exists and operates fully within an all-embracing historical condition.

2. The Redemption

The word "Redemption" signifies one of those key or pivotal ideas that brings the whole complex of Christian doctrine to a focus. Redemption was basic to the Christian tradition from the beginning and throughout its history. This is true to the extent that to deny the Redemption is to deny, in fact, the Christian Faith itself. In a way, to say that Jesus is the redeemer of mankind is to sum up the essence of Christian doctrine.

A word closely related to "Redemption" is the word "Salvation". Sometimes these words are used interchangeably, but actually the point of view each elicits and the scope that each covers can be different. We will consider first of all the meaning of salvation.

i. What is Salvation?

One can certainly find in Irenaeus a doctrine of salvation which is fully within the Christian tradition. Moreover, salvation is of primary concern to Irenaeus. This is true to the extent that one may say that in this area he had made a major contribution to the Church's understanding of this doctrine. Our particular concern, of course, is to discover what role Irenaeus' view of history plays in his understanding of the doctrine of salvation as well as in the closely-related doctrine of redemption.

We shall first consider the Gnostic understanding of salvation since this kind of approach always serves to clarify Irenaeus' view on the various aspects of any doctrine.

Although Gnostic views on salvation vary somewhat with the different schools, they have common elements and can be said to follow a certain basic pattern. For example, Gnosticism is

viewed by Puech, Grant, Hutin and others as a system whose primary motivation arises from a certain psychological approach to the human condition.¹⁰³ For the Gnostic the world is basically an unhappy place. The Gnostic myth breeds in a mood of pessimism and disillusionment about the world and thus is more likely to be popular in times of tragedy, hardship, crisis... For example, there is evidence for believing that in first and second century heterodox Judaism many kinds of gnosis arose from an atmosphere of persecution and shattered apocalyptic hopes.¹⁰⁴ The world is something to be "freed from" rather than lived in and improved. One exists in an "eternal anguish" while in the world and in the body.

The Gnostic construct of mythical presuppositions "explains" this state of affairs; e.g., the fall of Sophia, etc.. Hereby the Gnostic is confirmed in his belief that he is in a place of "estrangement and loss" in that his true "self" is the divine "seed" within him whose true home is the "Pleroma". This loss of place is a loss of the "fullness" (pleroma) of the divine life and a loss of unity or wholeness of divine sexual coupling with an angelic consort.¹⁰⁵ All of this also involves a loss of "fullness" of knowledge (gnosis), of light, of joy and of happiness.

What, then, would salvation mean to the Gnostic? Naturally, he would understand it to mean being "saved" or freed from the above-mentioned conditions and to return to the divine realm of knowledge, happiness, joy and peace. Briefly, gnostic salvation would involve the following:

- a. acceptance of a saving gnosis or revelation (which includes the knowledge of being saved, i.e., of possessing in the seed);¹⁰⁶
- b. a learning process;¹⁰⁷
- c. a perfecting of formation in gnosis of those possessing

- the seed.¹⁰⁸
- d. a rejection of and freeing from the body and all matter because it is incapable of salvation.¹⁰⁹
 - e. a freeing from the world, the cosmos, Archonts, Demiurge...¹¹⁰
 - f. a freeing from time and a loosening of bonds with historical reality;¹¹¹
 - g. not requiring "works" but being good by nature;¹¹²
 - h. may be described as an "unclothing" of successive layers of substance as one ascends to the Pleroma until only the perfected "seed" remains;¹¹³
 - i. a "marriage homecoming" which is a union of the "seed" with its angelic partner;¹¹⁴
 - j. a being preserved from incorruption and being in a state of eternal well-being (immortality).¹¹⁵

To sum up, the following conclusions may now be drawn up on the gnostic systems. There is no consideration of moral responsibility for one's salvation...it is rather the undoing of an ontological condition, the cause of which lies in the divine realm. Thus salvation is not by virtue of any profound inner moral change of heart or soul, as, for example, from a state of sin to one of virtue but rather only a development of mind or knowledge by way of gnosis. Knowledge is salvation. Moreover, salvation is not so much a restoration of state of being as a restoration of place and a preserving in being. Notice the reference to time. Salvation is a freeing from time and history and being transported to a timeless realm. Finally, salvation is not meant to be universal as a matter of principle. Strictly speaking, it applies only to those who possess the "seed"(pneumatics) and for them it is inevitable and necessary.¹¹⁶

Just as salvation appears to be the principal concern of the Gnostics, so is it also for Irenaeus. However, his concern arises not so much from a theologian's desire for good

theology as from a bishop's concern for the spiritual well-being of his flock. From Christian tradition Irenaeus knows that saving man is initially and primarily God's work.¹¹⁷ This explains why his opposition to the Gnostics on this point is so vehement. He sees their doctrine and way of life clearly as a threat to God's work of salvation in his own flock and in the world at large. Yet he pleads even with them not only to cease ravaging the faithful with their heresy but also that they themselves be converted to the truth and thereby be truly saved.

How does Irenaeus understand "salvation"? As indicated in Chapter II (p 63-4), we may first consider that which is so characteristic of him: his all-encompassing vision of reality. He conceives of a great design (plan) of God embracing all of God's work throughout all time. In this view, man, who is created in God's image and likeness falls into sin and must be restored to unity with Him. But even this "fall" is under God's inscrutable design and, therefore, the one overall plan of creation must be also, at the same time, a plan of salvation.

What are the elements of salvation that more particularly and directly affect each individual person? What is God actually doing when He is saving man? As we follow his arguments against the Gnostics, Irenaeus' view on such questions becomes clear. More importantly to our purpose, his historical view gains new and penetrating dimensions as it proves to be an essential element in these aspects of soteriology.

Perhaps we should begin by considering what is most tragic in man's condition and the source of that condition, viz., sin. For man in his present earthly condition, salvation must mean, first of all, a taking away of sin. It is the Lamb of God (Jesus) who alone can accomplish this

...This knowledge of salvation, therefore, John did impart to those repenting, and believing in the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.¹¹⁸

More emphatically, salvation means to "cast away" sin:

...for He, too, "was made in the likeness of sinful flesh," (Rom 8:3) to condemn sin, and to cast it, as now a condemned thing, away beyond the flesh...119

The "state of sin" in Christian tradition is considered as a state of being "lost". Moreover, in this state there is a real danger of being lost eternally. Therefore "salvation" must first of all mean being "found" by Christ who seeks out the "lost".¹²⁰ A state of sin was also considered metaphoric-ally as a state of "death", i.e., spiritual death because in this case one ceases to act or grow in the spirit and instead slides into "corruption". From this point of view salvation necessarily means a bringing back from death to life or receiving again a gift of life

But again, those who assert that He was simply a mere man...But, being ignorant of Him who from the virgin is Emmanuel, they are deprived of His gift, which is eternal life; (Rom 6:23) and not receiving the incorruptible Word, they remain in mortal flesh, and are debtors to death, not obtaining the antidote of life...121

In a state of sin one was considered to be under the "power of Satan" or under the "power of death". This was also described as a state of "slavery". Salvation is therefore a "freeing" process where one is rendered free to serve God. In fact, to serve God is freedom

...and should be present with His own creation, saving it...and freeing us from the hands of all that hate us, that is, from every spirit of wickedness; and causing us to serve Him in holiness and righteousness all our days (Lk 1:71,75), in order that man, having embraced the Spirit of God, might pass into the glory of the Father.¹²²

Another example: those Jews who refused to accept the salvation of Jesus were, by that very fact, refusing liberty:

...And He also judges the Jews, who do not accept of the word of liberty, nor are willing to go forth free, although they have a Deliverer present...¹²³

Note that in all of these references to the state of sin from which man is "saved", Irenaeus emphasises sin as a moral aberration in the innermost depths of man's spirit. This, only Christ with His divine power can remove. Here there is a direct contraposition vis-a-vis the Gnostics. For them, sin has no significance where salvation is concerned because it cannot in any way alter the "goodness" or purity of the inner "seed"... "...even as gold, when submersed in filth, loses not on that account, its beauty, but retains its own native qualities...."¹²⁴ Of course, there is the question of "moral acts" performed by the psychics but this is not "sin" strictly speaking -- at least as understood in Christian tradition. The so-called "psychics" are performing acts which may only be considered in relation to their Demiurge and not in relation to the divine Propator or Pleroma. Although the Gnostic "salvation" does bear some resemblance to Christian "salvation" in that there is a question of "freeing from" something, there the resemblance ends for it is definitely something different in essence in that what one is freed from and for and why are entirely different.

To this point we have considered the word "salvation" insofar as it refers to the concept of liberation from sin and the effects of sin. "Salvation" translates the Greek used by Irenaeus, *σωτηρία* (from the verb *σώζειν*). Actually, the word originally was meant to have a positive meaning.¹²⁵ There are places where Irenaeus uses the word *σώζειν* with no reference to sin or liberation intended by rather the meaning, "to preserve" or "preservation" in well-being. Examples are indicated in his reference to Noe being preserved from the

flood by the Ark,¹²⁶ or Christ being saviour to Mary.¹²⁷ "Salvation" used in this sense does bear some similarity to the way the Gnostics used it. As we saw above, they used the word "salvation" when referring to the perfecting of the "seed" and its preservation from corruption.¹²⁸ However, the extension or field of application for the concept in Irenaeus is much broader. For the Gnostic the field of application is narrowed to the divine "seed" only -- the psyche receives only a relative salvation and the matter (body) or "flesh" not at all. But for Irenaeus, "salvation" in its positive meaning of preservation in well-being applies to all aspects of the human person, body, soul, and spirit so that the whole man is capable of incorruptibility and immortality:

...And for this cause does the apostle, explaining himself, make it clear that the saved man is a complete man as well as a spiritual man; saying thus in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, "Now the God of peace sanctify you perfect (perfectos);; and may your spirit, and soul, and body be preserved whole without complaint to the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ." (1 Thess. V. 23) Now what was his object in praying that these three - that is, soul, body, and spirit-might be preserved to the coming of the Lord, unless he was aware of the future reintegration of the three, and that they should be heirs of one and the same salvation? ...¹²⁹

Moreover, since it was the salvation of the flesh that was so emphatically denied by the Gnostics, throughout his work Irenaeus lays special emphasis on the salvation of the flesh. The historical significance of this is dealt with in Chapter VI.

For the Gnostic, "salvation" comes inevitably by way of a consequential readjustment of a divine accident. This salvation is simply a part of a determined series of happenings that begin and end in the divine realm.

Irenaeus, on the other hand, sees salvation as some

kind of effectual union with God, the source of all good. However, since man is in a sinful condition, salvation first requires a removal of sin and a reconciliation with God.

Secondly, salvation means a permanent spiritual reunion with God of a very specific nature. Although salvation is a work in which both God and man freely cooperate, the work itself must be fundamentally divine by its very nature. In other words, it involves a highly personal and free divine initiative to restore and bring to perfection that which was lost by way of human moral failure. All of man and all of creation necessarily is radically changed by God's saving work.

ii. Jesus is the One and Only Saviour

Where or to whom must man look for salvation? The Gnostics were preaching that man must look away from this world to the realm of the Pleroma above. There one will find not only the reason for the rift between man and the divine but also knowledge as to how the rift may be breached. As noted above, the aeon, "Saviour", is the principal agent in this "saving action".

Irenaeus' opposition to this Gnostic view gives his doctrine a special emphasis. It is not just to say that Jesus of Nazareth is our one and only Saviour, but that we look to the world and to its recorded history to know what He was and what He did. We do not look to some mythical realm above but to those who knew Him and witnessed to Him. Peter, for example, bore witness to the fact that Jesus is our one and only Saviour:

For this reason, too, when the chief priests were assembled, Peter, full of boldness, said to them, "Ye rulers...this is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the headstone of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven, which is given to men, whereby we must be saved." (Acts 4:8) 130

It is because of His unique character as the Incarnate Word that Jesus is the One and only Saviour. It is for this reason that all salvation centers in Him. Irenaeus employs three titles derived from the word "to save" (σώζειν) to express the totality of Jesus' saving dimensions: Jesus is Σωτήρ (saviour), σωτήριον (salutary) and σωτηρία (salvation). The first two follow from His divine nature, the last from His human nature

...but the knowledge of salvation was the knowledge of the Son of God, who is both called and actually is, salvation, and Saviour, and salutary. Salvation, indeed, as follows: "I have waited for Thy salvation, O Lord." (Gen 49:18) And then again, Saviour: "Behold my God, my Saviour, I will put my trust in Him." (Isa 12:2) But as bringing salvation, thus: "God hath made known His salvation (salutare) in the sight of the heathen." (Ps 98:2) For He is indeed Saviour, as being the Son and Word of God; but salutary, since He is Spirit; for he says; "The Spirit of our countenance, Christ the Lord." (Iam 4:20) But salvation as being flesh; for "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." (Jn 1:14)...131

Jesus' nature being both divine and human is ideally suited to act as mediator between two separated parties, God and man. He is familiar (οἰκεῖότης) with both sides in the dispute. He can therefore bring God to man and man to God producing thereby friendship and concord

...For it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and men, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and present man to God, while He revealed God to man...132

Personal unity was destroyed by man's disobedience. Christ, by His obedience, especially in His passion, repairs this injury and restores friendship with God. This has two effects: it causes the reparation of an injury and also a conversion of heart in man;

...And therefore in the last times the Lord has restored us into freindship through His Incarnation, having become "the mediator between God and men:" (1 Tim 2:5) propitiating indeed for us the Father against whom we have sinned, and cancelling (consolatus) our disobedience by His own obedience; conferring also upon us the gift of communion with, and subjection to, our Maker...¹³³

Because of man's condition as a fallen creature, the mediatorial mission of Christ had to include a saving role. Is it the Incarnation itself or is it what the Incarnate Word accomplishes which effects this mediation and salvation? Some texts of Irenaeus can be interpreted one way or the other. A thorough investigation of the texts would lead one to the conclusion that, although the Incarnation by itself does not, strictly speaking, effect salvation, it is the one necessary condition for salvation to be realized. Irenaeus does make it clear that salvation comes to man through the obedience of Christ. Obedience is a human act while propitiation for sin implies divine power. It is precisely in virtue of the Incarnation that the Word is rendered capable of posing those human acts which can repair man's fault and inspire a spirit of obedience in human hearts.¹³⁴

As we shall consider below, this saving action of the Incarnate Word is set over against a dramatic historical background wherein transpires throughout history the conflict between God and Satan. The prize is the soul of man. In the first encounter, man sins and falls, to a degree, under the power of Satan. Satan is "stronger" than man and can keep him in bondage throughout a long course of history. Finally, Jesus emerges upon the scene who, because of His divine power, is "stronger than the strong". He alone is able to overcome Satan and his forces and bring the ultimate victory. Jesus is stronger than Satan by virtue of His divine goodness which makes his "humanness" obedient. What man lost to Satan through

disobedience is regained by the obedience of Christ. This goodness of Christ recreates obedience and goodness in men thereby bringing unity with the Father

...But as our Lord is alone truly Master, so the Son of God is truly good and patient, the Word of God the Father having been made the Son of man. For He fought and conquered; for He was man contending for the Fathers,...and through obedience doing away with disobedience completely: for He bound the strong man, and set free the weak, and endowed His own handiwork with salvation, by destroying sin...¹³⁵

Jesus is mediator primarily because of what He does to bring opposing sides together at the personal and moral level. Nevertheless, He is able to do that because of what He is, the Incarnate Word. For this reason, in his argumentation, Irenaeus moves from the personal and moral level to the ontological and back again. As Houssiau has described it, the *οἰκεσιότης*, "familiarity" that Jesus has with both sides, divine and human, presupposes a communion of nature. Christ shares the life of the Father and the life of man in His person. Man is received by the Father because he is like the Son and the Son transforms us because He shares our life.¹³⁶ By virtue of this fact, man can also be changed at the ontological level in the sense that he can participate incorruptibility and become a son by adoption

...And unless man had been joined to God, he could never have become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and men, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and present man to God, while He revealed God to man...For, in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son that fellowship which refers to Himself, unless His Word, having been made flesh, had entered into communion with us?¹³⁷

That raises the question: what specific action of Christ effected salvation? Sometimes Irenaeus will say it was

the act itself of becoming incarnate that effected man's salvation; at other times he stresses Christ's redemptive death on the Cross or the Resurrection. Rivière has made the point that Irenaeus is not intentionally evaluating the relative merits of different acts. For him there is one cause of our salvation, the work of the Incarnate Word. This work, however, is exercised successively by the whole of all the human actions of Christ, in the midst of which His death on the Cross holds a predominant place.¹³⁸ That is to say, the human actions of Christ take place in the historical life of Jesus according to a certain order in which the Crucifixion represents a point of culmination. Irenaeus seems reluctant to consider any specific action of Jesus as an isolated incident.

In respect to the transformation wrought by Christ to make of the believer a son by "adoption" of the Father, Kirchmeyer has shown that Irenaeus is fully within a Christian tradition which sees this transformation as ontologic in character. It is similar to a "new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17) or a "second birth" (Jn. 3: 3-8) "because it affects and transforms not only the religious behaviour of man but also his being".¹³⁹

Following Paul, Irenaeus is also within a tradition which considers Jesus as "the Anointed One" prophesied in the Old Testament. He is to be not only the anointed Ruler or King of all men but also the Priest, the Sanctifier, and the one who offers the perfect sacrifice. As Priest and Victim Jesus has the power to communicate holiness to man. Irenaeus sees all of these concepts not only within the liturgical acts of Jesus, e.g. the Last Supper, but also within his human existence generally and especially in the Passion. An illustration of this conception of Jesus is:

...For He did not make void, but fulfilled the law, by performing the offices of the high priest, propitiating God for men, and cleansing the lepers, healing the sick, and Himself suffering death, that exiled man might go forth from condemnation, and might return without fear to his own inheritance.¹⁴⁰

To this point we can make the following summary. In Irenaeus' view, the need for salvation as well as salvation itself does not arise from events taking place in some kind of mythical Pleroma above, but rather from events taking place within the history of man in this world of ours. It is within this context and by design of the One God and Father of all that Jesus is the one and only Saviour. As the Incarnate Word of God He is ideally suited for His saving role. Moreover, He must be known, understood and accepted as Saviour from knowledge of certain specific historical events. These events are constituted by the history of His own personal life and must be understood within the broader overview of the history of His race and of man in general as recorded in the Scriptures.

We have already observed (p 133-136) that Irenaeus' historical view is essential to his understanding of the nature of Jesus. We will now attempt to show that such a view goes hand in hand with the way in which Jesus is characterized as Saviour and Redeemer of mankind.

How do we know Jesus as Saviour? We must begin at His point of contact with history and ask what He has done as an historical person. We must therefore have recourse to "historical records". For Irenaeus the authentic "historical records" of these kinds of events are the Scriptures. One case in point is given in the example from Scripture where Peter convinces Cornelius that Jesus is his Saviour. He relates to Cornelius an account of the historical events of Jesus' life that were "published throughout all Judea".¹⁴¹ So much is Jesus characterized as Saviour by His historical existence that Irenaeus feels it proper to write a short history, so to speak, of Jesus' whole life from this viewpoint. It reads like a miniature "proof from history" that Jesus is Saviour

So if He was not born, neither did He die; and if He did not die, neither was He raised from the dead; and if He was not raised from the dead, He has not conquered death, nor is its reign abolished; and if death is not conquered, how are we to mount on high into life, being subject from the beginning to death?...¹⁴²

Inherent in this history-writing is always the meaning that Jesus was truly human even to the point of suffering and dying and that it is by virtue of this supreme sacrifice that we are saved.

The history of Jesus as saviour must be understood, however, within the wider context of human history as such. It is the significant events of past history as recorded in the Old Testament Scriptures that give credence and support to the claim that Jesus, by His historical life climaxing in

the Passion, saves and redeems all mankind. The saving merits of the Passion are foreshadowed and foretold by the Patriarchs and Prophets. Here, too, Jesus is characterized by historical references. He is, for example, characterized as "the suffering one"

...Therefore did the Lord also say to His disciples after the resurrection: "O thoughtless ones, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?" (Lk 24:25)¹⁴³

That to save man was the reason that Jesus was characterized as "the Suffering One" was also clear from the prophetic tradition. Irenaeus cites several passages

...and that He should stretch out His hands the whole day long; (Isa 45:2) and that He should be mocked and maligned by those who looked upon Him; (Ps 22:7) and that His garments should be parted...and that He should be brought down to the dust of death, (Ps 22:15)...furnished us with the reason on account of which He suffered all these things...¹⁴⁴

This, of course, is consistent with the general principle, well established in Christian tradition, that the Father of Jesus is the same God who inspired the prophets

...Thus the apostles did not change God, but preached to the people that Christ was Jesus the crucified One, whom the same God that had sent the prophets, being God Himself, raised up, and gave in Him salvation to men.¹⁴⁵

Clearly, the characterization of Jesus as saviour is here understood by way of a theological world-view of human history. It follows logically and is concomitant with the preparation for and the realization of the Incarnation which is interpreted under the same world-view.

One must say, moreover, that for Irenaeus as for Christian writers generally, creation and consequently history encompasses not only this immediate world but also the realms

above the earth including the abode of the angels. As we saw in Chapter III, the voluntary refusal to accept God's call to love in a providentially directed Creation did not begin with man but with the angels. Since the perfidy of angels is irreversible and immeasurably deeper than man's their evil influence on man and his history from the beginning is constant and profound. Jesus' role as Saviour was understood within the framework of the dramatic conflict between God and the rebellious angels or more specifically, between God and Satan. It forms, so to speak, an ultimate expression of the conflict between good and evil. God and Satan vie for the control of the souls of men. From this point of view, it is not merely a question of Jesus obeying where man disobeys but rather that Jesus overcomes the temptations.

Jesus' life and role as Saviour is seen in relation to Satan. Jesus reveals Satan to be not only the adversary of God but the adversary to Jesus personally.

...The Lord, then, exposing Him in his true character, says, "Depart, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." (Mtt 4:10) He both revealed him by this name, and showed at the same time who He Himself was. For the Hebrew word, "Satan", signifies an apostate. 146

As a result of disobedience, man is viewed as held in bondage by Satan. Satan rules over men as though he had usurped the kingdom of God among men. Jesus, then, by His obedience to the Father, faces the Tempter, overcomes and defeats him. On that account, He has in justice the "right" to take possession of what is His, namely, man. Fitting here is the old proverb, "To the victor goes the spoils":

...After the Man had done this, the Word bound him securely as a fugitive from Himself, and made spoil of his goods, - namely, those men whom he held in bondage, and whom he unjustly used for his own purposes. And justly indeed is he led captive, who

had led men unjustly into bondage; while man, who had been led captive in times past, was rescued from the grasp of his possessor...147

The conquest of Satan, begun at the Temptation in the Desert, is achieved definitively in the death of Jesus. In this death the obedience of man is supereminently perfect and, therefore, "pays the price" for man's disobedience. In this sense, Jesus not only conquers Satan, but buys back or "redeems" man.¹⁴⁸ Evidently, salvation, in view of man's historical condition vis-a-vis sin, Satan and death is characterized more specifically as redemption. Again, Jesus as Saviour is more specifically characterized as Redeemer. Jesus must be first of all a redeemer because it is only after man's sinful condition is removed by redemption that the positive aspects of salvation such as reunion with the Father and divinization are possible. How one man, Jesus, can accomplish both these aspects of salvation will be considered below under the subject of "recapitulation".

Death is viewed as a consequence of sin and is even used by way of analogy to describe sin. Death is seen as a dominion of Satan in that when we are under the power of Satan we are under the power of death

...Those, therefore, who assert that He appeared putatively, and was neither born in the flesh nor truly made man, are as yet under the old condemnation, holding out patronage to sin; for, by their showing death has not been vanquished, which "reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." (Rom 5:14)¹⁴⁹

To suffer death is to fall, at least materially, under the Devil's power. Jesus, in truly dying, fell materially under the Devil's power yet rose again from the dead in glory. When we view the redeeming action of Christ under this cosmic perspective, something which we might not otherwise see comes

into focus. We see a glory in victory over death and a "reason" for the continuing experience of death for man. In this way Christ conquers death just as He conquers Satan and all mankind conquers with Him.¹⁵⁰ The solidarity of all mankind with Christ in His victory over death is expressed even more emphatically in

...in order that, as our species went down to death through a vanquished man, so we may ascend to life again through a victorious one; and as through a man death received the palm of victory against us, so again, by a man we may receive the palm against death.¹⁵¹

As Rivière has observed, all the providential phases of the redeeming "Plan of God" are presented in view of the Satanic counter-power so that we may more clearly understand the goodness of the Lord when placed in opposition to the evil of Satan. In addition to the redemptive obedience of all the actions of His life, the death of Christ is all the more justified as a way of salvation. Irenaeus compares the characteristics of the goodness of Jesus to the evil of Satan. For example, "he compares the generosity of our Saviour to the perfidy of Satan, the love of the Word Incarnate who redeems his creature by the sacrifice of His life to the malice of the Devil who knew only to ravish from his legitimate master and seduce by deceit the work of God."¹⁵²

Irenaeus characterizes Jesus as Saviour from an historical point of view from the depth of the Cross to the breadth of the Cosmos. We can understand this better when we consider the views of the Gnostics whom he opposes. The Gnostics deny the historicity of saving action in or through Jesus. It was clear to Irenaeus that the Valentinian denial of the Incarnation led inevitably to this result. For them, the Saviour was, not Jesus at all but an aeon from above who was quite distinct from the historical Jesus. For the aeon above there was no

redeeming action in suffering or sacrifice.¹⁵³ In the wider historical vision of the Old Testament prophets, especially Isaiah, his polemic against gnosticism is even more pointed.¹⁵⁴

At one point Irenaeus states that even the manner in which Jesus rescues His own from Satan is supremely "just" and "reasonable" in that He does not take man back by force as Satan does but by becoming a man and Himself undergoing suffering. In this way, His manner of saving is doubly "just" because: a. man is vanquished by a man who comes into "His own" and b. he is taken not by force but by persuasion.¹⁵⁵ In contrast, the "Saviour" in the Gnostics system is unjust since he attempts to take what is not his own and he is not "good" to the extent that he cannot redeem with his own blood.¹⁵⁶

This idea of a divine justice that reaches even to dealing "justly" with Satan in the act of redeeming man is an essential part of Irenaeus' soteriology.¹⁵⁷ Of course there is no question of a "deal" made with Satan for the souls of men. The offering of the blood of Christ is a propitiation made to God for Man's sin.¹⁵⁸

We must not, however, overestimate the Devil's place in Irenaeus' theology. Satan remains a creature of God and, in the strict sense, bears no comparison to God as an adversary. Irenaeus is not a dualist in the strict sense - he is too monotheistic and anti-Gnostic for that.¹⁵⁹ Although of second rank, in comparison to other factors, the Devil remains an important consideration in his historical overview.

Finally, Jesus is the Word in whose image man was created. He inaugurates the historical processes of human development and sets its direction. By sin, man was arrested and turned away from this creative development. This is also a part of history. Jesus is characterized as Saviour, then, as one who "makes history" -- who makes things happen.¹⁶⁰

He sets man back on his course towards the Image and likeness of God, which He Himself is. He "joins the end to the beginning" thus reestablishing God's creative integrity in its historical manifestation.

iv. The Father as Origin of Jesus' Saving Power

As already indicated, history is a forum for the personal interaction of God and man. It is the result of free action both on the part of God and on the part of man. The Incarnate Word is, of course, the dominant personality insofar as this free interaction manifests itself. The Word (Son), in turn, interacts personally with the Father. According to the words of Jesus, it is the Father's will that is all-important and the guiding principle for all His action throughout history. The Son is not only the Image of the Father in His being but He is reflected further in the created humanity of Jesus in his obedience to the Father. He obeys the Father in action to redeem and save man to the point of dying on the Cross.

The origin, therefore, of the saving initiative comes from the Father. It comes as a totally free divine initiative and is, therefore, secure

...And again: unless it had been God who had freely given salvation, we could never have possessed it securely...¹⁶¹

The saving initiative of the Father was not something from the Pleroma above and concerning the New Testament only as the Gnostics claimed, but attested to as historical fact from of old exemplified in the prophecy of Isaiah

...And Isaiah declares this also, when he says "Be ye strengthened, ye hands that hang down, and ye

feeble knees; be ye encouraged, ye feeble-minded; be comforted, fear not: behold our God has given judgment with retribution, and shall recompense: He will come Himself, and will save us" (Isa 25:3). Here we see, that not by ourselves, but by the help of God, we must be saved.¹⁶²

Obviously, saving is not man's work but God's and primarily the Father's work. Man is powerless to save himself. God, therefore, "seeks out" man as a shepherd his lost sheep. God sent His Son down into man's lost situation by becoming incarnate. He is thereby with man in the fullest possible sense.

...and that what was thus born should be "God with us", and descend to those things which are of the earth beneath, seeking the sheep which had perished, which was indeed His own peculiar handiwork...¹⁶³

In view of man's sinfulness and unworthiness, Irenaeus never seems to cease to be amazed by the Father's determination to win man's love. He would even resort to placing His divine Son in the human condition. He can only see it as the ultimate expression of mercy inspired by love.

Great, then, was the mercy of God the Father: He sent the creative Word, who, when He came to save us, put Himself in our position...¹⁶⁴

...But God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. (Rom V: 6-7) ...¹⁶⁵

Evidently, God's love was there before Creation, from the beginning, so that His mercy and forgiveness precede any meritorious action on the part of man.

The Lord's ever-present readiness to forgive out of love must also be historically continuous and ever present throughout history -- beginning with Adam and continuing right to the end. Herein lies Irenaeus' refutation of the Gnostic

notion that the historical condition of man before Christ was radically different in respect to forgiveness from above. It was their contention that man, before Christ, was ruled by an unforgiving God, the Demiurge, to whom alone they were responsible for their behaviour. But for Irenaeus, man was always responsible to and forgiven by one and the same God, the Father:

...He, the same against whom we had sinned in the beginning, grants forgiveness of sins to the end. But if indeed we had disobeyed the command of any other, while it was a different being who said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee;" such an one is neither good, not true nor just... in what way can sins be truly remitted, unless that He against whom we have sinned has himself granted remission "through the bowels of mercy of our God," in which He has visited us through His Son?¹⁶⁶

Here again as in Chapter II, we can detect the general direction and scope of Irenaeus' theology. He does not wish to speculate about the inner life of God: e.g. about questions like: How does the Son proceed from the Father? As Wingren has concluded: "...the one concern of Irenaeus is to explain how God acts in Christ who was made Man."¹⁶⁷ For Irenaeus, it is what happens in this world, what can be observed as event that is the point of departure for the proper study of divine things and delineates the proper range of theological study.¹⁶⁸

If we ask the question, why did the Father empower His Son to save man? ...we must find the answer (to the extent that it can be found) in what has been revealed historically.. For example, in Scripture we find many references to man's sinfulness throughout history: at the same time we read in the Gospels of Christ's redeeming sacrifice. The "reason", also stated in various ways in Scripture and in the tradition of the Church generally, is given as divine love manifested

through mercy.

Speaking of the "reason" or "motivation", then, as to why God acts to save man, Irenaeus, following Scripture, finds several interrelated points...depending on the point of view. If we look at it from the point of view of Jesus as the object of the Father's concern, it is His goodness and merit that motivates the Father's love. According to Paul, for example, Jesus has power from the Father because of His obedience. Obedience is a human act and therefore the power is given because of Jesus' sacrificial death:

...This is the mystery which he (Paul) says was made known to him by revelation, that He who suffered under Pontius Pilate, the same is Lord of all, the King, and God, and Judge, receiving power from Him who is the God of all, because He became "obedient unto death..." (Phil 2:8)¹⁶⁹

Irenaeus, again following Paul, gives another reason that the Father gave all power to Jesus to save man: the Resurrection. The Resurrection was predestined by the will of God from the beginning as the ultimate expression of man who was created in the image and likeness of God.¹⁷⁰ Since predestination is the expression of the eternal will of God, and since this will is always efficacious, it can be considered as the "reason" that the Father gives saving power to the incarnate Son:

...Paul, when writing to the Romans, "...concerning His Son, who was made to Him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined the Son of God with power through the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Rom 1: 1-4)¹⁷¹

It may be said, therefore, that there are two principal reasons for Christ's power from the Father: His sacrificial death and His resurrection. These correspond to the two

principal aspects of salvation: reconciliation which concerns redemption and life-giving which concern eternal well-being. Both are expressed in this quotation from Paul used by Irenaeus:

"...For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son; much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life." (Rom 5:6) 172

Jesus holds from the Father, therefore, the full range of soteriological action for man in his present condition. According to Irenaeus, the Father is motivated to act in favour of man's salvation for two reasons: Man's need and the merits of Jesus principally in His Passion and Resurrection. Irenaeus shows how these two reasons operate and are manifested throughout history in a perfectly complimentary fashion. After all, these "divine motives" are simply manifestations of God's one eternal will and are inspired by His one eternal love.

v. Requirements for Salvation

We have considered man's sinful condition from the broader cosmic perspective as a sort of slavery to the power of Satan and death. Man himself is powerless to take the initiative to alleviate his condition. Only God has the power to remove man's sinful condition and to restore unity with Him. History, as recorded in Scripture testifies that God, in fact, has taken such initiatives to save man.

The divine initiative, placed in freedom, also leaves man free to respond. This free response on man's part has always been and still is a sine qua non condition for the effective operation of the divine initiative to save. Clearly, man must cooperate if divine power is to be effective within him. How may this cooperation express itself?

First of all, there must always be a need for a realization and an admission of guilt followed by some kind of expression of repentance. Irenaeus quotes Luke

..."Then opened He their understanding, that they should understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, and that repentance for the remission of sins be preached in His name among the nations." (Lk 24:44) 173

Just as sinfulness follows from a spirit or attitude of disobedience so a conversion to God for salvation requires humble obedience. This was as true for the Old Law as for the New:

For those points to which they (the heretics) call attention with regard to the God who then awarded temporal punishments to the unbelieving, and smote the Egyptians, while He saved those that were obedient; these same [facts, I say.] shall nevertheless repeat themselves in the Lord... 174

Given a spirit of obedience, man must also give assent of the mind to God's truth and love. One must believe and love God as "little children"

...And again, who are they that have been saved, and received the inheritance? Those, doubtless, who do believe God, and who have continued in His love...but who are they that are saved now, and receive life eternal? Is it not those who love God, and who believe His promises, and who "in malice have been as little children?" (1 Cor 14:20)175

A final requirement in the human response for salvation has always been a need to work righteousness. One must seek to do something positive; to do good works. Again, this applies not only to the established people of God but to all nations throughout time. Irenaeus quotes from the Scriptures the words of Peter to Cornelius:

...He whom also Cornelius worshipped; to whom Peter, coming in, said: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him." (Acts 10:34)176

Clearly, Irenaeus understands that there is a basic human spirituality required for salvation which is valid throughout history. It involves the elements of admission of guilt, humble obedience, faith, love and good works. This spirituality is valid for all men throughout history because all men are created in the same way by the same God; all have sinned and have the same basic spiritual requirements.

The advent of Jesus, while enriching and elevating it, does not fundamentally alter this basic human spirituality. It does mean, however, that in knowing Jesus one does know more about the divine will for man's salvation, e.g., that Jesus is the one and only Saviour and that one's response in that respect is more demanding. For one thing, it implies a solidarity with the Saviour - a willingness to suffer with Him

and share in His vicarious sacrifice. Irenaeus refers to Christ's rebuke to Peter

...and then He rebuked Peter, who imagined that He was the Christ as the generality of men supposed... and was averse to the idea of suffering, and said to His disciples, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me. For whosoever shall save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose it for My sake shall save it." (Mtt 16:24)¹⁷⁷

This "sharing in" the sacrifice of Christ is a sharing in the acceptance of the Father's will which necessitates an abnegation of one's own will of the "flesh". One even must prepare oneself for such renunciation by penitence and mortification. e.g., as in the forty day's fast of Jesus. This is the basis of the spirit-flesh struggle often alluded to in the Scriptures.¹⁷⁸

In presenting the traditional Christian "spirituality"¹⁷⁹ Irenaeus gives it a new power and unity by placing it in the context of his historical overview. At the same time he refutes the Gnostic position which attempts to dissociate Christian from Old Testament spirituality. For the Gnostics generally, the Old Testament spirituality was, for the most part inspired by the Demiurge and based on a concept of strict justice. The New Testament spirituality was inspired by the Father of the Saviour and based on love. The two are irreconcilable with each other. Moreover, the latter spirituality included a rejection of the flesh as being unworthy and incapable of salvation. Irenaeus shows how this leads to all kinds of abuses and inconsistencies.¹⁸⁰

For Irenaeus, mortification of the flesh is necessary but not because it should be rejected. Quite the contrary is the case. Mortification of the flesh is for its purification and subordination precisely so that it may be brought under the higher order of the Spirit. The flesh is not rejected

but transformed from corruptible to incorruptible. Therefore the Gnostic interpretation of Paul's "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" as meaning rejection of the flesh is utterly erroneous. By "flesh and blood" in this context Paul is not referring to substance but to the inclination of sinful flesh which tends to lead man away from the work of the Spirit of God in man.¹⁸¹

It is obvious that Irenaeus was inspired by the spirituality of the Greek Church of his day.¹⁸² This spirituality includes many other facets which are interrelated and characteristic. For example, an emphasis on the effects of the Spirit in man; the vision of God; and eschatology as we shall consider below.

One thing more should be said in consideration of the faithful's solidarity with the Suffering Saviour. It involves a certain attitude towards life and death wherein there is, as Kirchmeyer expresses it, a distance, a tension, a living in the provisional that demands the definitive. One looks at death not with evasion, masochism or curiosity but as the expression of the radical orientation of one's being. It must be seen in the death of Christ. His death saved man from the death of sin. Man is not, however, liberated from biological death because in Christ it has been integrated into our spiritual history as a necessary and determinative moment in our return to God.¹⁸³

vi. Universality of God's Salvation

The doctrine of Irenaeus is said to be a classic example of the application of the principle of universalism found everywhere in the Christian tradition.¹⁸⁴ The Fathers of the Church unanimously opposed any form of "special status" to any group or region. There can be no question of an exclusive right to salvation for anyone. Writing against the Gnostics, Irenaeus is most emphatic in Book III, chapters 16-23 of Adversus Haereses that: a. God is not a "stranger" to men and, b. salvation in Jesus is offered to all flesh and not only to a special group as the Gnostics suggested.

What is the basis of this universalism? It is based on the premise that when God, by way of the Incarnation, enters the human condition, He does so, as it were, from the outside - from the realm of the transcendent. Nevertheless, the Word, in becoming incarnate does not take up what is strange but what is His own. It is His own because it is His creation from the beginning. Herein lies the basis for universalism. He must come to all because all of it is His; all of it is His own creation. As Wingren puts it, there can be no inherent opposition between God and man. Not a special group, but man is sought by God in the Incarnation. Divine love must have universal application. All men stand on exactly the same level before God.¹⁸⁵ Divine love makes no acceptance of persons. The only obstacle to man's salvation is man's refusal of it.

Why can Irenaeus see this universalism so clearly? His historical vision makes it easy for him to see what universalism must imply. It means that the Father's saving love must take all of history in its embrace. Something of this is indicated in the way Irenaeus understands salvation as extending to the "righteous" of the Old Testament. They

are not lost but held in abeyance, as it were, until the arrival of the Saviour can apply the effects of saving merits to them:

...It was for this reason, too, that the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching His advent there also, and declaring the remission of sins received by those who believe in Him. (Pet 3: 19-20) Now all those believed in Him who had hope towards Him, that is, those who had proclaimed His advent, and submitted to His dispensations, the righteous men, the prophets and the patriarchs, to whom He remitted sins in the same way as He did to us....186

Does Irenaeus mean that salvation applies only to those "righteous" who had prepared for the Messiah, i.e. those of the Jewish dispensation? Apparently not, when we discover that Irenaeus tended to look upon the Jewish dispensation as a type or image of a more universal salvation for all men of which the Church is the present and efficacious sign:

As a matter of course, therefore, these things were done beforehand in a type...For the whole exodus of the people out of Egypt, which took place under divine guidance, was a type and image of the exodus of the Church which should take place from among the Gentiles; and for this cause He leads it out at last from this world into His own inheritance...187

That salvation extends from Christ back to the beginning universally is clear, however, from Irenaeus' insistence on the salvation of Adam. He is in opposition to the theory of the perdition of Adam proposed by Tatian. In Chapter 23 of Adversus Haereses Adam represents all mankind generally from the beginning of history. All mankind is considered to be in Adam. Consequently to say that Adam is condemned is to say, in effect, that all mankind is lost. This would mean that the Devil has triumphed and God is defeated - an unthinkable conclusion.

The solution to the salvation problem must lie in the fact that the first Adam is saved by the "second Adam", Jesus, and with Him all mankind generally (both Jew and Gentile). Just as the first Adam's solidarity with the human race extends forward into history, so also the second Adam's solidarity with the human race extends back into history embracing all with His saving power:

...For if man, who had been created by God that he might live, after losing life, through being injured by the serpent that had corrupted him, should not anymore return to life, but should be utterly and for ever abandoned to death, God would in that case have been conquered, and the wickedness of the serpent would have prevailed over the will of God. But inasmuch as God is invincible and long-suffering, He did indeed show Himself to be long-suffering in the matter of the correction of man and the probation of all...and by means of the second man did He bind the strong man, and spoiled his goods and abolished death, vivifying that man who had been in a state of death...188

Even though God's salvation must be said to be universal, historically continuous and consistent, the Incarnation does inaugurate a new phase in God's offer of salvation to man and in the quality of the human response required. But Irenaeus will insist of course that this new phase is not, as the Gnostics would say, radically discontinuous with the previous one. We have seen the reasons for this already in reference to the divine "economy". Whatever may be said about the power to save having universal application back to the beginning of history, it does make a difference when the Saviour Himself is actually present. There is now a "fullness" of the application and enjoyment of that salvation that was not present before:

...For all things had entered upon a new phase, the Word arranging after a new manner the advent in the flesh, that He might win back to God that human nature (hominem) which had departed from God; and

therefore men were taught to worship God after a new fashion, but not another God...but the knowledge of salvation was the knowledge of the Son of God, who is both called and actually is, salvation, and salutary...¹⁸⁹

In its preaching the Church, reflecting the universality of salvation now present with the Saviour, exhorts the faithful to announce the good news of salvation to all

...and undoubtedly the teaching of the Church is true and steadfast, in which one and the same way of salvation is shown throughout the whole world.¹⁹⁰

From here we move on to a deeper application of the historical view. These deliberations on the universality of salvation serve as a point of introduction to Irenaeus' central concept, recapitulation.

vii. The Incarnation Saves by Recapitulating

We must now investigate more thoroughly the historical implications and nuances inherent within the various aspects of recapitulation as it relates to God's saving action. We shall follow the work of several authors who have already studied these matters from various points of view.

"Recapitulation" refers to ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις from the verb ἀνακεφαλαιόω. As used in the Scriptures and in the writings of the Fathers, it generally signified "to sum up" or "to concentrate under one head."¹⁹¹ The Latin translation of Irenaeus gives recapitulatio for the noun and recapitulo for the verb.¹⁹²

Noel F. Moholy finds that in Irenaeus ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις in addition to its accepted meanings in earlier Christian literature, takes on several additional and interrelated shades of meaning. He notes first of all the original meaning wherein the Word by His becoming man "sums up", "makes a summary of" or

"synthesizes" all things human.¹⁹³ Then closely related to this action of summing up are the actions of "reproducing"¹⁹⁴ "repetition",¹⁹⁵ "renovation",¹⁹⁶ and "reestablishment" or "restoration"¹⁹⁷ of mankind. He emphasizes that no one of these aspects of recapitulation is to be considered exclusively of the others. For Irenaeus, one shade of meaning flows naturally into the other. He writes: "This very melting and merging of shading into one another, the mention of one aspect and the connotation of several others, manifest the pregnancy of the term."¹⁹⁸

Recapitulation is essentially the work of God. Although the will and action of the Father and Son may be considered as one, recapitulation is more specifically attributed to the Son (Word) since He is the one who becomes incarnate. For Irenaeus, under the one overall action of recapitulating are comprised several specific actions. Of these, two are of overriding importance: the act of becoming man (incarnation) and the sacrificial action centering in the Cross (redemption).¹⁹⁹

Usually, when Irenaeus is referring to recapitulation he approaches it from the point of view of the Incarnation. If one reads these texts to the exclusion of others one may get the impression that recapitulation follows from the Incarnation alone. Perhaps this can explain why some authors have judged Irenaeus as one who overemphasizes the Incarnation and minimizes the Redemption.²⁰⁰ Viewing his work as a whole, however, one can realize that Irenaeus would never consider one divine action to the exclusion of others. This is obvious in some texts where the Incarnation and various redemptive actions are integrated together in the same paragraph or even the same sentence.²⁰¹

We thought it useful to our purpose to select an outline of Irenaeus' recapitulation concept that would be sufficiently inclusive to embrace all of the essential aspects. Such an

outline could serve as a "framework" in which the historical implications could be related and oriented in some kind of coherent fashion.

We found that an outline given by Lucien Regnault is well suited to provide such a framework.²⁰² The various parts of the recapitulation concept according to Regnault may be outlined following two principal divisions: a. to summarize and "retake up" and b. to renew:

- a. to summarize and retake up by which is meant that Christ summarizes humanity and takes it up again wholly into Himself.
- b. to renew by which is meant Christ takes humanity completely in hand and restores it according to the original plan of the Creator, i.e., according to the image and likeness of God.

The two above divisions are further subdivided as follows:

- a. to summarize and retake up may be considered in two senses: 1. abstractly and 2. concretely.
 1. Abstract sense: In the sense that Christ possesses all the elements and aspects of human nature, i.e., He is true and perfect man. This means: i. He has a body of flesh, ii. a soul informed by the Spirit of God, iii. He assumes all ages of human existence from birth to adulthood in order to sanctify each and iv. by this human nature Christ holds priority and primacy in all and of all.
 2. Concrete sense: In the sense that Christ assumes and takes in hand all men who have ever lived since the beginning or who will be born in the future. All of this humanity is recapitulated just as it was and is - this includes both the just and sinners and all that was suffered or done by man since the beginning. He recapitulates thereby both the "old humanity" and the "new humanith" of which He is the "Prototype", "First-born" and "Head".
- b. to renew: This is the sense in which the Incarnate Word renews the old humanity and is closely linked to the first meaning of "taking up again" since He takes it up again for the purpose of renewing it and giving it life again - so that what was lost in Adam (image and likeness) we can now receive in Christ. In this meaning the accent is placed more on what the Incarnate Word does, e.g., ongoing recapitulative action...both as to similarity

and contrast to what Adam did.
This concludes the paraphrasing of Regnault's outline.

In respect to the first meaning of Regnault's outline, i.e., to "retake up" or assume in the abstract sense, the humanness that is assumed by the Word possesses all the elements of human nature: body, soul and spirit. But in some texts where Irenaeus refers to these things he relates Christ to the world around him, e.g., He eats the food of the earth, suffers hunger, weeps, and so forth and then he concludes:

...For all these are tokens of the flesh which had been derived from the earth, which He had recapitulated in Himself, bearing salvation to His own handiwork.²⁰³

What Irenaeus is obviously referring to here by "tokens of the flesh" are those aspects of the human condition which we now term "historical". Although Irenaeus does not use the word "historical" in this context, it is clear that he is using that kind of concept. It is humanness precisely in its full historicity that the Word has assumed.

Another normal human condition is growth from birth to old age. This involves not only biological growth but personal as well. This growth marks out the boundaries, stages, and development of an individual's personal history. This also does Jesus assume:

...Wherefore also He passed through every stage of life, restoring to all communion with God...²⁰⁴

Further on this, every individual's personal history cannot be divorced from the general context of the history of his family, group, tribe or even from the history of mankind as such. In ancient times, these kinds of historical relationships were thought to be to a degree written into the very flesh and blood of the individual and transmitted by birth. Hence, for example, the Jewish custom of recording lengthy genealogies. References

References to this aspect of historicity are common in Irenaeus' work. His purpose in alluding to the genealogy of Jesus no doubt has this meaning also. This aspect of historicity the Word also assumes:

Wherefore Luke points out that the pedigree which traces the generation of our Lord back to Adam contains seventy-two generations, connecting the end with the beginning, and implying that it is He who has summed up in Himself all nations dispersed from Adam downwards, and all languages and generations of men, together with Adam himself...²⁰⁵

This will also explain, in part, why Irenaeus was so insistent that Jesus was truly born of Mary in the flesh²⁰⁶ and that this flesh was the same flesh as Adam.²⁰⁷ For Irenaeus it was not merely a question of establishing the nature of Jesus' being but also of establishing the historical realities assumed by Him which are associated with being born into a particular lineage in a particular place at a particular time.

Irenaeus opposed the Gnostics especially on this point. If Jesus was only apparently human as they claimed, then in fact His existence in this life could have no genuine effect on man... and what He did could have no reality either. For Irenaeus, to be historical is to be "real" and effectual:

Vain indeed are those who allege that He appeared in mere seeming. For these things were not done in appearance only, but in actual reality. But if He did appear as a man when He was not a man, neither could the Holy Spirit have rested upon Him...²⁰⁸

Clearly, then, the historical dimension of recapitulation in the abstract sense is extremely important to Irenaeus. Only when this recapitulation is truly historical can it be effective to bring salvation.

We turn now to the second meaning of recapitulation: to assume in the concrete sense. Here it is the taking in

hand or taking in charge of all men as individuals who ever were or ever will be. They are taken in hand as they are or as they were. This includes their moral state and moral actions as here indicated

...He thus points out the recapitulation that should take place in his own person of the effusion of blood from the beginning, of all the righteous men and of the prophets, and that by means of Himself there should be a requisition of their blood. Now this blood could not be required unless it also had the capability of being saved...²⁰⁹

Here we can say that the assuming power of Christ's incarnation extends not merely from His own personal history to the history of all mankind abstractly but also concretely to the personal histories of every individual. This applies more specifically when these personal histories involve the dramatic personal conflict between good and evil. To this point, in this very context, Irenaeus quotes the words of Christ: "All righteous blood shall be required which is shed upon the earth, from the blood of the righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias." (Ytt 23:35; Lk 11:50)

Irenaeus can see that it is at this personal level that we must seek the reason for man's condition of being "under the reign of sin". In his epistle to the Romans²¹⁰ Paul refers to the body of Christ as "sinful". Houssiau states that Irenaeus uses this Pauline reference "simply to prove that He must be a man like Adam in that He assumed the flesh of Adam over which sin reigns".²¹¹ Irenaeus could not mean that Jesus' flesh is sinful in its substance seeing that the flesh of Christ is distinguished from sinful flesh in another text.²¹² Therefore it would appear that what Irenaeus is saying is that when Christ assumes the "sinful flesh" of Adam, He takes in hand the historical condition of being "under the reign of sin" which follows from each individual's moral failure in his personal history beginning with Adam's fall.

Perhaps this assuming of man's evil condition can best be understood from the background of a development of St. Paul's Adam-Christ typology. Four authors have provided material for our investigations in this respect: J. Daniélou and J. T. Nielson on Adam-Christ typology;²¹³ J. Aulen and G. Wingren on the God versus Satan conflict.²¹⁴

The overall picture may be described summarily as follows. Jesus is the "New Adam" who supplants Adam as head of the human race and by His divine creative power gives new life to man thereby becoming the new progenitor of a renewed race. This change of headship is presented as the key event in a great historical drama in which the hero, Jesus, comes into the world to save man from the enslaving power of the villain, Satan. The stage of the drama is the whole of history, from beginning to end.

The first act opens at the beginning where newly-created man, tempted by Satan, falls under his enslaving power where sin, evil and death reign. The second and final act is the victory of God over Satan by way of the Incarnate Word who overpowers Satan. By the power of God working through the humanity of Christ, God's victory is also man's victory. Man is saved and God is glorified in man.

Typology is a biblical form of history-writing not to be confused with religious and cultural allegory.²¹⁵ In biblical typology two events in biblical history are related such that one serves as a type or model of the other. One believes that, since God acts through these events, comparing various attributes in the two events helps to clarify God's design in history.

In the Adam-Christ typology found in Paul,²¹⁶ Adam is seen as a type of Christ, *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*. Adam as progenitor of the human race is considered as its head and representative. What Adam does affects all. The Incarnate

Word, by virtue of His recapitulating action inaugurates a "new man" and therefore a new headship for the race. This is a new event of which the old event, the creation of Adam, constitutes a type or model. This new event inaugurates also a new time, *καὶ ἄρτι μάλλον*, of which Jesus Christ is the first man.

Since, as we have seen above, it was not an entirely new creation that was made new, a continuity is maintained between the old and the new. Since Paul wishes to encourage his readers to follow Christ as a new way, he emphasizes the contrast between Adam and Christ in his typology

...as one man's fall brought condemnation on everyone, so the good act of one man brings everyone life and makes them justified.²¹⁷

For Paul, these two events, one coming at the beginning of history and the other at the end, were not isolated from the rest of history. They were rather considered as two poles, according to which all of history could be oriented.²¹⁸

There is no reason to doubt that Irenaeus understood the Pauline typology in the way that it was intended, yet he does make some minor alterations and shift of emphasis so that it might better suit his theological system.²¹⁹ In any event, it does form a basis firstly for a more all-embracing view of history and secondly for the point of orientation in the larger "dramatic" background of the God-Satan conflict indicated above. In the former he envisions continual progress, in the latter, inevitable victory. In evidence throughout is an optimism springing from an indomitable faith in the goodness and power of God.

This progress is understood as the realization of a divine "economy" in which God and man approach and "become accustomed" to each other. God, to this purpose, takes many initiatives throughout history culminating at last in the

ultimate initiative of the Incarnation. Man, reluctant and often rebellious, advances step by step throughout history to become more and more like God by virtue of this divine initiative.

Within the basic framework of this historical progression, Irenaeus perceives a developing victory. The Devil, who continually throughout history attempts to frustrate the realization of the divine "economy" is defeated and repulsed once and for all by the Incarnate Word. Thus man's overall situation throughout history is that the Word assumes (recapitulates) by way of the Incarnation. Here, even the evil of man is assumed in order to win the victory over it.

The first meaning of recapitulation, taken both in the abstract and concrete senses, leads logically into the second: to repair and to renew. The very purpose for which Christ assumes and takes up humanity is precisely in order to repair and to renew it. This meaning has several facets: redeem, renew, recreate sanctify and unite.

This saving aspect of recapitulation is accomplished by giving the Spirit to man. Man is thereby drawn into unity under the headship of Christ.²²⁰ As demonstrated below (p. 232) this unity is to be so close as to form one "body" or even, in a eucharistic sense, "one flesh". The sign and instrument of this unity on earth is the Church.²²¹ Again, this unity is comprised under the "headship" of Christ embracing the entire Cosmos including all created things visible and invisible, in earth and in heaven.²²²

This unity aspect of recapitulation is very significant as to history. The unity and harmony in holiness of all of God's creation is the ultimate goal of the historical process. This is what gives to Irenaeus' system its eschatological dimension. Here he follows many texts from John and Paul.²²³

The process of gradual sanctification or deification through time is history-making not only from the point of view of step by step development but also because of the obstacles that tend to frustrate this development, viz., the influence of Satan and man's disobedience. In this respect man's moral failure is seen under the overview of the God-Satan conflict. Recapitulation takes on the meaning of redemption when it means to reassume or take up again that which was lost

...but when He became incarnate, and was made man, He commenced afresh...the long line of human beings, and furnished us, in a brief, comprehensive manner, with salvation; so that what we had lost in Adam - namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God - that we might recover in Christ Jesus.²²⁴

By letting the Adam who was lost function as a type, it was possible to bring the discontinuity wrought by human failure into a more fundamental continuity. The continuity between the two adams is seen for example in an analogy of birth in taking up again the same "flesh". Adam was formed from the "virgin soil" as Christ was formed from the virgin flesh of Mary who descended in the flesh from Adam.

In several texts²²⁵ Irenaeus is very emphatic about: a. the Word assumed the flesh and form of Adam and b. our solidarity with Adam in the flesh. These two propositions are essential to his doctrine of recapitulation. Without a. there would be no "retaking up" of the same flesh and therefore no saving link to Adam. Without b. there would be no connection between Christ and the rest of mankind and therefore the Incarnation would have no saving effect universally. If we do not hold a. and b. as true then we are admitting that the unity and integrity of the divine economy throughout history is broken thereby giving support to the Gnostic position.

There is a certain continuity to be seen also in the deaths of Adam and Christ:

...For by summing up in Himself the whole human race from the beginning to the end, He has also summed up its death. From this it is clear that the Lord suffered death, in obedience to His Father, upon that day on which Adam died while he disobeyed God...226

The continuity is extended even to between Eve and Mary. Before the Fall, Eve, like Mary, was betrothed to a man yet still a virgin.²²⁷

By this recapitulation, then, there seems to be a reaching back into history to redeem all that went before, "filling up the times of His condemnation, which had been incurred through disobedience".²²⁸ Even the enmity which God bears to Satan that "removed His own anger from man" is recapitulated in Christ

...And the Lord summed up in Himself this enmity when He was made man from a woman, and trod upon his the serpent's head...²²⁹

It is as though the Incarnation, the "passing of God into man", creates a new generation which saves, so to speak, "automatically"

...Or how shall man pass into God, unless God has first passed into man? And how shall he (man) escape from the generation subject to death, if not by means of a new generation, given in a wonderful and unexpected manner (but as a sign of salvation) by God...²³⁰

Actually, upon more careful scrutiny, one observes that this apparently "automatic" salvation by recapitulation often appears in Irenaeus in or near texts concerning the moral order. In many places it is explained that man is by nature free and responsible. He can accept the salvation offered him or reject it as, e.g., in the beginning man's loss of grace was the result of disobedience. Even the recapitulating power of Christ to save cannot escape this necessity. Man can, however, learn from his disobedience that it is more profitable to obey.²³¹

This leads to the application of contrast within the Adam-Christ typology. There is the moral-ethical contrast in the acts of the two Adams. The disobedience of the first Adam is contrasted with the obedience of the second Adam. The latter is expressed especially within two major events: the Temptation in the Desert²³² and the Passion

That the Lord was manifestly coming to His own things, and was sustaining them by means of that creation which is supported by Himself, and was making a recapitulation of that disobedience which had occurred in connection with a tree, through the obedience which was exhibited by Himself when He hung upon a tree...²³³

Moreover, the Second Adam, by His obedience on the Cross undoes and destroys the disobedience wrought by the First Adam

And the sin that was wrought through the tree was undone by the obedience of the tree, obedience to God whereby the Son of Man was nailed to the tree, destroying the knowledge of evil, and bringing in and conferring the knowledge of good...²³⁴

This "undoing of sin" effects salvation for man; the Passion of Christ actually effects salvation

...Our Lord also by His passion destroyed death, and dispersed error, and put an end to corruption, and destroyed ignorance, while He manifested life and revealed truth, and bestowed the gift of incorruption...²³⁵

Clearly, when Irenaeus states that the Incarnation saves by recapitulating, he must have in mind that the moral-ethical acts of obedience of Christ are inseparably a part of that saving recapitulating action. That is to say, as far as saving by recapitulation is concerned, the Incarnation and the Passion form one conjoint principle. This is perhaps best illustrated in references to the recapitulating powers of the blood of Christ. The "blood" denotes in its imagery both the human nature assumed by Christ and the moral act of obedient sacrifice

on man's behalf.²³⁶ We may add to this that the recapitulating action of Christ is obviously an extended ongoing action in time and history. It follows also that when any individual performs acts of obedience "in Christ" as, for example, to accept Him in faith, he cooperates in the recapitulative action of Christ to effect his own salvation and that of others.

We encounter a problem, however, when we discover texts which seem to suggest that in the retaking-up of Adam (man's) flesh, sin or death is also recapitulated. Although the old with both its good and evil elements is retaken up, only the good is recreated and renewed. The negative aspects are recapitulated only in order to be done away with. Wingren suggests that this is not done by the Incarnation itself because these elements are not assumed but rather by the positive act of Christ's sacrifice. From here the ongoing Incarnation operates eternal life through the Spirit.²³⁷

As already indicated, the saving effects of the Incarnation have universal application. The same holds true, of course, for recapitulation seeing that the Incarnation is the means whereby recapitulation is made possible. By being recapitulated with the Old Adam into the New Adam, we are all recipients of the Redemption wrought by the Passion. This redemption is, first of all, a cancelling of a debt that we all owe to God by virtue of our solidarity with the First Adam in the transgression of God's commandment. Not only does the Passion cancel the debt, it also changes our attitude from one of Adam-like disobedience to one of Christ-like obedience

...But inasmuch as it was by these things that we disobeyed God, and did not give credit to His word; so was it also by these same that He brought in obedience and consent as respects His Word; by which things He clearly shows forth God Himself, whom indeed we had offended in the first Adam, when he did not perform His commandment. In the second Adam, however, we are reconciled, being made obedient even

unto death. For we were debtors to none other but to Him whose commandment we had transgressed at the beginning.²³⁸

What is suggested here is that, although Adam (and in him, man) frustrates the creative designs of God, he cannot escape the creative hands of God. Recapitulation, although it picks up and restores the old creation, also creates a "newness" in this creation. It surpasses what was there in the beginning. It is a new "life" which affects and permeates all universally:

...so also, in [the times of] the end, the Word of the Father and the Spirit of God, having become united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation, rendered man living and perfect, receptive of the perfect Father, in order that as in the natural [Adam] we all were dead, so in the spiritual we may all be made alive (1 Cor 15:22)²³⁹

The indicated contrast within the framework of the Adam-Christ typology suggests a new creation emerging from the old. It is a type of discontinuity within a creative continuity. In the first creation we are "psychic" and imperfect and are led to death. In the second Adam we are made "spiritual" with life leading to perfection. This was all according to the design of the creative hands of God

...Hence also was Adam himself termed by Paul "the figure of Him that was to come", (Rom 5:14) because the Word, the maker of all things, had formed beforehand for Himself the future dispensation of the human race, connected with the Son of God; God having predestined that the first man should be of an animal nature, with this view, that he might be saved by the Spiritual One...²⁴⁰

...For there had been a necessity that, in the first place, a human being should be fashioned, and that what was fashioned should receive the soul; afterwards that it should thus receive the communion of the Spirit. Wherefore also "the first Adam was made" by the Lord "a living soul, the second Adam a quickening spirit" (1 Cor 15:45)...²⁴¹

This recapitulation creates a new life which flows from the Incarnation as though from a "new generation"

...and the Son of the Most High God the Father of all, who effected the incarnation of this being, and showed forth a new kind of generation; that as by the former generation we inherited death, so by this new generation we might inherit life.²⁴²

This "new generation" frees man for new growth. This bears some analogy with the original growth at the beginning before the Fall, but it nevertheless represents a dynamic advance over it. This is because, in Irenaeus' view, history cannot be reversed. As God's creative design is realized by way of progress through history by the very nature of things, what He inaugurates later must constitute an advance over what went before.

This "advance" is conceived also from another point of view. Adam (man) was created in the image and likeness of God. This likeness was lost insofar as man sinned. But even in its original condition it was difficult to recognize, because it was only created in the Image; it was not itself the Image. Christ is that Image and Likeness in which and by which Adam was originally created.²⁴³ In this sense, Christ, insofar as He is in His humanity the recapitulation of His original handiwork, constitutes an advance in God's creative design. This also, as we have seen, is an historical development.

Finally, looking at the Adam-Christ typology from the point of view of its setting in the historical God-Satan dramatic conflict, there is an advance through history from conflict to victory. This conflict reaches its climax in the Passion and the ensuing victory culminates in the Resurrection. This victory and lordship over death represents a point of termination of Christ's recapitulating action. It therefore indicates the direction and termination of the historical process as far as the rest of mankind is concerned, viz., the

the general resurrection:

...And therefore does the Lord profess Himself to be the Son of man, comprising in Himself that original man out of whom the woman was fashioned... in order that, as our species went down to death through a vanquished man, so we may ascend to life again through a victorious one; and as through a man death received the palm of victory against us, so again by a man we may receive the palm against death.²⁴⁴

The Incarnate Word is also the Word in whom all things are created. His recapitulating action, therefore, must extend also to all things - to the entire cosmos - to the heavens and the earth; to things visible and invisible so that in all things His victory is made complete.²⁴⁵

viii. A Synthesis of Salvation and Creation

We have already considered Irenaeus' opposition to the Gnostic view that Creation and Salvation indicate separate economies. The Gnostics attempted to strengthen their position with the hypothesis that Creation and Salvation arise from different and opposing deities. This, they claimed, was reflected in the differences between the Old and the New Testaments.

Although the notion of "salvation" is not entirely foreign to the Old Testament, its overall tone and thrust seem dominated by the Genesis account of God as Creator. He is a God who transcends all and rules all and He will come to bring judgement upon the world. While not excluding Old Testament concepts about God, the New Testament emphasizes God's love and mercy. This is shown especially in the salvation given by God through Jesus. To support their view, the Gnostics tended to exaggerate these differences between the Old and the New Testaments. For Irenaeus, on the other hand, any consideration of

man's relationship to the divine must necessarily presuppose the fundamental unity of divine action. Consequently, one must begin by realizing that, whatever their differences, Creation and Salvation must proceed from one and the same Source. In one example he appeals to the Gospel of John:

...The disciple of the Lord therefore desiring to put an end to all such doctrines, and to establish the rule of truth in the Church, that there is one Almighty God, who made all things by His Word, both visible and invisible; showing at the same time, that by the Word, through whom God made the creation, He also bestowed salvation on the men included in the creation...²⁴⁶

Now, then, explain the differences? As the differences between Old and New Testaments can be explained in light of differences in the stages of development of a divine economy coming to realization through history (cf above, p 62-66), so creation and salvation can never be mutually exclusive divine operations. They must always bear a necessary relationship to each other. Insofar as divine operation is extended throughout time and history, however, creation more relates to the beginning, salvation, to the end. It may also be stated that the Word of God, as Lord of history from beginning to end, holds within His person the key to their unity:

...but as regards His love, He is always known through Him by whose means He ordained all things. Now this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made a man among men, that He might join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God...²⁴⁷

This "joining of end to beginning" realizes, in effect, a synthesis of creation and salvation. Jesus, as the Incarnate Word, constitutes within Himself this synthesis. To the extent that all time and history comes to a focus in the "Christ-event" to that extent also is this synthesis a temporal and an historical reality.

It does seem obvious now that this synthesis referred to is most clearly expressed in Irenaeus' doctrine of Recapitulation. Jesus in the act of recapitulating takes all creation entirely in hand, draws it to Himself, renews and saves it. In Jesus it would seem that creation is salvation and salvation, creation. A clear illustration of this is the Eucharist where created elements are the means by which He gives His saving nourishment:

...By His own blood He redeemed us, as also His apostle declares, "In whom we have redemption through His blood, even the remission of sins." (Col 1:14) And as we are His members, we are also nourished by means of the creation (and He Himself grants the creation to us, for He causes His sun to rise, and sends rain when He wills, (Mtt 5:45). He has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as His own blood, from which He bedews our blood; and the bread (also a part of the creation) He has established as His own body, from which He gives increase to our bodies...248

Such a view of the relationship between creation and salvation may seem strange to anyone who is accustomed to thinking of Creation as an original state of man to whom Salvation is given as a sort of added quantity. This "addition" is expressed in classical theological terms as "supernatural grace" added to the "natural man". Such an interpretation came by way of distinctions in the classical concept of "Being". There seems to be no concrete evidence, however, for such a conception in the mind of Irenaeus. These conceptions arose from the application of Greek philosophy to Christian theology. Irenaeus' outlook on the world is not fundamentally Greek but Judaeo-Christian.249

How, then, does Irenaeus view the operation of creation and salvation in man? To begin with, man at his creation was created in the Image and Likeness of God but in an immature and therefore obscure way. Christ is this Image

and Likeness and therefore the Archtype towards which he is to grow and develop.

Man, during his growth, is always held in and being formed by God's two creative hands, the Word and the Spirit.. Man's growth and development is always a direct result of God's ongoing creative action and is, therefore, always in a state of being "saved" (at least in respect to the positive meaning of "saved" - cf above, p 157). This is what Irenaeus means by "life" or "life of the Spirit". Thus in the normal state of affairs, we may say that God's creative and saving actions run concurrently but they are not complete or definitive at any particular time.

However, an abnormal state of affairs occurs when man disobeys God. He thereby cuts himself off from the "life of the Spirit" and ceases to "grow". He is in a state, therefore of "spiritual" death and is subject also to physical death. Worse still, he falls prey to more powerful evil forces: Satan...

Viewing the development of mankind historically, Irenaeus is able to conceive that before the Fall God's creative and saving actions in man were concurrent. After the Fall this state was lost and man became subject to death. The fact of a creation remained but only as an existence; the ongoing creative action which saves was lost.

Of course, as we saw above, the historical event of the Incarnation operates as a redeeming and saving force. In view of man's fallen state, it must then be a redeeming force first of all. Secondly, it restores the bond between God and man so that man's growth can continue now as divinely planned. Creation and salvation become once again as one. Death remains, however, not as a sign of "spiritual" death

but rather as the unique opportunity to express in an ultimate and Christ-like way, one's obedience to the Father.

The work of Wingren is very helpful to the understanding of creation and salvation in Irenaeus. He explains that for Irenaeus sin and death are unnatural abnormalities which from the beginning (i.e., from the Fall) frustrate God's ongoing saving and creative action. In Christ we do not therefore receive something "supernatural" but rather a life of perfect "health" and the absolute and faultless completion of creation

...The gift which Christ bestows surpasses the first Creation, not in the sense that the supernatural surpasses nature, but rather in the sense that the fully developed and mature life surpasses the undeveloped and immature, or as a man is stronger than a child...250

Existence for Irenaeus is primarily a struggle against an enemy - against the powers of destruction. When man falls and "life" is lost, salvation means, first of all, a regaining of that life which should have been there all along

in his childhood man has received an injury; he has been wounded by sin and death; and since the healing of his injury is salvation, life before the injury (i.e., at the Creation), and life after the healing (i.e., in the Resurrection) are the same life.²⁵¹ When one finds difficulty in holding together the ideas of Creation and Resurrection and the idea of an injury is not in fact accepted, but human life is rather treated as being essentially intact - intact, that is, though not sufficiently "spiritual" - salvation or "religion" in this case represents an addition to what is earthly, something which is over and above man's natural condition. This scheme, however, is alien to Irenaeus.²⁵²

Thus creation and salvation are in fact the same action of God with men viewed from different perspectives. The time-history scale plays a significant role in this perspective

difference. Each concept is viewed from opposite ends of the scale: Creation from the beginning and Salvation from the end. Even the interruption of sin and the powers of Satan cannot break the hold that God has on man from these two "poles" of united action.

ix. The Incarnation Saves Through Revelation

In the next chapter we shall consider man as the "seer" of God who manifests Himself in His mighty deeds for man throughout history. This manifestation culminates in the Christ-event where man as the Image and Likeness of God fully manifested and the mystery of God's infinite wisdom and goodness is revealed. But it is through the mercy of God to fallen man that His goodness in Christ is most clearly revealed:

...Just as the physician is proved by his patients, so is God also revealed through men. And therefore Paul declares, "For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all: "(Rom 11: 32) not saying this in reference to spiritual Aeons, but to man, who had been disobedient to God, and being cast off from immortality, then obtained mercy, receiving through the Son of God that adoption which is [accomplished] by Himself...253

The implication here is that man's sin, far from hindering God's revelation, offers God a greater opportunity to demonstrate His goodness by way of His mercy. As far as the revelation of God in Jesus is concerned, it is not merely a question of restoring the Image and Likeness of God in man but in what Jesus does precisely as Saviour:

...For he who holds without pride and boasting, the true glory (opinion) regarding created things and the Creator...[such an one], continuing in His love and subjection, and giving of thanks, shall also receive from Him the greater glory of promotion (provectus) looking forward to the time when he shall become like Him who died :

for him, for He, too, "was made in the likeness of sinful flesh," (Rom 8:3) to condemn sin...but that He might call man forth into His own likeness, assigning him as His own imitator of God, and imposing on him His Father's law, in order that he may see God...254

It is clear, then, that what is effected in man in this life by the Incarnation is a process of "seeing" God gradually through the working out in history of His mercy in saving man. This gradual "seeing" and "becoming accustomed" through time produces an increasing "likeness" to the Father. Continuing the above quotation:

...and granting him power to receive the Father; Being the Word of God who dwelt in man, and became the Son of man, that He might accustom man to receive God, and God to dwell in man according to the good pleasure of the Father.255

Yet the Incarnation does not render God's salvation fully visible to man in this world. What could be physically and historically seen of it, e.g., the flesh of the Lord, was sign and instrument of man's salvation:

On this account, therefore, the Lord Himself, who is Emmanuel from the Virgin (Isa 7:14) is the sign of our salvation, since it was the Lord Himself who saved them, because they could not be saved by their own instrumentality; and, therefore, when Paul sets forth human infirmity, he says: "For I know that there dwelleth in my flesh no good thing," (Rom 7:18) showing that the "good thing" of our salvation is not from us, but from God.256

Clearly, the humanness (the manhood of Christ together with its immediate historical context, viz., "from the virgin") is the efficacious sign used by God to save men. Here implied is a commentary on how man knows and learns, i.e. by signs. Here also is a verification of the fact that as far as the ways of God with men are concerned, it is the sign by way of historical event that is the source of knowing about God.

Here is where "revelation" occurs. This is illustrated by the fact that when the prophet Achaz asked for a "sign" from God, it was the historical event of the Virgin giving birth to a child that was the ultimate sign. This sign carried invisibly within it the divine mystery of "God-in-the-flesh":

...But the elders have thus interpreted what Isaias said: "And the Lord, moreover, said unto Ahaz, Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God out of the depth below or from the height above..." Carefully, then, has the Holy Ghost pointed out, by what has been said, His birth from a virgin, and His essence, that He is God (for the name Emmanuel indicates this). And He shows that He is man when he says, butter and honey shall He eat:" ...But that He "will not consent to evil..." this is proper to God...257

Of course, what we have said above as to how Jesus is characterized as Saviour by His historical context as well as by what He does historically is, according to Irenaeus' view, all part of this "sign".

To revelation as an object of knowledge there corresponds in man, faith. It is this sign (the Son now revealed) that leads us into faith and unity with God and man:

...In the first place we must believe not only in the Father, but also in His Son now revealed; for He it is who leads man into fellowship and unity with God...258

Now this is the key to salvation. The presence of the sign is the very presence of the Lord Himself and seeing (knowing) it is salvation. Here the ideas of presence, seeing, perceiving and saving are all interconnected and interdependent:

...the Word of God fortelling from the beginning that God should be seen by men, and hold converse with them upon earth...and should be present with His own creation, saving it, and becoming capable of being perceived by it, and freeing us from the hands of all that hate us, that is, from every spirit of wickedness; and causing us to serve Him in holiness and righteousness...259

Of course, this "seeing" requires a certain conversion of heart. It is not a question of the "seeing" of the casual observer but of one who earnestly seeks after the true and the good:

...For "all men come short of the Glory of God," (Rom 3:23) and are not justified of themselves, but by the advent of the Lord...they who earnestly direct their eyes towards His light...260

Conversely, to refuse to see (despise) the Lord's coming carries with it a special malice which deserves eternal punishment. 261

Finally, to see the saving sign of the Lord Himself, the Son of God, is a special privilege and carries with it the responsibility of a higher moral calling:

...For as, in the New Testament, that faith of men [to be placed] in God has been increased, receiving in addition [to what was already revealed] the Son of God; that man too might be a partaker of God; so also is our walk in life required to be more circumspect...262

3. The Spirit and the Church

As the early Christian creeds testify, the Holy Spirit ranks with the Father and the Son as a divine Person involved with the salvation of man.

From deep in the Old Testament past, one can trace the development of the revelation of the Holy Spirit of God. He is the divine Person who cooperates with the Word in creation according to the will of the Father. The Spirit works from within the innermost depths of Creation to bring everything to fullness and perfection. Working truth and love within the minds and hearts of men, He brings holiness and "divinization".

Jesus, as the Incarnate Word, possesses the "fullness of the Spirit". Having won Salvation for all men by His passion and resurrection, Jesus makes that salvation effective in men by giving of the Holy Spirit through the Church as the Father wills.

The special contribution of Irenaeus to the Christian doctrine on the Spirit is his demonstration of the historical dimension of the Spirit's role in man's salvation. Irenaeus' historical vision also greatly facilitates our understanding of how God is personally involved with man through His Spirit.

i. The Gnostic View of the Spirit

The Gnostics understood the Holy Spirit to be an Aeon in the Pleroma. . This Aeon was generated together with Christ from Monogenes after the fall of Sophia. The role of the Spirit was to strengthen and fortify the Pleroma and bring it to a state of rest in thankful praise to Propator.²⁶³

The Holy Spirit does not seem to have any specific role to play in respect to man or to anything outside the Pleroma. As Irenaeus puts it "...These...men do, in fact, set the Spirit aside altogether..."²⁶⁴ Consequently, references in the Scriptures to a "descent of the Spirit" upon Jesus were interpreted as referring not actually to the Spirit but to the "Saviour" who comes down from the Pleroma to enter the "dispensational Jesus" created by the Demiurge. Irenaeus demonstrates the obvious inconsistencies of such a view:

It certainly was in the power of the apostles to declare that Christ descended upon Jesus, or that the so-called superior Saviour [came down] upon the dispensational one, or he who is from the invisible places upon him from the Demiurge; but they neither knew nor said anything of the kind: for, had they known it, they would have also certainly stated it. But what really was the case, that did they record, [namely] that the Spirit of God as a dove descended upon Him...²⁶⁵

The inability of the Gnostics to elaborate a theology of the Spirit in reference to man corresponding in a coherent fashion to the Scriptures was certainly one of their greatest weak points.

In addition to demonstrating this weakness, Irenaeus takes the initiative to elaborate a theology of the Spirit which is consistent both with the Christian tradition and with his own theological vision.

ii. The Relationship of the Spirit to the Incarnate Son

The Spirit is related to the Incarnate Son first of all within the Godhead itself. He is a divine person who with the Son was present with the Father before Creation (cf above, p 49, 55-56). The Spirit is a co-worker with the Son in creation; together they are called "God's hands". Together with the Son, the Spirit is God's "likeness". Consequently, when man is created after the Image and Likeness of God, the Spirit is necessarily involved.²⁶⁶

In the working out and manifestation of the divine economy throughout history the Spirit always acts in conjunction with the Word (Son). Together with the Word He is "Lord of History". Irenaeus sees that, already in the Old Testament, both the Word and the Spirit anticipate and begin to realize the Christian life in the Word's involvement with men:

The Spirit did David ask for the human race, saying, "And stablish me with thine all-governing Spirit;" (Ps 51:12) who also, as Luke says, descended at the day of Pentecost...having power to admit all nations to the entrance of life...²⁶⁷

The event of the Incarnation itself is due to the action of the Spirit:

For here, in the first place, we have that the Son of God was preexistent, from the fact that the Father spoke with Him, and caused Him to be revealed to men before His birth; and next, that He had to become a man, born of mankind, and that the very God Himself forms Him from the womb, that is, that He would be born of the Spirit of God...²⁶⁸

The Spirit is not only involved with the Christ-event as a creation "in the flesh" but also with this same being set aside, so to speak, for a special mission with special

powers. This is signified by way of an "anointing" as one might anoint a king, priest or prophet for a divine mission. There are many examples of divine anointing in the Old Testament.²⁶⁹ This is what Irenaeus has in mind when he interprets the Gospel account of Jesus' baptism. It is the Spirit of God who anoints Jesus thereby granting Him the character and power for His special divine mission:

And then, [speaking of His] baptism, Matthew says, "The heavens were opened, and He saw the Spirit of God, as a dove, coming upon Him; and lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." (Mtt 3:16)... the Word of God who is the Saviour of all, and the ruler of heaven and earth, who is Jesus... who did also take upon Him flesh, and was anointed by the Spirit from the Father - was made Jesus Christ...²⁷⁰

Since Jesus receives a divine mission par excellence for obvious reasons, it bears a certain unity (fellowship) with all the divine missions that went before throughout the Old Testament but it is the culmination of them all and all are comprised in it. Something of this idea can be gathered from:

...For this means that the Son, being God, receives from the Father, that is, from God, the throne of the everlasting kingdom, and the oil of anointing above His fellows. And the "oil of anointing" is the Spirit, through whom He is the Anointed, and "His fellows" are the prophets and the just and the apostles...²⁷¹

He also explains that the name itself "Christ" means not only "the Anointed One", but also implies the one who anoints, the Father, and the unction itself, the Spirit.²⁷² Following Paul, Irenaeus sees this empowering of Christ by the Spirit as a realization of a predestination to resurrection by the Father.²⁷³ In this sense, Jesus has power by virtue of the Holy Spirit resurrecting Him. Through this power which is

extended to believers, Jesus predestines man for salvation.²⁷⁴

The Spirit in Jesus bears witness to the fact that He is truly involved in this world to the point of being truly man. If He only "seemed" to be man as the Gnostics alleged, He would be deceiving those who saw Him and therefore could not have had the Spirit, who is truth, within Him:

Vain indeed are those who allege that He appeared in mere seeming. For these things were not done in appearance only, but in actual reality. But if He did appear as a man, when He was not a man, neither could the Holy Spirit have rested upon Him - an occurrence that did actually take place - as the Spirit is invisible; nor, [in that case], was there any degree of truth in Him, for He was not that which He seemed to be...²⁷⁵

The historical condition of Christ's visibility in flesh and blood is "truth" which the Spirit could not gainsay and by which He could not deceive. In Christ's "historicity" the action of the Spirit is "proven".

Following the Old Testament tradition, Irenaeus employs the title *Χριστός* (the Anointed One) to signify the "Messiah". The Messiah by Old Testament tradition receives the *πλήρωμα* (the fullness) of the Spirit of God which is destined for all men

...Therefore did the Spirit of God descend upon Him, [the Spirit] of Him who had promised by the prophets that He would anoint Him, so that we, receiving from the abundance of His unction, might be saved...²⁷⁶

Of course, insofar as Jesus is the Word of God, the Spirit was always with Him. It is precisely insofar as He is man, therefore, that He receives the Spirit. It is because Jesus receives the Spirit as man that He is able to give the Spirit to all other men. In this respect also Jesus is the Saviour of all men!

...wherefore He did also descend upon the Son of God, made the Son of man, becoming accustomed in fellowship with Him to dwell in the human race, to rest with human beings, and to dwell in the workmanship of God, working the will of the Father in them, and renewing them from their old habits into the newness of Christ.²⁷⁷

In this way through Christ and His disciples the original prophecy of the outpouring of the Spirit upon all mankind mentioned in Joel (3.1) is fulfilled. It becomes increasingly clear that the coming of the Spirit along with the coming of the Word into history is time-conditioned. A series of related historical events exhibits a progression of increase in spiritual action culminating in an event which inaugurates a total fulfillment extending into the future. This time-conditioned character is expressed as a gradual "becoming accustomed". Evieux has shown how the Incarnate Word plays the key role in this process

...Il s'agit de l'habitation de Dieu dans l'humanité considérée dans son universalité. Elle se réalise dans un individu unique, un homme, Jésus. Mais l'Incarnation transforme la condition de l'humanité entière. C'est pourquoi, étant dans le Fils, l'Esprit s'accoutume à habiter avec lui dans l'homme en général, sa descente dans le Christ concerne le genre humain tout entier.²⁷⁸

Jesus must work hand in hand with the Spirit in saving man. It is by the gift of the Spirit that He saves man and it is the Spirit who, in turn, creates the bond which unites man to man and man to Christ.²⁷⁹

Man becomes like to Jesus by receiving the Word of God but he does this only by receiving the Spirit simultaneously. This means being "engrafted in the Spirit".²⁸⁰ Wingren maintains that, according to Irenaeus, in this way man returns to his original state before the Fall, i.e., "created after God's imago and similitudo"²⁸¹ thereby becoming truly man.

2
This unity of Word and Spirit is shown in the most ideal historical way in the formation of the Church. The Church continues to show forth the presence and work of Christ among men as history progresses.²⁸² The power of Jesus' Spirit is given to man not only that the receiver may be saved but also that he may act in Christ's name as a saving instrument for others. It is the Father who extends this power by way of Jesus to men. This is exemplified when He gave the Spirit to His disciples.²⁸³

The relationship of the Spirit to the Incarnate Son is closer than one could possibly imagine. He is the causal agent in the birth of the Incarnate Word from Mary. He is the "anointer" and the "anointing" which fills the humanity of Jesus with divine life and empowers Him to bring that life to all men by way of the Church.

Just as the Word, the Lord of History, brings His lordship to fruition in and through the Incarnation, so also does the Spirit work through history as His conjoint agent at every instant and every level to prepare and form the Incarnation and to be the transforming and saving agent thereby for all men.

iii. The Coming of the Spirit as Seen in Historical Perspective

Irenaeus views the coming of the Spirit upon the Apostles as an event of profound historical significance. It signals a "fullness of time". The Apostles themselves who receive the Spirit are conscious that the "time" long awaited and prophesied had finally arrived. Henceforward they and the world would be living in a new time:

For the one and the same Spirit of God, who proclaimed by the prophets what and of what sort the advent of the Lord should be, did by these elders give a just interpretation of what had been truly prophesied; and He did Himself, by the apostles, announce that the fullness of the times of the adoption had arrived, that the kingdom of heaven had drawn nigh, and that He was dwelling within those that believe on Him who was born Emmanuel of the Virgin...²⁸⁴

This "fullness" of the time of the Spirit is at the same time by predestination concurrent with the "fullness of time" of the Word when He becomes incarnate

The Spirit, therefore, descending under the predestined dispensation, and the Son of God, the Only-begotten, who is also the Word of the Father, coming in the fullness of time, having become incarnate in man for the sake of man, and fulfilling all the conditions of human nature, our Lord Jesus Christ being one and the same...²⁸⁵

Why is the coming of the Spirit a coming in the same fullness of time as that of the Word of God? It is because the Spirit rests upon and anoints the Word of God insofar as He is man. As we have indicated above, this man is "historically placed", e.g., He is fully and significantly within the Jewish historical tradition: a man "from the root of Jesse, and son of Abraham".²⁸⁶

We have already considered in Chapter II how the Word of God is "Lord of History". We may say here that Irenaeus acknowledges in the Spirit the same lordship of history. He uses the parable of the workers in the Vineyard as an analogy to the Spirit arranging all things in various stages of man's development throughout history according to the divine "economy"

...Also by the parable of the workmen who were sent into the vineyard at different periods... others after a long lapse of time, and others again in the end of time; so that there are many workmen in their generations, but only one householder who calls them together. For there is

but one vineyard, since there is also but one righteousness, and one dispensator, for there is one Spirit of God who arranges all things...287

The work of the Spirit, in its final and fullest sense has, for Irenaeus, the character of a fulfillment - a completion at the end in the "last days". Although contemporaneous with the coming of the Word in the flesh, it has the meaning of bringing that ending to completion. It extends, so to speak, the Incarnation outwards and forwards into the "end times":

... And the third article is the Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied and the patriarchs were taught about God and the just are led in the path of justice, and who in the end of times has poured out forth in a new manner upon humanity over all the earth renewing man to God...288

This working of the Spirit through time and culminating at the end of time, is a creative work. It is not distinct from the work of creation at the beginning. For example, we can see how he uses this idea in connection with the Eucharistic theme, i.e., as Christ feeding us and giving growth. Moreover it is a creating process which leads to "perfection" so that the Spirit is the divine person who "perfects" par excellence till the "end of times" when it is fully realized.289

The perfecting work of the Spirit is related to creation at the beginning also in that the "image and likeness" of God in which man was created now gathers man up completely (recapitulates) - the "earnest" of which is realized already in the faithful:

...For if the earnest, gathering man into itself, does even now cause him to cry, "Abba, Father," what shall the complete grace of the Spirit effect, which shall be given to men by God? It will render

us like unto Him, and accomplish the will of the Father; for it shall make man after the image and likeness of God.²⁹⁰

We have here a reason why Irenaeus interpreted the Genesis account of Adam literally, i.e., historically. He had to see him as the original bearer of the image and likeness by way of the Spirit - especially the "likeness" which in one context we may read as "robe of sanctity" lost by disobedience. Then, by repentance and penitence he regained God's favour. The sequence: innocence, sin, repentance, forgiveness...necessarily involves for man a series of historical events, a process in time. Such a process is not characteristic for Satan and his angels:

The case of Adam, however, has no analogy with this...(case of Satan)...Inasmuch as, he says, I have by disobedience lost that robe of sanctity which I had from the Spirit, I do now also acknowledge that I am deserving of a covering of this nature (fig leaves)...which gnaws and frets the body...²⁹¹

From the historical perspective, the work of the Spirit is not only extended throughout time and by way of time actually constituting history, but also at the end expands to a certain unprecedented universality. The beginning of this "expansion" becomes and is revealed as definitive at the Pentecost of the disciples. At the time, this is confirmed as a fulfilling of a prophecy of Joel.²⁹² This universalizing is the work also of the Father and Christ:

...The Lord receiving this as a gift from His Father, does Himself also confer it upon those who are partakers of Himself, sending the Holy Spirit upon all the earth.²⁹³

The work of the Spirit in the last days is universal also in the sense that all men have an equal "right", so to speak, to Him. Irenaeus quotes Acts to prove that He works

equally among both Jew and Gentile and He is no "respector of persons". 294

This coming of the Spirit universally at the end requires a long and gradual adaption of man to God throughout history. Part of this adaptation is in itself a giving to man an understanding of the time sequence of God's working by way of prophetic announcements of future things:

Inasmuch, then, as the Spirit of God pointed out by the prophets things to come, forming and adapting us beforehand for the purpose of our being made subject to God, but it was still a future thing that man, through the good pleasure of the Holy Spirit, should see [God], it necessarily behoved those through whose instrumentality future things were announced, to see God, whom they intimated as to be seen by men... 295

It is clear, then, that the Spirit's work of adapting man to God is an historical process. Time, past, present and future is the place and scope of the Spirit's work as event follows event:

...The Spirit of God, who was from the beginning, in all the dispensations of God, present with mankind, and announced things future, revealed things present, and narrated things past... 296

It is almost as though the Spirit needs time in His work. Perhaps it is this that is most characteristic of the Spirit in Irenaeus' mind for it expresses a peacefulness, gentleness and mercy. Perhaps it was the words of Elias that moved him to this insight:

...As was also said to Elias... For after the wind which rends the mountains, and after the earthquake, and after the fire, come the tranquil and peaceful times of His Kingdom, in which the Spirit of God does, in the most gentle manner, vivify and increase mankind... 297

iv. The Spirit, the Father's Revealer of Truth

For Irenaeus, the Spirit is truth.²⁹⁸ The Spirit will overcome the heresy of the Gnostics. The Spirit will give truth to those who have a firm belief in Him so that they can become "spiritual disciples" capable of turning back the onslaught of every kind of error.²⁹⁹ The Spirit furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth

...and a firm belief in the Spirit of God who furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth, and has set forth the dispensations of the Father...³⁰⁰

Truth is knowing the "dispensations" (economy) of the Father and the Son. This is a "mystery" once hidden in God and now revealed in and through the Incarnation.

Truth concerns God. The fact that God is invisible does not exclude the possibility of truth. In our nature God has created us to see visible things of the world. Therefore spiritual and heavenly things which are invisible can be appropriately expressed only through images and types drawn from the visible world. Why is this possible? It is possible because both the invisible and visible worlds are created by the same God.³⁰¹ What the Spirit shows us for our seeing are historical events that serve as images and types according to a developing sequence as history progresses. In this way, the "mysteries" once hidden in God are gradually revealed more and more clearly. In the same context Irenaeus shows that the root cause of Gnostic error is in presupposing that the visible world and the invisible mysteries are not from the same God. This makes history meaningless and true revelation impossible.³⁰²

At the present time, this "true knowledge" comes by way of the Christian Tradition: from the Apostles, through the Church via the Scriptures and the hierarchy...and by the gift of love in the Church's members:

True knowledge is that which consists in the doctrine of the Apostles, and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout the world, and the distinctive manifestation of the body of Christ according to the successions of the bishops...and it consists in reading the Word of God without falsification...and above all, it consists in the pre-eminent gift of love (2 Cor 8:1; 1 Cor 13)...³⁰³

That love which is truth is most clearly evident in the Church where the Church by its martyres gives a self-sacrificing witness to the truth thereby demonstrating its love and the sure presence of the Spirit.³⁰⁴

It is clear that whereas the truth of the Church is more in keeping with human nature in that it takes its departure from the visible, it is not, on that account, "easier" or less demanding. As Huvé expressed it, this truth constitutes the essence of human life. It is itself history and progress of which the ideal term is none other than the heroism of martyrdom - the complete assumption of the flesh by the spirit.³⁰⁵ This is why Irenaëus sees in Stephen³⁰⁶ a perfect example of the basic Christian principle that the key to history is the pascal mystery of Jesus. It is by the Pascal Mystery and the other events participating in it, that the Spirit reveals the Father's truth, viz., His love for men.

v. The Revelation of Truth in Historical Perspective

Christ as the Word of God personally speaks through the prophets. Irenaeus interprets this quite literally, i.e., historically, even to the point that he would consider the word of the prophet to be the word of Christ. We have an example in the way that he interprets the "writings of Moses" in this passage

But since the writings of Moses are the words of Christ, He does Himself declare to the Jews, as John has recorded in the Gospel: "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed Me: for he wrote of Me..." (Jn 5:46,47)...so also beyond a doubt, the words of the other prophets are His words... And again, The Lord Himself exhibits Abraham as having said to the rich man..."If they do not obey Moses and the prophets...(Lk 16:31)306

But just as it is Jesus upon whom the Spirit of truth rests, so also it is through the Spirit that Abraham and the prophets speak. This is exemplified in the prophecy of Isaiah describing the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus

...But what really was the case, that did they (the Apostles) record namely that the Spirit of God as a dove descended upon Him; this Spirit, of whom it was declared by Isaiah, "And the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him," (Isa 11:2) as I have already said...That is the Spirit of whom the Lord declares, "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. (Mtt 10:20)...307

As the Word speaks through the prophets so also does the Spirit and this has the same historical implications as, for example, when the Holy Spirit predicts future things by the prophets. The case of Simeon of the Presentation of Jesus is a case in point of special merit because the prediction and the event itself are experienced by the same individual.³⁰⁸ So important is prophecy to the work of the Spirit that it is an integral part of the doctrine of the Spirit in the Church:

...And the third article is the Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied and the patriarchs were taught about God and the just are led in the path of justice...³⁰⁹

What the prophets prophesy through the Spirit is primarily the Gospel of the coming in the flesh of the Son of God in order to bring the Spirit to all mankind.³¹⁰ In the Gospel given by the prophets, the Spirit indicates certain details about Christ: His true nature, His divinity, His humanity...this is especially true of Isaiah

Carefully, then, has the Holy Spirit pointed out, by what has been said, His birth from a virgin, and His essence, that He is God (for the name Emmanuel indicates this). And He shows that He is a man when He says, "Butter and honey shall he eat."³¹¹

When the Spirit does come, however, (as in the New Testament) He comes in a new way. We have already indicated that this "newness" is the result of the actual event itself of the Incarnation.³¹² It is also a "newness" associated with immortality as opposed to mortality of the present human condition. This is symbolized by the putting on of a "wedding garment".³¹³ Following St. Paul, this newness is also described as a "walking in the Spirit" because herein man possesses the image of the Spirit and is therefore "heavenly" as opposed to "walking in the flesh".³¹⁴

This newness of the Spirit relates to the moral life of a person because it involves a change in the inner man, the spirit or soul. This is the realm of the Spirit from which He operates and guides. This is contradistinguished from a guidance from outside, i.e., the Law. The former is emphasized in the New Testament, the latter in the Old.³¹⁵

Finally, this newness of heart and spirit provides a new freedom which is the hallmark of the New Covenant and which is based on faith in Christ.³¹⁶

Time is necessarily implied in any concept of "newness". Time is perceived only in change. Here the change is radical, deep and a crossing of a threshold which implies the kind of change which means growth into a "new being". It is here that the "before" and "after" of time becomes most obvious and therefore can form a "pivot" from which all of history can be viewed and evaluated. This can be true of the individual as it can also be for mankind as a whole. The Incarnation together with the "coming of the Spirit" is this kind of "turning point".

The Spirit is truth and new life. Both of these concepts are historically concurrent with the Word as Lord of History. The work of the Spirit is first of all to reveal but this revelation can effect a radical change in man to the effect that he is endowed with new life. If one realizes the "old man" as leading to decay and destruction morally and physically, then, of course, the revealing work of the Spirit must be seen as salvation

...Thus, therefore was God revealed; for God the Father is shown forth through all these operations, the Spirit indeed working, and the Son ministering, while the Father was approving, and man's salvation being accomplished...317

Both the Son and the Spirit reveal the Father to man but the mode of revealing is different in each. The Word reveals "visibly", the Spirit "invisibly". For example, in the Father's revelations through the prophets, the Spirit worked invisibly from within the prophet by "suggestion"

...For the prophets used not to prophesy in words alone, but in visions also, and in their mode of life and in the actions which they performed, according to the suggestions of the Spirit. After this invisible manner, therefore, did they see God...318

...and the Father reveals in various ways visibly all those things that are to be "summed up" (recapitulated) in the Son. The above quotation continues:

...In this manner, therefore, did they also see the Son of God as a man conversant with men, while they prophesied what was to happen... Moreover, /with regard To/ the other arrangements concerning the summing up that He should make, some of these they beheld through visions others they proclaimed by word, while others they indicated typically...319

The Spirit in man works to help him see and accept the mysteries of God's work in man through His Son for the past, present and future and to relate these events in a coherent and meaningful fashion, by way of the Christ-event. This constitutes "vision" by which one more and more "sees" God and in that "seeing" has life. This concept will be developed at length in the next chapter.

vi. Man's Response to the Spirit

From the beginning the Spirit cooperates with the Word to create man and bring him to perfection. The Spirit works in and through the Incarnate Word, Jesus, to save man. From the beginning the Spirit has also been man's "accuser". He reveals to him his depraved moral condition when he is rebelling against God. He urges man to repent and come back to God. Through the prophets of the Old Testament we hear the accusing voice of the Spirit:

Now He has not merely related to us a story respecting a poor man and a rich one; but He has taught us, in the first place, that no one should lead a luxurious life...and forget God... Of such persons too, the Spirit has spoken by Isaias: "They drink wine with /the accompaniment of/ harps...but they regard not the works of God..." (Isa 5:12) Lest, therefore, we should

incur the same punishments as these men, the Lord reveals to us their end...³²⁰

The Holy Spirit inspired David to reveal that His creative action in the world would be opposed by men who despised God.³²¹ Such opposition continues on into the New Testament. Judas is an archetype who continues to fulfill in his own time that prophecy of David. In this text, Peter is the Spirit's spokesman:

The Apostle Peter...desirous of filling up the number of the twelve...thus addressed those who were present: "Men /and/ brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of David, spake before concerning Judas...³²²

What, then, should be man's response to the Spirit of God? It is repentance and conversion. Only in this way can one receive the gift of the Spirit

...And when the multitudes exclaimed, "What shall we do then?" Peter says to them, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." (Acts 2:37-8)³²³

The Spirit accuses man only to bring him to repentance. Having done this with the required result, the Spirit then works to reconcile man to God as Advocate and works to heal the wounds of sin. All this is required before the Spirit can effect fruitfulness and character. The parable of the Good Samaritan is used as an allegory to convey these concepts:

...Wherefore we have need of the dew of God, that we be not consumed by fire, nor be rendered unfruitful, and that where we have an accuser there we may have also an Advocate (1 Jn 2:1), the Lord commending to the Holy Spirit His own man...who had fallen among thieves (Lk 10:35) whom He Himself compassionated and bound up his wounds...³²⁴

The work of the Spirit also requires faith. Man must believe in God. He must believe in salvation through Christ

if he is to receive the Spirit:

...as many as fear God and trust in His Son's advent, and through faith do establish the Spirit of God in their hearts — such men as these shall be properly called both "pure" and "spiritual"...³²⁵

In addition to faith, the Spirit requires that one perform "good works".²²⁶ These are termed "works of righteousness" in that the Spirit justifies men through them.

Still further did He also make it manifest, that we ought, after our calling, to be also adorned with the works of righteousness, so that the Spirit of God may rest upon us...³²⁷

All of man: body soul and spirit, was created by the hands of God, the Word and the Spirit. After man's fall, these same hands by way of the Incarnation again pick up this creation in order to save it. In this saving action the flesh must also be saved. By the Passion, the flesh is the very instrument of salvation. In all of this the Spirit works always and ever with the Word to form and change this creation into what it was originally designed to be, viz., the image and likeness of God.³²⁸ Clearly, then, man must not respond to the Spirit's invitations and inspirations by rejecting the "flesh" outright. The flesh is part of God's design in creation

...This earnest, therefore, thus dwelling in us, renders us spiritual even now..."For ye", he declares, "are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you" (Rom 8:9) This, however, does not take place by a casting away of the flesh, but by the impartation of the Spirit. For those to whom he was writing were not without flesh...³²⁹

Since the Spirit's role is to form and change, Irenaeus summarizes man's proper response to the Spirit as a willingness to be formed and to be changed. Like clay we must yield to the forming hands of the Artisan:

...Offer to Him thy heart in a soft and tractable state, and preserve the form in which the Creator has fashioned thee, having moisture in thyself, lest, by becoming hardened, thou lose the impression of His fingers...330

The Artisan must take time to work out His creation. The creation of each individual involves a long process. The formation of the human race takes very much longer. In this sense, the personal history of the individual can be a "summary" of the history of the race. This was true, in a special way, of Christ whose personal life history is the model for all. In any case, it requires from the individual a willingness not only to be "soft" and "tractable" to the hands of God, but also to be patient and longsuffering in awaiting the hand of one's Master. It requires, therefore, a certain discipline of mind and body.

Man's response to the Spirit, if it is to be prompt and correct, requires that he discipline himself. He must first discipline his mind that he will not act irrationally

...But those who indeed reject the Spirit's counsel, are the slaves of fleshly lusts, and lead lives contrary to reason, and who, without restraint, plunge headlong into their own desires, having no longing after the Spirit...331

Man must also discipline his body not only in the restraint implied in reasoned behaviour, but also by curbing the flesh with mortification

...And for this reason he says in continuation, "But if ye through the Spirit do mortify the works of the flesh, ye shall live. For whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, these are the Sons of God.332

This brings us back to the ultimate purpose of why the Spirit reveals through history. In His revealing He instructs in the things of God and inspires the necessary discipline which leads to sanctification and glory:

...in order that God...should not only be prophetically announced, but that He should also be seen by all His members who are sanctified and instructed in the things of God, that man might be disciplined beforehand and previously exercised for a reception into that glory which shall afterwards be revealed...³³³

Finally, there is a need for willingness to suffer for the faith even, if necessary, to martyrdom.³³⁴ Man must persevere in a constant submission to God under all circumstances. For this reason man requires continual recourse to God in prayer.³³⁵

vii. Effects of the Spirit on Man

Man in his present condition in this world is a sinner. It follows that the first effect of the presence of the Spirit in man is purification. Irenaeus employs the biblical symbol of "water of purification"

...And then, again, when do we bear the image of the heavenly? Doubtless when he says, "Ye have been washed," believing in the name of the Lord, and receiving His Spirit...³³⁶

As already mentioned (p 171-2), this is, in effect, a reconciliation of man to God by way of divine compassion. As opposed to man's former guilt, the Spirit now grants that holiness which flows from the Resurrection.³³⁷

The function of the Spirit is to bring to fruition that unity which was inaugurated and achieved in the Incarnation (cf p 137f). Of course, the ongoing redemptive work of Christ which follows from the Incarnation is the basis for the Spirit's activity

...Since the Lord has thus redeemed us through His own blood...and has also poured out the Spirit of the Father for the union and communion of God and man, imparting indeed God to men by means of

the Spirit, and on the other hand, attaching man to God by His own incarnation, and bestowing upon us at His coming immortality durably and truly, by means of communion with God...³³⁸

It would appear from this text that it is mainly the Spirit's work to unite God to man, and mainly the Son's work to unite man to God. But this is merely a question of point of view. The two operations are inseparable and concurrent. This unity of operation can be realized from the fact that the presence of the Spirit creates a "sonship" with the Father often referred to as "adoption"

For those to whom he (St. Paul) was writing were not without flesh, but they were those who had received the Spirit of God, "by which we cry, Abba, Father." (Rom 8:15)...³³⁹

This adoption created in the believer by the Spirit is not a "sonship" by divine generation as is the case with the Son of God. Nevertheless, adoption comes by way of the Incarnation of the one and only divine Son of God. It follows that those who despise and reject the Incarnation, e.g., the Gnostics, by that very attitude deny themselves the "gift of adoption" and their human nature cannot therefore have "promotion into God".³⁴⁰

But if we presume a proper response to the Spirit as indicated above, the Spirit effects a removal of sin and creates a certain divine quality of "sonship" in relation to God. In this state man has an innocence and righteousness like that which Adam received from the creative "hands" of God. Wingren, in commenting on Irenaeus, has described this "righteousness" as "man's acquiescence in his own creation."³⁴¹

In this notion of "adoption" by the Father, Irenaeus seems to include a concomitant notion of "divinization" or "deification". He speaks of "grace of the adoption" by which we are called "Gods". It is clear from the context that he

understands this in an analogical sense only. We must remain men by nature.³⁴²

The work of the Spirit in man is to bring man to the vision of the Father in which constitutes divine life for man.³⁴³ It follows that rejection of the Spirit must mean separation from God, death and darkness.³⁴⁴ Life of the Spirit in man is compared to the sap from the planted olive (Christ) flowing through an engrafted scion. If it refuses the sap it becomes sterile wood good only for the fire. "The engrafted olive does not certainly lose the substance of its wood but changes the quality of its fruit..."³⁴⁵ seems to indicate that Irenaeus sees man remaining as man yet with the divine life of the Spirit working in him and producing fruit.

Gnostic spirituality was partially based on the notion that matter must be rejected as being unworthy of spiritualization. Consequently they scorned and rejected the flesh. Irenaeus' doctrine of the Spirit forming and vivifying the flesh is coupled with a clear rejection of the Gnostic position.³⁴⁶ It is clear, then, that "sonship" and "divinization" does not mean that man in becoming more spiritual should reject manhood and become "Gods". There is no trace of such an idea in Irenaeus.³⁴⁷

\ The flesh does not inherit; it is inherited by the Spirit. The thing inherited is at the disposition of the inheritor. Although the flesh is important and needed as an integral part of the spiritual man, it nevertheless is at the disposition, order and discretion of the Spirit. Since the living inherit from the dead, the living Spirit inherits the material aspects of mortal man but transposes them to the heavenly realm. If Christ has died, the living in the Spirit are heirs to His goods (the Gospel) but without the Spirit one can lay claim to nothing. Irenaeus presents the Spirit as the key to the human complex.³⁴⁸

The deification of man by virtue of the presence of the Spirit is completed only at the resurrection when it will fully conform to God's image and likeness.³⁴⁹ In this life man possesses the Spirit as an "earnest" only. As long as man is in this life, something remains as yet indetermined. Presuming man's free acceptance of and cooperation with the Spirit, man remains in an ongoing and dynamic process of deification till death.³⁵⁰ Again, "deification" does not mean that man becomes God. For Irenaeus, the created and Uncreated must always remain what they are in themselves. Deification means that man becomes fully man in Christ.³⁵¹

The Spirit is the key to man's composition because He brings all the parts into harmony and unity both individually and socially. The change wrought by the Spirit in the flesh causes a union of spirit and flesh which constitutes the integral spiritual man

Now spiritual men shall not be incorporeal spirits; but one substance, that is, the union of flesh and spirit, receiving the Spirit of God, makes up the spiritual man...³⁵²

The Spirit also effects unity in the mystical body of Christ (the Church); the unity between believers.³⁵³

The unity effects of the Spirit extend to all mankind universally as to its spatial and temporal dimensions. He refers to the Davidic prophecy of the unity of all mankind by the Spirit coming to realization at Pentecost

This Spirit did David ask for the human race saying, "And stablish me with thine all-governing Spirit;" (Ps 51:12) who also as Luke says, descended at the day of Pentecost...having power to admit all nations to the entrance to life...³⁵⁴

Contained within the Judaeo-Christian concept of the Spirit as "life" is an historical overview. Life implies growth and development with time. Life gives to creation its

evolving, progressive dimension to which time and history are necessary concomitants. When man as a free and responsible creature knows judges and acts with or against life and creation and subsequently interprets these acts according to a time sequence then he is necessarily viewing this life in an ~~historical~~ perspective. Since the Spirit works in and through man to affect what he is and does, He is "life" and can be better understood from an historical overview. Irenaeus likes to view the Spirit as that "hand" of God who works invisibly and mysteriously within the inner being of creatures (e.g., in man's spirit) thereby constituting the ultimate determining factor of history.

Looking from his all-embracing historical overview, Irenaeus can fully appreciate those elements of the Judaeo-Christian tradition which give the life-giving aspects of the Spirit its broadest possible scope. Even though the life of the Spirit is usually viewed as "divine life", He is also spoken of as the giver of life to all creation as the author of life of all kinds and all degrees. From this viewpoint the lower forms of life can serve as analogies to the higher. For example, the dove can be a sign of the presence of the Spirit. More importantly, it is easier to view in this way the Spirit as the integrating factor of all aspects of the human composite from the physical to the spiritual especially insofar as "life" is concerned. Even so-called "inanimate" objects have their place. Water, for example, can be the sign and the vehicle of the Spirit because in nature water and life are closely associated. Irenaeus finds references to this water-Spirit symbolism in the Scriptures much to his purpose:

...And as dry earth does not bring forth unless it receives moisture, in like manner, we also, being originally a dry tree, could never have



brought forth fruit unto life without the voluntary rain from above. For our bodies have received unity among themselves by means of that laver which leads to incorruption; but our souls by means of the Spirit. Wherefore both are necessary since both contribute to the life of God...355

In Ezechiel the Holy Spirit coming upon the elect people of God is compared to streams of water coming upon the dry land. 356

The two significations of water as "purification" and "life" express the principal effects of the Spirit in man and is the rationale behind the sacrament of Baptism. 357
Extending the analogy of life in nature to the Spirit, a fullness of life means "fruitfulness" as can be seen from the text quoted immediately above. This "fruit" of the Spirit has a relationship both to the present and to the future. For the present it is the actual practice of living in a certain manner. To make this point Irenaeus quotes St. Paul who contrasts "carnal" actions with "spiritual" actions which are the fruit of the Spirit and give life

[The apostle]...has particularized the works which he terms carnal...And then, again, he proceeds to tell us the spiritual actions which vivify a man, that is, the engrafting of the Spirit; thus saying, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, goodness..." 352

This represents a growth and development in the Spirit - a "going forward" - showing the close relationship between being, action and growth. The above quotation continues

...As, therefore, he who has gone forward to the better things and has brought forth the fruit of the Spirit, is saved altogether because of the communion of the Spirit...359

The "fruit of the Spirit", then, relates to the future since it is only fully and ultimately realized at the

termination of this life or, eschatologically at the resurrection. In this sense it is seen as the ultimate reward for merit although it is already possessed to a relative degree in the good-living Christian (see below, p 241).

We have considered the effects of the Spirit's gradual "deification" of man culminating in the resurrection. These effects, love, joy, peace, unity...inhabit the same being where before, under the dominion of Satan, there was unkindness, dissension, wrath...Satan and the Spirit vie for possession of the same human person.³⁶⁰ The resurrection, therefore means victory over Satan. From a cosmic-historical point of view this victory is complete only at the end in the "last days". At the present time, although defeated in the passion and resurrection of Christ, Satan's power yet remains to a degree operative. The historical process of the Church as the locus of the Spirit's victorious action characterizes the nature of history now till the end of time. The victory is man's as well as God's because it is in the historical condition of man that the dramatic struggle is pursued.

The long evolution of the divinizing work of the Spirit in man has to be understood, in fact, from the total historical perspective beginning with Adam. It must presuppose that Adam possessed the Spirit otherwise one could not say that he was created in the image and likeness of God.³⁶¹ The first Adam must possess in potentia the characteristics that are clearly present in the Second Adam. The history of man, therefore, from beginning to end, may be seen as the manifestation of the dynamic process of "divinization" of man within a background of dynamic struggle with and victory over Satan and the powers of evil. Man may fall in this process but by virtue of the recapitulative action of the Word and of the Spirit even evil can be turned into an occasion for the demonstration and the giving of divine power and

goodness. In this way the ascent to God is, in the overall historical view, incessant, continual, and progressive. For man, this means a gradual and continual reception of the good.³⁶²

This growth throughout history where God continually gives and man receives reflects the distinction between God as Creator and man as creature.³⁶³ D'Alès has shown that in his conception of "grace" Irenaeus understands not only the presence of the Spirit in man but also the creative effects of the Spirit's manifestations. We may understand this as "created grace".³⁶⁴ Is such "grace" natural or "supernatural" to man? Irenaeus does not seem to concern himself with such questions. For him there is only one ideal of what it means to be human, viz., Christ who is the Image and Likeness of God. He is the one in whom all men are created and toward whom all men of good will will grow by the work of the Spirit. This is the creative process of teleiosis. In this process, just as there is no eclipsing of the human by the divine in Christ, so there is no eclipsing of the humanness of the believer as he is "divinized" by the Spirit.

viii. The Spirit and the Church

The Church comes into existence by the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. It is therefore formed by God and is of divine institution. The formation of the Church is intimately connected with the divine intention of the outpouring of the Spirit upon all mankind as announced in Old Testament prophecy. It has the marks of the inauguration of the new eschatological era.

The disciples who represent the Church at Pentecost are aware that something extraordinary is happening. Peter expresses this explicitly when he claims to the people present

that what is happening is of the origin of the Spirit of God and is a fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel

Again, when the Holy Ghost had descended upon the disciples, that they might prophesy and speak with tongues, and some mocked them, as if drunken with new wine, Peter said that they were not drunken...but that this is what had been spoken by the prophet: "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh..." (Joel 2:28). The God, therefore, who did promise by the prophet...is announced by Peter as having fulfilled His own promise...366

The Spirit's involvement here is very complex. It is the same Spirit who prophesies through the prophets of His own coming into the world. It is He who comes upon the disciples and inspires them to believe that it is He who has come and that it was He who prophesied that He would come.

This Church-linked eschatological outpouring of the Spirit together with His prophetic role throughout history is what most characterizes who the Spirit is as an object of faith. This is indicated by the way that the Church expresses its credal formula

...And the third article is the Holy Spirit, through whom the prophets prophesied...and who in the end of times has been poured forth in a new manner upon humanity over all the earth renewing man to God...367

The Church and the Spirit are necessarily linked in the divine economy.

The first necessary link between the Spirit and the Church is that the Spirit Himself created the Church and it is He who maintains it. The Church has many aspects and in each of these the Spirit plays an essential role. First of all, the Church is called together by its common faith in Jesus as Saviour. It is the Spirit who maintains this faith as fresh and vital.

...our faith; which, having been received from the Church, we do preserve, and which always, by the Spirit of God, renewing its youth, as if it were some precious deposit in an excellent vessel, causes the vessel itself containing it to renew its youth also...368

What the Spirit creates in forming the Church is something more profound than a group of believers. It is the "body of Christ" and the "bride" of Christ as revealed in Paul. From this one can understand that the church is the "mother" of believers who gives "birth" by Baptism and life through the Word of God and the Eucharist.369

In its bosom the Church forms man in the image of God. This means that it forms him into his true humanity.370 The Spirit can be described as the "bread of immortality" which nourishes man so that he can grow in the Church.371 Man and the Church belong together. The Church is the "womb" in which man is formed and the "bosom" which nourishes him.372 It is the place, therefore, where God's creation of man continues in the present and on into the future.

The Church is also said to love by the power of the Spirit. This love is shown universally and is especially evident by its martyrs

Wherefore the Church does in every place, because of that love which she cherishes before God, send forward, throughout all time, a multitude of martyrs to the Father...inasmuch as she does indeed, in a new fashion, suffer persecution for those who do not receive the Word of God, while the self-same Spirit rests upon her [as upon these ancient prophets].373

So much are the Spirit and the Church identified in their work that the two in the world are considered to be coextensive

...For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and every kind of grace, but the

Spirit is truth...374

The Spirit is truth:375 This is true to the extent that a "spiritual disciple" who is also a representative of the Church judges both those who are inside and those who are outside of the Church but himself is not judged. It would seem that the spiritual discernment given to the Church by the Spirit extends to every individual who is fully living the life of the Church

...He shall also judge those who give rise to schisms, who are destitute of the love of God,
...He shall also judge all those who are beyond the pale of truth, that is, who are outside the Church; but he himself will be judged by no one...376

Irenaeus' approach to the Spirit's action in the Church is via the idea of "truth" which is the object of faith. Although "truth" for him is fundamentally objective in the sense that Christ who is the essence of the truth is an objective historical reality, it is also subjective in the sense that it requires a certain kind of response on the part of the knowing subject. This response is fundamentally one of love. This is why, in another place, Irenaeus hold that the ultimate manifestation of the Spirit in the Church is the love expressed in martyrdom where one gives one's life for the truth.377 True gnosis for Irenaeus involves both of these dimensions of the truth.

Since man was made in the image and likeness of God, he carries within himself potentially his ultimate goal. In the Church the Spirit works to bring that goal to realization. At the same time, the influence of Satan and sin are destroyed and the hope of Resurrection gives promise of vanquishing death. Therefore, within the Church, creation and salvation are brought together and move toward their eschatological fulfillment.

Yet for Irenaeus all of this is consecutive to faith - a faith which is visibly expressed in a visible Church. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, when the Word was made "flesh" it was made historically visible in the person of Jesus. It continues its historical visibility in the faithful insofar as they visibly constitute and preserve the Church. This happens first in the Apostles and their successors in the episcopacy who visibly teach and guard the faith and secondly in the faithful who visibly live and express this faith.³⁷⁸

Herein lies the reason that Irenaeus could never conceive of the Church as exclusively "charismatic".³⁷⁹ When God reveals through history and when His ultimate manifestation has occurred in Jesus, that stands for the truth for all time. No fundamentally "new" revelation can come from within a "charismatic" faithful as though exclusively from the Spirit. The Spirit works only according to the revelation already given in the Word made visible. The Spirit only preserves and rejuvenates the faith already held by the Church.³⁸⁰

Irenaeus wants to see the Church extending back beyond itself into history along with the recapitulating action of the Word of God. He would see it at least to this extent: what happened in the Old Testament was already a type or foreshadowing of the Church established at Pentecost

...and that the first testament...exhibited a type of heavenly things, inasmuch as man was not yet able to see the things of God through means of immediate vision...and foreshadowed the images of those things which [now actually] exist in the Church in order that our faith might be firmly established;...and contained a prophecy of things to come, in order that man might learn that God has foreknowledge of all things...³⁸¹

Yet there is another reason to claim that the Church, like Christ, extends backwards in time as if to say that the

"body of Christ" existed previously to the physical Christ in certain "spiritual" men by virtue of the presence of the Spirit in them. The reason is this: the love which gives to the point of martyrdom must constitute a "body" in some mystical way

And indeed the prophets, along with other things which they predicted, also foretold this, that all those on whom the Spirit of God should rest, and who would obey the will of the Father, and serve Him according to their ability, should suffer persecution, and be stoned and slain. For the prophets prefigured in themselves all these things, because of their love to God, and on account of His Word. For since they themselves were members of Christ... For just as the working of the whole body is exhibited through means of our members, while the figure of all complete men is not displayed in one member... so also did all the prophets prefigure the one Christ... 382.

We can see a parallel here to the recapitulative action of Christ reaching back into time to the beginning (cf p. 180-191). The Spirit is involved, of course, with Christ in all of His recapitulative action throughout history: past, present and future. In this action of the Spirit, the Church is necessarily involved since the Church is the locus of the Spirit's action among men. There must therefore be a prefiguring of the body of Christ (i.e., the Church) in the Old Testament faithful.

The Church is the continuation of Christ's visibility because, as the "Body of Christ" she tends to form herself like the Head. What Christ lived and experienced so does the Church. As He witnessed to the truth, so does she. It is her inner life of the Spirit that pulls her through the trials and tribulations that test her faith through history. The Spirit is the Church's sanctifying principle. In a spirit of love, the Spirit unifies the Church's teaching so that, being everywhere consistent, the Lord will be seen in His wholeness and completeness as to who He is and what He is. The unity of the Church

in charity proceeds from its unity of faith in the truth of Christ: for this reason error must be exposed and refuted.³⁸³

The same Spirit in Jesus who vanquished Satan is also in the Church defending it against the inroads of Satan' error and evil.³⁸⁴ As a man of the Church and one dedicated to the repulsing of error and the maintenance of unity, Irenaeus, by his own life, lived the Church's experience. His stand against the Gnostics is firm yet compassionate.

...and that Christ may be formed in them, and that they may know the Framer and Maker of this universe, the only true God and Lord of all. We pray for these things on their behalf, loving them better than they seem to love themselves. For our love, inasmuch as it is true, is salutary to them, if they will but receive it...³⁸⁵

M. Jourjon has suggested that, from his youth, Irenaeus experienced the Church as a life, a history of salvation which blended with his own personal history.³⁸⁶

God selects Israel as His opening into a world bound by sin and "ruled" by Satan. This opening was to prepare the way for the Incarnation. Wingren, following Harnack, believes that there is quite a clear and conscious understanding in Irenaeus from this point of view that the Church is Israel.³⁸⁷ As the time for the Christ-event draws near, this "opening" narrows and concentrates. It were as though the Old Israel was disappearing in favour of the approach of the New Israel, the Church. The New Israel, bride of Christ and filled with the Spirit, now expands out again with new power and energy to embrace all mankind. This signifies, in effect, Christ's recapitulation of all mankind in virtue of His being Head of the Church.

...For the Church has been planted as a garden (paradise) in this world...Into this paradise the Lord has introduced those who obey His call, "summing up in Himself all things which are in

heaven, and which are on earth;" (Eph 1:10) but the things in heaven are spiritual, while those on earth constitute the dispensation in human nature (secundum hominem est dispositio). These things, therefore, He recapitulated in Himself: by uniting man to the Spirit, and causing the Spirit to dwell in man, He is Himself made the head of the Spirit, and gives the Spirit to be the head of man: for through Him (the Spirit) we see and hear and speak.³⁸⁸

The Church, therefore, throughout all of its history, always under the inspiration of the Spirit, sees all mankind as the object of its saving mission. This mission will be fulfilled only when creation reaches its fulfillment and history terminates at the Last Judgement. In view of Irenaeus' statement regarding the Church in the quotation immediately above: "...the things in heaven are spiritual, while those on earth constitute the dispensation in human nature...", one must be inclined to agree with Balthasar's view that for Irenaeus the Church is "the definitive figure of the history of salvation at the end of time."³⁸⁹

The Church is the type of the spiritual things in heaven and the visible historical realities that are to come, i.e., the "great events" at the end of time; just as earlier in the history of salvation, Moses and the prophets prefigured the things above and the Church to come.



ix. The Spirit and the Eucharist

If the faithful are to become or "grow into" the body of Christ, then the life of the Head (Christ) must penetrate it. This is accomplished by the Eucharist. Above we discussed Irenaeus' conception of the believer as a "child" and the Church as a "mother". The child receives a new birth by "adoption" and is nourished to maturity by mother Church with the flesh of Christ, the Eucharist. Since the flesh of the faithful is nourished by the flesh of Christ, it forms a unity with it in incorruptibility. Therefore the Gnostics who say that the flesh can have no part in eternal life with God are in error. The Eucharist itself, since it contains the earthly (bread) and the heavenly (Spirit), by its very nature attests to the possibility that the earthly in man can be caught up with the heavenly.³⁹⁰

The Eucharist also points to a relationship with creation. For just as the flesh of Christ is a creation which is a means to our nourishment in the Spirit, so also the bread and wine of the Eucharist is a creation which is acknowledged as His own blood

But vain in every respect are they who despise the entire dispensation of God, and disallow the salvation of the flesh...And as we are His members we are also nourished by means of creation...He has acknowledged the cup (which is part of the creation) as His own blood...³⁹¹

The idea that the Spirit is man's food is closely related to the idea that the Spirit is "life" (cf p 230-232) since food is what nourishes life. It has been often said that Irenaeus' vision of growth is part of his understanding of creation. The initially created need a more primitive form of food because they are more immature and helpless but the more mature can take more "solid food". The disciples'

experience of the man Jesus offering Himself according to man's historical situation was as milk to babes. It was the perfect bread but offered as milk. But the Spirit (in the Church) is the bread for the fully mature - the "bread of immortality". It is this bread that enables us to grow from imperfection to perfection

If, however, anyone say, "What, then? Could not God have exhibited man as perfect from the beginning? But created things must be inferior to Him who created them... He might easily have come to us in His immortal glory, but in that case we could never have endured the greatness of His glory; and therefore it was that He, who was the perfect bread of the Father, offered Himself to us as milk, [because we were] as infants. He did this when He appeared as a man, that we, being nourished, as it were, from the breasts of His flesh, and having, by such a course of milk-nourishment, become accustomed to eat and drink the Word of God, may be also able to contain in ourselves, the bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father. 392

Again, in his overall historical vision, Irenaeus visualizes the Spirit as the "food" for nourishing and increasing man according to God's plan of bringing him gradually but inevitably to His image and likeness

...By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies, and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God... The Father planning everything well and giving His commands, the Son carrying these into execution and performing the work of creating, and the Spirit nourishing and increasing [what is made], but man making progress day by day, and ascending toward the perfect... 393

From this text it is evident that God's creating man in His own image in the beginning is closely linked to his growth in the Church via the Eucharist. Jesus is the Image and Likeness of God. The Spirit, by way of the saving power of the body

and blood of this same Image restores man from his bondage to Satan, increases the life of the Spirit in him, and preserves him spiritually and bodily for eternal life. In all of this man is brought to conform with what was inherent in man in his original creation.

From here the relationship of the Eucharist to creation is developed further. God created the Universe by His Word. When the Word became incarnate He, in effect, brought about a "new creation". When the Incarnate Word says: "This is My body" over the creations of bread and wine and gives it to His disciples, He thereby extends this "new creation" in some kind of cosmic and historical fashion.³⁹⁴ With this accent on creation the historical realism of the Incarnation is extended into the Eucharist.

Understandably, Irenaeus cannot help but be amazed at the inconsistency of the Gnostics who, while celebrating the Eucharist, reject Creation as a work of the Demiurge.³⁹⁵

Since the Eucharist is so closely associated with the "new creation" inaugurated in the Incarnation, it follows that it also bears an important relationship to recapitulation. L. Regnault writes that, according to Irenaeus, the Eucharist is the most admirable sign of recapitulation.³⁹⁶ The view of A. Hamman is that he places the Eucharist at the heart of his vision of the world and of history. Christ recapitulates Creation signified by the elements of bread and wine which reveals the cosmic dimension of His work. In the "first fruits" of His resurrection He recapitulates the "harvest" gathered from the whole duration of history. The Eucharist is the anticipation of this harvest in which the whole dynamism of the process of divinization of creation is contained.³⁹⁷

It is evident from the following text that the meaning of death and resurrection plays an important role in this historical overview

...as a cutting from the vine planted...or as a corn of wheat falling into the earth...rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God...and having received the Word of God becomes the Eucharist...so also our bodies being nourished by it, and deposited in the earth...shall rise at their appointed time, the Word of God granting them resurrection to the glory of God...³⁹⁸

In the death itself of Jesus there is a transformation of nature. What dies in the historical dimension as terrestrial rises transformed into something divine by the power of the Spirit. To the extent that we participate in the Eucharist, to that extent, in dying we are transformed into the "new creation" inaugurated in the resurrected Lord. In view of this resurrection, therefore, the historical signs of death and the Eucharist conceal the meaning and purpose of history.

x. The Spirit and Eschatology

There were signs in the Old Testament of a future resurrection. These signs foreshadowed the eschatological dimension of the Christ-event. The long life of the patriarchs was a sign of eschatological immortality. The "assumption" of Elijah was a sign of the assumption of the just at the end of time. The "translation" of Enoch had a similar meaning.³⁹⁹

It follows that that resurrection in Christ which is by the power of the Spirit of God extends back into time to the beginning at least by way of type and prophecy. Even the paradise in which Adam was placed in the beginning was an eschatological type:

...For in Adam the lands of God had been accustomed to set in order, to rule, and to sustain His workmanship, and to bring it and to place it where they pleased. Where, then, was the first man placed? In paradise, certainly...And afterwards when man proved disobedient, he was cast out thence into this world. Wherefore also the elders who were the disciples of the apostles tell us that those who were translated were transferred to that place (for paradise has been prepared for righteous men, such as have the Spirit...), and that there shall they, who have been translated, remain until the consummation of all things, as a prelude to immortality.⁴⁰⁰

The visible sign that the Spirit's work in man is complete will be the salvation of the flesh in that it will be rendered "mature" and "incorruptible":

...Now the final result of the work of the Spirit is the salvation of the flesh...For what other visible fruit is there of the invisible Spirit, than the rendering of the flesh mature and incapable of corruption?...⁴⁰¹

In apostolic times the bodily resurrection of Christ was considered in the light of the eschatological viewpoint of those times, viz., the imminent resurrection of man. In that sense, the resurrection of Christ confirms and brings into actuality the initial phase of this eschatological fact. That this general resurrection would be the work of the Spirit of God was also part of this belief.

The pouring forth of the Spirit of God at Pentecost was therefore the initial phase of the Spirit's work of resurrection in the "end of times". Thus the coming of the Spirit into history has an essentially eschatological meaning even more so than the Incarnation. Although the Word and the Spirit always work together in the divine economy, the Word comes first to prepare for and bring the Spirit and then the Spirit comes at the end forming man to his final perfection. This final perfection is the image and likeness of God. In this sense,

"image" and "likeness" have an eschatological meaning.⁴⁰²

Even now we are already to a degree in the eschatological age to the measure that we possess the Spirit within us. This is referred to in Christian tradition as the "earnest" of the Spirit and derives from St. Paul (2 Cor 5:4; Eph 1:13). Irenaeus employs it in the sense so characteristic of him: man's "becoming accustomed" to bear God.⁴⁰³ This earnest was also contained within the eschatological types in the patriarchs:

...yet those who were before us did live /to such an age/, and those who were translated do live as earnest of the future length of days...⁴⁰⁴

In every age, therefore, possessing the "earnest" of the Spirit was possessing life in its eschatological dimension. In the present time, however, this "earnest" is nourished much more securely to its perfection by the Eucharist. For, as we noted above, the Eucharist contains in itself the union of the earthly and the heavenly and is, therefore, nourishment for both body and spirit.⁴⁰⁵

Ultimately, the possession of the flesh by the Spirit at the end is an "inheritance". It is something that belongs to the Spirit by right in that the Spirit now possesses the soul and spirit of man to which, by God's design, properly belongs the body. The surviving inheritor takes up the possessions of the deceased and since it is the Spirit which survives through death it takes up the body left behind by the one who dies.⁴⁰⁶

The Spirit now in man presses on to the eschatological fulfillment of perfection in Christ when death will be no more, history will have come to term, and all things will be made new.

CHAPTER IV SUMMARY

1. Irenaeus' description of what is meant by Jesus' "coming in the flesh" points to a humanity which is fully "historical".
2. Jesus is also fully divine in nature but this does not in any way diminish the historicity of His humanness. Moreover, although His divine nature could never be termed "historical", it is nevertheless by reason of the divine plan involved with history.
3. "History" as recorded in the Scriptures serves to "prove" that Jesus is both fully human and fully divine. Unity in the person of Christ is established on historical grounds. Irenaeus contrasts the traditional view of the nature and role of the Incarnation with the Gnostic view on the basis of historical considerations. There is unity of action in Jesus because all of his actions of creating and sanctifying occur within history and throughout history.
4. The Incarnation is an historical event which brings history to a "fullness". It is not a "break" with history. The creative continuity from Adam to Christ remains unbroken.
5. The Word reassumes (recapitulates) human nature in all its historicity. This means that He was really historical and not "seeming" to be as the Gnostics claim. The Incarnation effects a recapitulation which may be described as "historical" in that it takes up again past events according to a developmental pattern. More specifically, the life of Jesus repeats and reassumes the human race in the whole pattern and process of its history: past, present and future. Moreover, He recapitulates all men as individuals including the aspect of their struggle against evil. In this recapitulation, the headship of Jesus over all men and over the whole Cosmos is coextensive with all of its history

from beginning to end. The unity between God and man effected through recapitulation is significant to history in that the unity of all creation is the ultimate goal of the historical process (according to the Divine Plan). This constitutes the eschatological dimension of recapitulation.

6. Continual immanent creative action by God must mean a meaningful sequence of events and, as far as man is concerned (insofar as he is the object of such creative action), history is the totality of this sequence. Only in this way is divine transcendence not contradicted and unity between God and creature assured.
7. Unity at the ontological level between God and man follows from the fact that man is created in the image and likeness of his Creator. Irenaeus understands that this occurs only gradually by way of a progressive historical development which leads to the Incarnation.
8. The cause of man's disunity with God, where it exists, arises primarily from certain historical events, viz., sins of rebellion against God. These events are responsible for a certain sinful historical condition which can influence man to sin and which thereby perpetuates disunity. This is in contradistinction to the Gnostics' view wherein the cause of evil is outside of and prior to history, viz., in the Pleroma. Irenaeus was able to see that such a view must mean that time and history play no significant role in the reestablishment of unity between man and God. In the Gnostic view, man is not free to decide his own destiny since this is predetermined by the nature of things.
9. The divine initiative to save is aimed directly at man in his historical condition. The Incarnation presents a new ontological condition freely placed by God within history which in effect leaves man free to be reunited to God.

This divine initiative to save is the key to the realization of a freely initiated divine plan. On the other hand, the Gnostic system proposes that disunity is the result of man's historical condition the ultimate cause of which resides in the Pleroma. "Salvation" therefore consists in freeing man from this condition by transporting him to that other realm.

10. Evidence that Jesus is the one and only saviour comes from those who knew and witnessed to Him historically. He is characterized as Saviour by historical figures such as those presented by and in patriarchs and prophets.
11. Jesus' nature as both God and man makes Him ideally suited to be Saviour and Mediator.
12. It is Christ's actions within a fully historical condition that effects salvation and sanctification. The saving action of the Incarnate Word is set over against an historical background of dramatic conflict between God and Satan. The need for salvation arises from historical events of human history. In this context Jesus is seen as the one and only Saviour. Jesus is Saviour by virtue of historical actions which He Himself initiates. His life and role is understood in relation to the historic God-Satan conflict. He is stronger than Satan and defeats him by decision and action which is fully human and historical. This is by way of obedient sacrifice. This is in contradistinction to the Gnostic view wherein Jesus does not save or redeem by historical action.
13. The direction of man's development in history is "written into" man at creation. The effect of sin is to thwart this development in history, i.e., to change the course of history so that God's design could not be realized. As "saviour" Jesus acts historically to set history on its

proper course. In this sense He could be said to "make history" according to the Divine Plan.

14. God's mercy and forgiveness proceed from the nature of God Himself and therefore their manifestation is historically continuous. This is in opposition to the Gnostic view that man's historical condition in respect to divine mercy after the Christ-event is different from what it was before.
15. Why did God save man? The extent to which such a question may be answered can depend only on what has been revealed historically. God saved man because of man's need and because of the merits of Jesus as demonstrated by His Passion and Resurrection.
16. The basic human requirements as to spirituality are the same throughout all time. This is because the human condition remains basically the same. The advent of Christ does not alter the basic requirements for man. On the other hand, Gnostic spirituality can be shown to be historically inconsistent.
17. The basis of the Christian view on the universality of salvation follows from the realization that all of creation belongs to God and that the Father's saving love takes all of history in its embrace. Another way that this universality is expressed is through Adam's representing the whole human race throughout space and time.
18. Irenaeus reinforces the historical continuity from beginning to end by use of the "historical type". Adam is seen as a type of Christ by emphasizing similarities in their respective historical concomitants. In this way the consistency of the realization of the Divine Plan through history becomes more visible. Salvation effects of the divine involvement in history are also seen more easily as continuous. On the other hand, in the background of

continuity, the contrast between Adam and Christ more readily illustrates Christ's redemptive role in history as well as the "newness" that He creates in man. The "new life" indicates the uniqueness of the Christ-event over against the rest of history. This emphasizes that its upwards progressive development is unique and irreversible. It can mean, furthermore, that ultimate victory over the forces of evil is inevitable.

19. In Irenaeus' historical overview, where divine operation is extended meaningfully and progressively throughout history, one may perceive a synthesis of the divine operations of creation and salvation and a joining of "end to beginning".
20. History may be termed the "forum" in which God reveals Himself for it is in history that we gradually see the signs of divine mercy, goodness and love.
21. The involvement of the Spirit in the work of Christ is "proven" by His historicity. The coming of the Spirit and the coming of Christ inaugurate the same "fullness of time". The Spirit may be viewed as "Lord of History" together with the Word. History as past, present and future is the place and scope of the Spirit's work. The coming of the Spirit at the end terminates a long period of "accustoming".
22. Prophecy is a characteristic work of the Spirit. As the Word speaks with historic purpose, so also the Spirit gives inspiration. The Spirit is associated with the Word in His Incarnation. As the Incarnation is a new presence, so the Spirit comes in a new way.
23. The Spirit works within the personal historical development of every individual. On man's part this requires a cooperation involving patience and discernment. In this work of the Spirit in the individual, the development of the human race is, in a sense, recapitulated. The Spirit's working

within man is a principle of teleiosis and in that sense He is the ultimate determining factor of history. This has an eschatological meaning.

24. Since the historical manifestation of Jesus inherently contains all truth for all time, no new revelation can come from the Spirit at any subsequent time.
25. The personal history of every member of the Church blends with the history of the Church. The Church is the definitive figure of the history of salvation at the end of time.
26. The Spirit is "food" for the nourishment of man unto perfection as he develops in the course of his own personal history. The historical realism of the Incarnation is extended to the Eucharist which is at the heart of Irenaeus' vision of the world and of reality. The historical signs of death and the Eucharist contain within them the meaning and purpose of history.
27. The resurrection of the flesh will be the visible sign of the completion of the Spirit's work in man and will mark the end of history. The Resurrection of Christ already confirms this.

MAN'S PROGRESS ON THE WAY TO GOD

To this point we have considered God's coming to man by way of the Word Incarnate and the Spirit to effect unity between God and man. It has been indicated that this unity does not come about suddenly but gradually throughout history by way of a process of becoming accustomed. This process may be considered from the perspective of God or of man. So far, we have considered the unity process from the divine perspective wherein God's initiative in approaching and becoming accustomed to man centers in the Incarnation.

Now we shall look at the same historical process from the perspective of man, i.e., man's approach to and becoming accustomed to God. Let us begin by saying that the goal of the unity process is the divinization of man, i.e., man becomes a "son of God" by adoption. The key concept here is that this divine life comes by way of knowing God (gnosis) through "seeing" Him. This vision of God is ultimately experienced in a rapture of love. The perfection of man's being consists in this vision and produces perfect happiness.

Again, for Irenaeus, history plays a key role in the way that this "seeing" God comes about. Throughout history God, little by little and by various historical events, lets His "light" shine forth so that man gradually step by step grows and matures in "gnosis" and divine life through "seeing" - until finally he arrives at his goal, the perfect vision of the Father.

Here, as in other areas of theology, Irenaeus' need to oppose the Gnostic threat to orthodoxy was an overriding factor in his preoccupation with this question of the role of knowledge (gnosis) in man's advancement to God. The view of the Valentinians and Gnostics generally was that God is known

only by a given revelation; without any natural preparation, to certain "chosen ones". As we have already indicated (cf p 179 - 182), such a view could never be tolerated by orthodox Christians.

Irenaeus' preoccupation with Gnosis is to be expected also from the fact that second century thinkers generally were debating the role of knowledge in man's quest for the divine. Trends of thought would tend to be pessimistic or optimistic depending on whether, for example, a school might emphasize divine transcendence or divine immanence in respect to creation. When transcendence was emphasized God would be either difficult to know ($\delta\upsilon\sigma\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) or impossible to know ($\alpha\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$)¹

Where divine immanence was emphasized, thinkers tended to be more optimistic about the prospects for the knowledge of God. God is seen as present within His Creation forming a bond with it in one way or another. This optimistic monistic current of thought was present in nearly all schools.² But even here, as far as the knowing subject was concerned, something leaning to the Gnostic conception of a dualism within the human composite was commonplace. God was conceived as being known by man's spirit not by his body. Only the spirit of man was considered as having any likeness to God and "only like knows like". A consequence of this position is to hold that all acts of intellectual knowledge begin by an asceticism. To the extent that one is detached from created things and the world...to that extent one perceives divine realities.³

Knowledge of God was also considered to be greatly facilitated by intermediaries: angels, powers, Hermes Trismegistos...but especially the "logos" of the Greek philosophical schools who was conceived as a sort of "intermediary" of knowledge between God and man.⁴

Also current in the Second Century was the idea that this advance to God through knowledge could take place only gradually and progressively as the "soul" gradually disengaged itself from the body and the world. To this process also corresponds a divine pedagogy which benignly applies the level of revelation most suitable to man's condition at every stage of his spiritual development.⁵

It was within such a background of second century thought that Irenaeus launched his attack on the Gnostics. Although not a philosopher or concerned with philosophical controversy as such, he must have been at least aware of the more current and commonplace philosophical conceptions and their influence on his times.⁶ At any rate it is certainly more than coincidence that many of the conceptions and constructs of his theological system do parallel to some degree these philosophical notions. At the same time, however, his system also differs in very essential respects from these philosophical systems as it does from Gnosticism. It is a difference which, from the Christian point of view, clearly distinguishes truth from error. We shall try to demonstrate that it is mainly Irenaeus' appreciation of the historical dimension of the faith that enables him to show forth this difference.

1. Man's Vocation: To See God

It is a common experience of men to conceive of life as a kind of journey by reason of which we ask such questions as: Where am I going? What is man's destiny, vocation, goal? What constitutes man's ultimate perfection? It is not so surprising that such questions were a major preoccupation for Irenaeus and for second century thinkers generally. Of course, these questions are of the utmost importance in that our way of answering them may very well determine our way of life.

For Irenaeus, man's destiny is, in a measure, determined at his creation. For one thing, in being a creature, man suffers the necessary limitations of being a creature as, for example, the need to grow and develop. But man's vocation or destiny is also determined to a degree by a relation to Himself that God creates in man from the beginning, viz., man is created in the image and likeness of God. From this point of view man is in some way open to the limitlessness of God. His destiny must lie ultimately in God.

The divine destiny to which man is called is confirmed and clarified when the Son (Word) of God becomes incarnate. In this event man is perfectly at one with God's Image and Likeness. After the Incarnation, every man's "way" in life becomes clear. It is to be fully and perfectly man in Jesus Christ and thereby to participate in divine life.

How does man's union with God in Christ come about? Man is like God in that he is a person with freedom to know, love and choose. For Irenaeus, man's perfection consists in knowing God lovingly. This is how he understands true "gnosis". The most perfect way of knowing is the direct face to face experience of "seeing" God. The ultimate goal or perfection of man must therefore consist in such a direct vision of God.

Herein lies man's fulfillment and happiness because it constitutes the fullness of life and being.⁷

The perfect vision of God, however, is not something that pertains to man insofar as man is a creature.⁸ The face to face vision of God is a divine prerogative - it pertains only to divine life. To creatures, insofar as they are creatures, God is invisible. This is clear from the fact that, in the beginning, only the two divine persons, the Son (Word) and the Spirit (Wisdom) were able to see God

...For no one was able, either in heaven or in earth, or under the earth, to open the book of the Father, or to behold Him, with the exception of the Lamb who was slain, and who redeemed us with His own blood, receiving power over all things from the same God who made all things by the Word and adorned them by His Wisdom...⁹

I have also already demonstrated, that the Word namely the Son, was always with the Father; and that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was present with and anterior to all creation...¹⁰

It is clear from the above texts that if man is to see God it can only be by way of a "divinization" of man through action of the Word and the Spirit. The pivotal point of this action is the historical event of the Incarnation. In the Incarnation the divine light shines "through the flesh" thereby making it and the beholder "divine" in some way. Moreover, the Spirit (of love) is sent into the hearts of those who "see" granting them this divine power of "seeing". To "see", therefore, means to see and grasp the revelation of the Father in His Incarnate Son by the Spirit

...and that all things...might behold their King; and that the paternal light might meet with and rest upon the flesh of our Lord, and come to us from His resplendent flesh, and that thus man might attain to immortality, having been invested with the paternal light.¹¹

Therefore the baptism of our rebirth comes through these three articles, granting us rebirth unto God the Father, through His Son, by the Holy Spirit...For those who are bearers of the Spirit of God are led to the Word, that is, to the Son; but the Son takes them and presents them to the Father; and the Father confers incorruptibility...So without the Spirit there is no seeing the Word of God...12

By way of clarification it must be stated that the divine life to which man is called through the vision of God is signified, in Irenaeus' view, by "immortality" or "incorruptibility" (cf p 386-9). These two words signify, from the human point of view, eternal life. However, it also bears with it the connotation of the quality of life as being divine and this is directly due to the vision of God who is otherwise invisible to man. This is symbolically expressed by the word "light" as opposed to "darkness" and is more specifically "divine light"

...For as those who see the light are within the light, and partake of its brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God, and receive of His splendour. But His splendour vivifies them; those, therefore, who see God, do receive life...13

For Irenaeus, the fact that man's vocation is to "see" God, determines the character and direction of history. All revelation is God manifesting Himself. As far as man in this world is concerned, each manifestation is an historical event in which God is "seen" in some way in an encounter with man. Although each event is historical in that what is seen is seen with bodily eyes, it is not a full "face-to-face" vision with God. It is always a partial or veiled "seeing" in which faith can and must operate. A favorite example of Irenaeus is the way the prophets "saw" in the Old Testament: as a partial "seeing" of what was to come

The prophets, therefore, did not openly behold the actual face of God, but they saw the dispensations and the mysteries through which man should afterwards see God...14



The direct vision of God, therefore, is at one and the same time, the ultimate goal of man's vocation and the eschatological term of history. The Old Testament is related to the New Testament historically in that the Old Testament events are the first phases of an ongoing revelation of God to man culminating in the manifest appearance (*παρουσία*) in the New Testament of the Word made flesh (cf p 361-367).

The "evidence" for the presence of God among men is primarily the evidence of the reality itself seen or experienced historically. It is, therefore, an evidence available to all and may provide sufficient motive for faith of all in those realities as yet unseen.

By this position Irenaeus strikes a double blow at the Gnostic system: it destroys their hypothesis that the knowledge of God can only be by way of a "secret tradition" and that the Scriptures must therefore be interpreted arbitrarily according to this tradition. For Irenaeus, knowledge of God arises fundamentally from historically "seeing" Him and the Scriptures, therefore, can only be a faithful record of these events and their clear interpretation.¹⁵

Realizing, then, that man's vocation is to see God and that this determines the direction of history, we must now consider how man's nature as creature and "seer" must determine the way and manner in which this vocation is realized.

i. Man as Creature

In addition to what we have said above (cf p 40-46) in regard to the distinction between God and His creatures; between the Creator and the created, Irenaeus understands God's creative act as an ongoing process and not as one single act. This law applies not only to inanimate things of nature but also to free beings such as man who can by their own volition allow or not allow God's creative process to be fulfilled in them:

...If, then, thou art God's workmanship, await the hand of thy Maker which creates everything in due time, in due time as far as thou art concerned, whose creation is being carried out (efficeris)...¹⁵

The analogy in Genesis where God the Creator is presented as a potter moulding clay is conceived in an extended sense. The "moulding" by the "potter" continues throughout the whole extent of man's history. During the whole course of this time the cooperation of man is required if the creative action is to succeed

...Offer to Him thy heart in a soft and tractable state, and preserve the form in which the Creator has fashioned thee...But by preserving the framework thou shalt ascend to that which is perfect, for the moist clay which is in thee is hidden there by the workmanship of God...But if thou, being obstinately hardened, does reject the operation of His skill...¹⁷ thou hast at once lost both His workmanship and life.

If we must ask why man's condition is as just described, the only answer is that it necessarily follows from man's creatureliness. It is precisely in this respect that man as creature differs from God as Creator

And in this respect God differs from man, that God indeed makes, but man is made; and truly, He who makes is always the same; but that which is made must receive both beginning, and middle, and addition,

and increase. And God does indeed create after a skillful manner, while as regards man, he is created skillfully. God also is truly perfect in all things. Himself equal and similar to Himself...but man receives advancement and increase towards God...18

In the way that God normally creates it is not even "possible" for a creature to receive perfection at the beginning of its existence:

...so, in like manner, God had power at the beginning to grant perfection to man; but as the latter was only recently created, he could not possibly have received it, or even if he had received it, could he have contained it, or containing it, could he have retained it...19

It would appear, then, that man's perfection, or his being created to perfection is not his own naturally. Man's perfection is always a gift from God, i.e., grace. In fact, God's very act of creating man initially and as an ongoing process is itself a grace. We may say that since the vision of God creates perfection of life in man, it also is something not "natural" to man but a "grace".

Another divine prerogative, incorruptibility, was also given to man. To the degree that man "sees" God, to that degree does he also receive incorruptibility. Adam possessed this gift in paradise but, being recently created, he lacked the perfection to possess it securely

...Where, then, was the first man placed? In paradise certainly...and then afterwards, when man proved disobedient he was cast out...and that there shall they who have been translated remain until the consummation of all things, as a prelude to immortality...20

But to receive incorruptibility securely is salvation and is God's crowning gift. It must never be considered as something belonging naturally to man:

...and that man should never adopt an opposite opinion with regard to God, supposing that the incorruptibility which belongs to him is his own naturally, and by thus not holding the truth, should boast with empty superciliousness, as if he were naturally like to God...21

Therefore, by the very nature of things, that which is recently created must, of necessity, have a certain infantile, undeveloped character about it

...But created things must be inferior to Him who created them, from the very fact of their later origin; for it was not possible for things recently created to have been uncreated. But inasmuch as they are not uncreated, for this very reason do they come short of the perfect. Because, as these things are of later date, so are they infantile; so are they unaccustomed to, and unexercised in, perfect discipline...22

Insofar as man is a creature, therefore, who cooperates with God, he is always on the way towards a higher level of creation by the hands of God. Within this creative action God gradually bestows His own prerogatives on man such as "seeing God" and incorruptibility. Clearly, man's journey as a creature is in gradually becoming more and more like his Creator. He conforms more and more to the Image of God, Christ. But never at any time must man lose his perspective as a creature. God's transcendence vis-a-vis His creation must always remain.23

ii. Man, the "Seer"

As indicated above (p 254-5), there were certain gnostic-like trends in the philosophical and religious currents of the Second Century. Surely perfection consisted in knowing God. If one is to say that this knowledge comes through "seeing" it is not fundamentally a "seeing" of the senses but rather of the spirit of man. The seeing of the senses may well be a hindrance to the more perfect vision and knowledge of God. For the Gnostics, however, bodily "seeing" was at any time a distortion of true knowledge at best. Things could never be as they appeared to be in this world and therefore things seen must be analysed and interpreted according to a higher "gnosis".

Irenaeus interpreted the Gnostic view as an attack on being itself and consequently an attack on the one and only God, Creator, as well. For Irenaeus, true gnosis begins when man sees and accepts that which is. From the beginning God created man with bodily eyes so that he might see the glory of God first of all in His Creation. "Seeing" must inspire faith and faith concerns the real. From seeing the visible things we are led to see the "invisible" yet no less real things. For example, seeing creation which is visible leads to belief in the Creator who is invisible. For all those who are willing to see there is only one way to go and that is upwards to God.²⁴

As already mentioned, it is a well-established principle that men live by seeing God. Seeing God is life. So much is this true that men become immortal, i.e., have eternal life, by seeing God

Men therefore shall see God that they may live,
being made immortal by that sight, and attaining
even unto God...²⁵

This principle is well illustrated by making an analogy to light. Those who are within the light, partake of the light. In like manner, those who see God partake of His life:

...while the Father, too, confers upon him incorruption for eternal life, which comes to every one from the fact of his seeing God. For as those who see the light are within the light, and partake of its brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God, and receive of His splendour. But His splendour vivifies them: those, therefore, who see God, do receive life...26

Following what we know about man as a creature who grows and develops throughout history towards God, it is logical to conceive of the process of man's seeing God in the same dynamic way. What we have here really are two concomitant aspects of one and the same ongoing creative action of God in history. The goal of this process is the coming to a fullness in God's image and likeness

...For from the very fact of these things having been created, it follows that they are not uncreated; but by their continuing in being throughout a long course of ages, they shall receive a faculty of the Uncreated, through the gratuitous bestowal of eternal existence upon them by God...By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies, and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God...27

Of course, Irenaeus would not understand the power of "seeing" as something involving the senses only. The soul and the spirit of man are also necessarily involved. It is a "seeing" which involves the whole man. This is explained by the Gospel miracle of the blind man who received sight as a work of the Lord. Irenaeus sees in this healing not only a "seeing" in the bodily eyes but also a concomitant "seeing" of the spirit:

...And unasmuch as man, with respect to that formation which was after Adam, having fallen into transgression, needed the laver of regeneration, the Lord said to him upon whom He had conferred sight, after He had smeared his eyes with clay, "Go to Siloam, and wash;" (Jn 9:7) thus restoring to him both his perfect confirmation, and that regeneration which takes place by means of the laver. And for this reason when he was washed he came seeing, that he might both know Him who had fashioned him, and that man might learn to know Him who had conferred upon him life.²⁸

Clearly, man progresses from his initial creation at the beginning to a fullness in being in the image and likeness of God at the end, by way of a growing and healing process where the action of seeing is paramount. The power to see as well as the power to heal come, of course, from God's initiative. This initiative centers in the coming in the flesh of the Son of God in which man's sin is "cast off" and man becomes accustomed to see God:

for He, too, "was made in the likeness of sinful flesh," (Rom 8:3) to condemn sin, and to cast it, as now a condemned thing, away beyond the flesh, but that He might call man forth into His own likeness, assigning him as His own imitator to God, and imposing on him His Father's law, in order that he may see God, and granting him power to receive the Father; being...the Word of God who dwelt in man, and became the Son of man, that He might accustom man to receive God, and God to dwell in man according to the good pleasure of the Father.²⁹

Finally, to "see" means not merely to be able to see the glory of God in specific creations or in specific theophanies but to grasp it all as it were in a "vision" wherein all is seen simply as a unity or "summary". Within this summary all events can be seen in their proper place and perspective in a methodical way. This means seeing, for example, history as a totality in which the divine "economy" is viewed from beginning to end in all its height and depth. This, in effect, is what happens when one views the Incarnation as a recapitulation.³⁰

iii. Seeing is a Learning Process

Man comes to see God gradually by way of a "learning" process. This is in keeping with his nature as a growing and developing being. It is not a spontaneous learning nor a learning by experience (although experience is involved). It is primarily a learning as it were from a "Teacher". It is knowledge and light which comes not from man himself but from Someone Else. Man can be said to follow this "Other" as a disciple follows a teacher. From this point of view, God's revelation to man might be looked at as a series of pedagogical encounters. The central pedagogical event of all history is to be found, of course, in the public life of Jesus Christ. The relationship between Jesus and His disciples is the centre and model of all divine pedagogy. In it man sees God and receives eternal life:

...For to follow the Saviour is to be a partaker of salvation, and to follow light is to receive light. But those who are in light do not themselves illumine the light, but are illumined and revealed by it...31

The learning event of Christ with his disciples was both unique and necessary for mankind. It is a learning not only of the mind but also of the spirit leading to an imitation of His words and works. Only in this way does one properly receive "increase" in communion with God;

...Again, we could have learned in no other way than by seeing our Teacher, and hearing His voice with our own ears, that, having become imitators of His works as well as doers of His words, we may have communion with Him, receiving increase from the perfect One, and from Him who is prior to all creation...32

Why is this theme of the "progressive education" of man so central to Irenaeus' theology? The reason Daniélou

gives is that Irenaeus saw its value as the unifying principle for two other essential themes: man's temporality and man's liberty. "...Education is the property of a liberty which is in time and which consequently must turn progressively toward the good...³³ One may also say that the "pedagogical" relationship between God and man is the one that best respects man's nature and condition and the one therefore that would best respond to his needs.

The way that Irenaeus describes God's upbringing of man does have all the elements of a good pedagogy. These elements may be summarized as follows:

- a. that what is taught corresponds to reality, i.e., it is the truth.
- b. that the teaching has regard for the nature and condition of the disciple. e.g. man's composite nature, body, soul, and spirit; the teaching therefore should have elements that appeal to the whole man, also it should respect man's developing nature, his growth. The teaching should be suited to whatever stage of development man has attained ...at any point along the way. This has elements of upbringing, training, and discipline.
- c. The teaching must take into consideration man's fallen moral state and moral weakness. It therefore must be forgiving, compassionate and patient. It must have elements of moral correction and discipline. Of course, all of these elements must be applied in a way that does not violate the freedom of the disciple.

Irenaeus knows all the pedagogical principles well and knows how to employ them to advantage in refuting the Gnostic point of view. If there is one thing that is obvious about the Gnostic system, it is that it is not pedagogical. Pointing this out reveals its inconsistency with the nature and

and condition of man...especially insofar as this has a bearing on his relationship to the divine. We shall notice also that, since the elements of time and development are essential to pedagogy, an historical overview like Irenaeus' is of immense advantage in developing this concept. This is evident throughout his pedagogy doctrine.

Perfection leading to the divine in man involves growth in all the aspects of humanity. It means that man grows in all his created aspects as he grows "in the Spirit".. For example, to be in harmony with the Spirit, the sentient faculties of man need to be "disciplined". Drawing examples from the texts of St. Paul, Irenaeus shows how God respects this need in the "beginner", the "recently created":

And on this account does Paul declare to the Corinthians, "I have fed you with milk, not with meat, for hitherto you were not able to bear it. (1Cor. 3:2)...As therefore the Apostle had the power to give them strong meat — for those upon whom the Apostles laid hands received the Holy Spirit, who is the food of life eternal but they were not capable of receiving it, because they had the sentient faculties of the soul still feeble and undisciplined in the practice of things pertaining to God: so in like manner God had the power at the beginning to grant perfection to man; but as the latter was only recently created, he could not possibly receive it...34

Man's salvation is constituted in this growth to maturity and perfection. God's respect for the human condition at every stage of this growth ensures that man's salvation will become a reality. Here is evidence of God's care and concern for man's well-being. Applying this principle to the interpretation of historical events of the past gives meaning and direction to history and deepens our understanding (vision) of God

Thus it was, too, that God formed man at the

first, because of His munificence; but chose the patriarchs for the sake of their salvation; and prepared a people beforehand, teaching the headstrong to follow God; and raised up prophets upon earth, accustoming man to bear His Spirit within him, and to hold communion with God... Thus, in a variety of ways He adjusted the human race to an agreement with salvation...³⁵

"The pedagogical principle also throws light on the interpretation of Scripture especially as it concerns the relationship of the Old to the New Testament. Why, for example, is it possible that the Old and New Testaments can have very significant differences and yet be of the same Author? The answer now lies in the observation that they simply represent two different moments in the application of the divine pedagogy as seen in the overall historical view. In the Old Testament God reveals His transcendence, oneness, and uniqueness. This must be first in any understanding of God.³⁶ Yet there gradually emerges a revelation of a coming Messiah and a preparation. In the New Testament, Jesus, the Messiah, is shown forth as the visibility of the Father and the key to that visibility. These differences are perfectly consistent with a God who reveals Himself in a pedagogical way especially if we consider the whole of history as the suitable time or period for man's "upbringing". These two great periods can be further subdivided into smaller suitable "times", e.g., the times of the Patriarchs and the Law. Each of these can be shown to be suitable from the pedagogical point of view as we shall demonstrate further along in this chapter.

2. The Invisible God Reveals Himself

Since much of the philosophical and religious controversy centered around man's ascent to the divine, there was also a constant preoccupation with man's present spiritual condition. To begin with, it was quite obvious to all that man was not as he should be. Since the ascent to God was often considered on the basis of knowledge or "vision", there was always a tendency to view the fact of man's ignorance of divine things in a moral light. In fact, there was a tendency to link ignorance with sin.³⁷

At least according to the Christian view, this ignorance ἀγνοία as opposed to knowledge γνῶσις could be seen as a moral aberration from the fact that it was due to man's persistent unwillingness to know God. This resulted in a hardness of heart, a blinding of conscience, an enslavement to passion and a consequent disfigurement of God's image in man. This "ignorance" characterized the state of "fallen man".³⁸

How was man's ignorance to be overcome? It is interesting that the idea of "mediator" to bridge the gap between God and man was not confined to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. (cf above, p. 254-5). According to Greek philosophical conception, God was described in terms of thought itself of which the "logos" was the expression. The logos was conceived as the whole of divine ideas, the intelligible world κόσμος νοητός.³⁹ The logos was also present in the world as God's creating agent and as the law νόμος by which the world is governed. It could even be sometimes described as divine "breath", πνεῦμα or divine power δύναμις.⁴⁰ The logos was also present in man as "intelligence" and "light". Since the logos was thus present in both God and man it could easily be conceived as operating to mediate the "knowledge gap" that existed between man and God.

Unfortunately, the mediating role of the logos is hindered to a degree by the body which seems to have the effect of making the simple truth into a kind of complexity somewhat in the manner that pure light is affected by a kaleidoscope. Pure vision is thereby dissipated. The incorporated soul must express the simple truth by way of many concepts, words, language...⁴¹ One can therefore only perceive many divine attributes while the one simple divine Substance remains unperceivable. Origen, following Philo, was greatly affected by this line of thinking.⁴²

The Gnostic point of view on the ascent of man to God and the role of knowledge has already been covered (p 152-153). To reiterate briefly, the Father, Propator, is eternally invisible to all save Monogenes. Jesus, in whom resides the later Aeon, Christ, is not the manifestation of the Father but the one who reveals that the Father is unknowable. There is an antithesis between the God of the Old Testament, Demiurge, and the unknown Father proclaimed by Jesus. Marcion, however, perceived the antithesis differently: the know God of the prophets is placed opposite to the Father who was unknown before Jesus.⁴³ Salvation for the Gnostics consisted fundamentally in this knowledge together with the knowledge of their system of the structure of the divine world and the cosmos. This is concisely stated in the Gospel of Truth, the Saviour came "for the salvation of those who were ignorant of the Father."⁴⁴ This gnostic "solution" to man's ignorance of God is, of course, no solution at all since the ultimate and supreme God remains forever invisible.

The Jewish Old Testament tradition of the transcendence of God is illustrated by many references to God's invisibility: "...for man cannot see me and live." (Ex 33:20) This presented a difficulty: if God is invisible, how can He

be known? There is, of course, an on-going tradition of the indirect manifestation of God by way of the historical events of Israel's history. Through these events the word of God (Dabar Yahweh) and the spirit of God (Ruah Yahweh) are the principal divine agents of revelation. In fact, the word of God manifests God by realizing both creation and history.⁴⁵ The spirit is a more mysterious divine agent than the word. It is the inner source of divine power and activity in the world and its history.⁴⁶

Although there is a tendency to personify these divine agents in the later Sapiential writings, they were never considered as divine persons in the Old Testament. Nevertheless they form an important background or point of departure for the belief of the Word and the Spirit as divine persons according to the New Testament and Christian tradition. Such was not the case, however, for the "logos" of the Greek schools. Certainly, the early Christian conception of the Logos had no basis or origin in the Greek philosophical conceptions of that day.

i. The "Invisible" Father

For early Christian thinkers the discussion of the invisibility of God revolved around the question: how does God's manifestation in the Old Testament relate to His manifestation in Jesus?

For Justin, the God who manifested Himself in the Old Testament was *ἕτερος θεός* ("another God") than the invisible Father.⁴⁷ This was Jesus already manifesting Himself in the Old Testament. He who is the Son of the invisible Father is Himself visible. In this way, man, whose vocation is to see God, is united to the Father via the Son while at the same time the transcendent invisibility of the Father is assured. In this way also divine revelation via the Son is one and

continuous throughout history.

Following Justin and the Judaeo-Christian tradition generally, Irenaeus also holds to the transcendent invisibility of the Father. This Father takes the initiative to reveal Himself through His Son:

...For He, the Son who is in His bosom, declares to all the Father who is invisible...⁴⁸

To support his arguments against the Gnostics, Irenaeus draws from the Old Testament tradition wherein God manifests Himself through history as well as from the New Testament testimony of the manifestation of this same God in Jesus. In his further developments and elaborations on this basis, however, Irenaeus draws much support from Justin. It is quite significant that, in this connection, he quotes Justin against Marcion

...But if Christ did then only begin to have existence...His Word was shown to have not always coexisted with His creatures...the reasons for so great carelessness and neglect on His part should be made the subject of investigation. For it is fitting that no such question should arise, and gather such strength that it would indeed both change God, and destroy our faith in that creator who supports us by means of His creation. For as we do direct our faith towards the Son, so also should we possess a firm and immovable love towards the Father. In his book against Marcion, Justin does well say: "I would not have believed the Lord Himself, if He had announced any other than He who is our framer, maker, and nourisher. But because the only-begotten Son came to us from the one God, who both made this world and formed us, and contains and administers all things, summing up His own handiwork in Himself, my faith towards Him is steadfast, and my love to the Father immovable, God bestowing both upon us."⁴⁹

What part does Creation play in manifesting God to man? Creation reveals the Father through the action of the Word.

"...For by means of the creation itself, the Word reveals God the Creator..."⁵⁰ As Escoula has indicated, however, Irenaeus

when considering divine transcendence vis-a-vis Creation, is not so much thinking of the invisibility of the Father, as the incomparable greatness of the Creator. Visibility, for Irenaeus, comes rather by way of divine love. From love and obedience (through mediation by the Word) one is led to understand how God can be "seen" in His creation:

As regards His greatness, therefore, it is not possible to know God, for it is impossible that the Father can be measured; but as regards His love (for this it is which leads us to God by His Word), when we obey Him we do always learn that there is so great a God, and that it is He who by Himself has established, and selected, and adorned, and contains all things, both ourselves and this our world...⁵¹

Since the mediation of the Word is required as essential in this operation of "seeing" by way of love, then God must be invisible to man by nature. Such is the conclusion of Lanne⁵² and also of Daniélou who sees in this doctrine the removal of all pretension to human pride. Man may not rely on his own powers but solely on the goodness of God to reveal Himself.⁵³

Unlike Justin who claimed invisibility only for the Father, Irenaeus considers both the Father and the Son to be invisible just as they are both transcendent by nature.⁵⁴ Yet both the Father and the Son are rendered visible by reason of their love albeit in different ways and at different times:

...For God is powerful in all things having been seen at that time indeed, prophetically through the Spirit, and seen, too, adoptively through the Son; and He shall also be seen paternally in the Kingdom of heaven...⁵⁵

The Father, then, reveals Himself willingly to all. Irenaeus' doctrine here is consistent with what can be observed in the Greek Fathers generally, viz., that the whole question of revelation is an extremely personal matter between man and God. From the very beginnings of faith we are caught up

incoherently as "sons" of God; we are given grace to unite in a communion of willing and being that renders us more and more like to our Father.⁵⁶

Man's vocation to see God, then, follows from his being an "image and likeness" of God not as though by being created in this Image one has the power to see God by nature. It is only when the divine "light" from God makes vision possible that one is transformed in nature to "participate divine life"⁵⁷ The image of God in man is therefore more of a "personal reference" of which the movement and term are given. It could be described as a "mode of being" wholly ontologically and psychologically oriented towards an encounter the reality of which cannot be fully lived and perceived except in heaven.⁵⁸

ii. Jesus, the One Who Makes the Father Visible.

The logos of Second Century Greek philosophy bears only a superficial resemblance to the Logos or Word in Irenaeus' doctrine. Essentially they are clearly different realities. The Logos of which Irenaeus writes derives primarily from the Fourth Gospel and is distinctly Judaeo-Christian in origin. In John and also to a certain extent in Paul, the Word is hypostatized to refer to Jesus as the One born of the Father before all time.⁵⁹ Irenaeus uses the word in the same sense.⁶⁰

While Jesus is the mediator for gnosis from the Father, He bears with Him a knowledge which saves. This must be distinguished from the ptolemean Gnostic's view that salvation consists in knowledge of a Father who was unknown before Jesus. For Irenaeus, salvation consists rather in knowing the Son who was unknown both to Jew and Gentile.⁶¹ Why does knowledge of the Son effect salvation? To answer this question one must realize on the one hand the essential invisibility of God and

on the other hand the necessity of seeing and knowing God to be saved. This poses a dilemma until we realize that God wills to reveal Himself in which case He emerges from His essential invisibility in some way. Curiously, God must be careful that He does not reveal Himself too quickly - man may turn away and be lost. Thus there must be a certain "preserving" of invisibility while dispensing revelations. To the Son or Word falls the task of dispensing revelation according to man's need:

...it is manifest that the Father is indeed invisible...⁶²

...And for this reason did the Word become the dispenser of the paternal grace for the benefit of men, for whom He made such great dispensations, revealing God indeed to men, but presenting man to God, and preserving at the same time the invisibility of the Father, lest man should at any time become a despiser of God...⁶³

Why is the vision of God "dangerous" to man? It follows from the fact, as we have seen above (p. 257-8) that seeing God is a divine prerogative. Man is a creature and therefore he is not naturally capable of seeing God. By mediation of the Son, however, man can share in the divine light by which he may see God. Even when God takes the initiative to bring this light to man via the Son He must do so gradually for it is of the very nature of a creature to grow and develop slowly. Therefore, from the ontological point of view at least, man's lack of vision for things divine is not due to man's sinfulness or to some kind of "sinful nature" but merely to his creatureliness.⁶⁴

Why is it that only the Son can mediate knowledge of the Father? It is because only the Son was with the Father from the beginning:

Therefore the Son of the Father declares [Him] from the beginning, inasmuch as He was with the Father from the beginning...⁶⁵

It follows that the Father can only be known through the Word (Son) just as the Word is known only through the Father

For no one can know the Father, unless through the Word of God, that is, unless by the Son revealing [Him]; neither can he have knowledge of the Son, unless through the good pleasure of the Father...⁶⁶

In this life, however, the Father cannot be seen in and through the Son directly. The Father is made visible to man only after the millenium (cf below, p. 332-333). The Son, however, does have in this life a certain visibility as man which the Father does not possess. Of course, this visibility of the Son is specified most clearly in the Incarnation where He is in a condition visible even to bodily eyes.

In what sense was the Word visible before the Incarnation, i.e., in the OT? At first glance it is difficult to pinpoint Irenaeus' views on this question. He appears to consider it differently as he approaches it from different points of view. Naturally there has been some controversy here among researchers the pursual of which is beyond the scope of this work. It would be useful, however, to mention two general observations: a. the Son renders Himself visible to at least some degree before the Incarnation and b. there is no fundamental difference in kind between the knowledge of God before and the knowledge of God after the Incarnation.⁶⁷ It must be stated, nevertheless, that the means by which and the manner in which that knowledge is revealed and acquired can vary.

We need here to refer to a distinction observed by A. Orbe, viz., that Irenaeus used the words "visible" and "invisible" in two different senses: a. as to bodily eyes the Incarnate Word is visible Word Himself is invisible,

b. as a synonym for "knowability" "visible" must be predicated of the Word under all conditions. This is clear from the following text

...for in time long past, it was said that man was created after the image of God, but it was not actually shown; for the Word was as yet invisible, after whose image man was created...When, however, the Word of God became flesh, He confirmed both these; for He both showed forth the image truly, since He became Himself what was His image; and He re-established the similitude after a sure manner, by assimilating man to the invisible Father through means of the visible Word.⁶⁸

Working on the basis of Orbe's distinction, Ochagavia could conclude "that the preincarnate Word was in possession of a sort of visibility to the mind that was anterior to the visibility of the eyes of the flesh..."⁶⁹ The "second" visibility is directly related to the first and continues in it. The two types of visibility are inseparable just as the eye is inseparable from the mind and vision from knowledge.

How are these two aspects of vision involved in practice? For Irenaeus, the immediate object from which they both operate is the historical event. A classical New Testament example is Thomas' encounter with the Risen Lord (Jn 20:24-9). Of course, the Incarnation offers a unique opportunity for the operation of both aspects of "vision" in the event. Nevertheless, even before the "Christ event" there were other events of various kinds which Irenaeus refers to as "theophanies" where the visual aspect for bodily eyes may not have been as direct but were, for all that, very real. Besides, these theophanies always bore a direct relationship in meaning to the Christ event in any case. Moreover, in every case, it was the visible Son who was the subject of the theophany. Clearly, then, whether we are referring to God's revealing Himself by way of the Son in the Old Testament or the New, the aspect of bodily vision must necessarily play its role and revelation where man

is concerned must take its point of departure from the historical. It is the historical that is primarily experienced and seen by bodily vision.

We may say also that the Son's visibility in this world and in this life is also His historicity. Even our knowledge of the relationships within the Trinity itself must get its point of departure from here. Or, to put it another way, we must not presume to know more about the inner life of God than what can be verified by what is revealed historically.

Since the Father is invisible to man and the Son is the Father's visibility, it is the Son's mission from the Father to reveal the Father to man.

...But the Son performs the good pleasure of the Father; for the Father sends, and the Son is sent, and comes. And His Word knows that His Father is, as far as regards us, invisible and infinite; and since He cannot be declared by anyone else, He does Himself declare Him to us; and, on the other hand, it is the Father alone who knows His own Word. And both of these truths has our Lord declared...70

It is the actual mission of the Son that indicates the Father's will to be revealed and the Son does not hesitate to do His will. The revelatory process is reversible. The Father, by His very action of sending the Son, reveals the Son to man.

Of all the ways that the Father may be revealed by the Son visually, i.e., historically, the way of the Incarnation constitutes the essential key. Without the Incarnation, no revelation would be possible.

For in no other way could we have learned the things of God, unless our Master, existing as the Word had become man...71

Irenaeus does not mean here that only those who actually saw the Word as Incarnate could know the Father. As we saw above, in his concept of recapitulation Irenaeus views this Christ -

event as extending to all of history from beginning to end. The Word is the visibility of the Father and the principle of revelation constantly throughout history by virtue of His Incarnation, whether or not this Incarnation is anticipated or realized. For example, if one were to consider an Old Testament theophany by itself as an isolated event, it would have no meaning. Only insofar as it bears a relation to the Christ event is it meaningful.

Everything that has to do with the revealing of God to man throughout all of history must necessarily involve the Son. Without the Son there can be no revelation at any time. This extends from the revelation inherent in creation itself in the beginning, through that manifested in the Law and the Prophets to the clear manifestation in the Incarnation and the Parousia:

For by means of the creation itself, the Word reveals God the Creator...and these things do indeed address all men in the same manner...But by the law and the prophets did the Word preach both Himself and the Father alike...and all the people heard Him alike...And through the Word Himself who had been made visible and palpable, was the Father shown forth...but all saw the Father in the Son: for the Father is the invisible of the Son, but the Son the visible of the Father. And for this reason all spake with Christ when He was present [upon earth]...⁷²

Part of the reason that Irenaeus is so insistent on this point of the historical universality of the Father's revelation by the Son is his clear refutation of the Gnostic interpretation of the words, "No one knows the Son except the Father, just as no one knows the Father except the Son and those to whom the Son chooses to reveal Him (Mtt 11:27; Lk 10:22). They had insisted that these words are a sure support for their contention that God was always invisible to man until the Son revealed His existence. So much is this true, they said, that the "Father" of the Old Testament was not the Father of the Saviour at all but a "Demiurge".⁷³ This

error of the Gnostics can be traced to their chronic preoccupation with divine transcendence as well as a faulty view of the meaning of creation and history (cf p 138-140). Irenaeus' historical view, however, enables Him to see both divine transcendence and divine involvement through revelation in the same glance and he can therefore refute Marcion and the Valentinians on their own ground.⁷⁴

For Irenaeus, not only is the Son the revealer of the Father, but He is the Father's very visibility. He is the one who makes the Father visible. Houssiau has shown this to be an anti-ptoleman argument. It places Jesus Christ as the mediator of the knowledge of the incomprehensible Father in place of their "Intellect".⁷⁵ Jesus who is without question the Son is distinguished from the Father as the visible ($\delta\epsilon\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$), the prehensible ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$), the measure ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$), the manifestation ($\sigma\alpha\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma/\iota\varsigma$) as opposed to the invisible, the unprehensible, the incommensurate. In short, the Father is not visible except through the Son.⁷⁶

From the beginning and throughout history the Son who is the Father's visibility reveals Himself historically in the way mentioned above, i.e., according to the physical faculty of seeing and the intellectual faculty of knowing. This revealing process takes on different forms according to the diversity of "dispositions" through which the Son reveals the Father. Ochagavia classifies these forms on the basis of "permanence"⁷⁷ In this scheme, Creation, the Incarnation and the final paternal vision are permanent dispositions (i.e., that would mean that they have a relevance and an application for all time. Creation is the beginning of an on-going process which maintains its own specific characteristics. A proper understanding of the created universe always and ever constitutes part of the vision of the Father because it is mediated and directed by the Word inherent in it. The Incarnation is

"permanent" as the central focus of all historical events. The Paternal Glory is permanently established as the final goal of man's purpose and vocation). "Transitory" dispositions are many among which he lists Old Testament theophanies and other events of Sacred History. Ochagavia summarizes: "Through all dispositions, no matter the kind, the Word keeps His function of being the manifestatio Patris. This statement is supported not only by texts referring to each economy in particular but also by passages which affirm without any restriction the universality of the Word's revealing function."⁷⁸

Although the Incarnation and the other theophanies leading up to it seem as extraordinary events set apart from the general course of history, Irenaeus does not view them as a separate history in themselves. When viewed "economically" they form one integrated whole with the rest of history. When the same faith which inspires us to see the greatness of God in creation itself also inspires us to see His greatness in theophanies of this nature which bypass or surpass it, then all is seen as one history of God's mighty deeds. After all, it is the same Word who is revealing God in all. This is the reason that Irenaeus so often chides the Gnostics for "selling God short", so to speak, on the question of creation.⁷⁹

The idea that certain chosen souls could receive special revelations of divine "secrets" previously unknown was popular in the ancient Near East. We have examples of this in the consulting of oracles and in the involvement with the mystery cults. These appealed to man's desire for the curious, startling and exciting. It also explains, in part, why Gnosticism was popular. They claimed that "secrets" handed down from the Pleroma were destined for the "chosen few", i.e., the pneumatics.

The idea that God, over the course of ages, has continually revealed secrets previously hidden in God can also

be found in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Yet there are vital differences from the Gnostic view which Irenaeus sets out to explain. For Irenaeus, divine "secrets" are what were hidden in God before time began. With the advent of creation and time the revelation of divine secrets begins and from there continues as God acts in the unfolding of history. Thus revelation of divine secrets is not, as the Gnostics believe, primarily in ideas and words but rather rest in action and event. Moreover, this revelation is not destined for a chosen few but for all men. Again, all revelation of divine "secrets" comes by way of the Word of God in history and is completed and summed up in the "Christ-event". The meaning of this "secret" may be expressed as the greatness of divine love for man. For this reason Jesus may be described as the great Teacher of divine love.⁸⁰

The great "secret" revealed in Jesus is, moreover, enshrined as the "constitution", so to speak, of a new Kingdom of God in the World. Jesus is Himself this Kingdom manifested in history once and for all. The life of Christ is the historical foundation for the new life of Christians engrafted into Christ by the Spirit (cf above, p. 226-233). Unlike the Gnostics and members of mystery cults, Christians do not constitute esoteric groups but, on the contrary, have a mission to announce the "secret" now revealed to the whole world as long as time endures. They must sow the seed of the Word and reap the harvest of the Kingdom.⁸¹ This "once and for all" Kingdom must have its historical dimensions. Drawing from John's passage on "the harvest" (Jn 4: 36-38), the sowing of the first "seeds" comes not with the Christ-event itself but with the works of the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament who prefigure and predict the coming of the Kingdom. Their desire to "see" the Kingdom is realized first in the Christians who saw Christ and secondly in the "sowers and

reapers" of Christ's Second Coming.⁸²

For Irenaeus, to "sow the seeds" of the Kingdom means to work out the purposes of God in history or to serve "the intentions with which God loads the events that prepare man for Christ."⁸³ The "fruit" or "harvest" reaped by Christians through the Incarnation extends historically via the Church into the future under the dynamic power of the Spirit. Here there is no diminishing the importance and uniqueness of the Christ-event. On the contrary, this constitutes a "ripening" and fulfilling of the "first fruits" which is Christ and leads to the perfection and joy of the face-to-face vision of God.⁸⁴ Irenaeus is among the forefront of Christian thinkers who opposed the gnostic conception that revelation is a message that comes, as it were, from outside and having no power in itself to transform man or his condition. It can offer only to a chosen few the occasion to transform themselves.⁸⁵

iii. The Spirit, the Illuminator and Artisan

Just as the Son and the Spirit are the "hands" of God by which He creates, so also are both these hands involved in man's realization of his vocation to see God. We begin to "see" when we begin to realize that we are the object of His love. These hands by which He creates and fashions all things lovingly and by which He continually makes Himself known, may be considered as the "image of His love".⁸⁶ This can be seen more specifically in references from the Scriptures referring to "the finger of God". This analogy expresses more graphically God's interpenetration into man's affairs.⁸⁷

We have already made reference to the extremely personal character of God's self-revelation. The action of the Spirit refers to what is most personal in that relationship. For Irenaeus, the Spirit is intimately involved in the creative

illuminating work of the Son. This has already been indicated. Let us now look at the work of the Spirit more specifically as it concerns the development of man through revelation.

The Father and the Son work through the Spirit from within the subject. The very operations of the soul through which we learn: seeing, hearing, speaking...are directed by the Spirit

...He is Himself made head of the Spirit, and gives the Spirit to be the head of man: for through Him (the Spirit) we see, and hear, and speak.⁸⁸

The proper object of these operations of the soul is divine revelation. It is this revelation given gradually through the ages that God, by way of the Spirit, uses to form and adapt man to God. This revelation is an operation of "seeing" through past, present and future wherein one can look forward in hope to seeing God one day in the full light of glory

Inasmuch, then, as the Spirit of God pointed out by the prophets things to come, forming and adapting us beforehand for the purpose of our being made subject to God, but it was still a future thing that man, through the good pleasure of the Holy Spirit, should see [God], it necessarily behoved those through whose instrumentality future things were announced, to see God, whom they intimated as to be seen by men; in order that God, and the Son of God, and the Son, and the Father, should not only be prophetically announced, but that He should also be seen by all His members who are sanctified and instructed in the things of God, that man might be disciplined beforehand and previously exercised for a reception into that glory which shall afterwards be revealed in those who love God...⁸⁹

We should note here again the emphasis on "exercise" and "discipline" as an essential part of this forming and adapting process. Once again, the "little one" newly created and therefore imperfect needs stronger and stronger "food" as he grows..

Let us return again to the powerful metaphor of "seeing

in the light" which effects divinization.⁹⁰ This is a specific operation of the Spirit. As Jesus is the One in Whom the divine object is known, so the Spirit is the One in whom we have the faculty of "seeing". Some saw with their eyes the Incarnate Word Himself yet could not "see" -- just as the Gnostics have the evidence of the Scriptures before their eyes yet do not "see". There is a purifying, illuminating and liberating function of the Spirit in man without which no "vision" in this sense is possible. Irenaeus' frequent application of the ancient principle, "like begets like" where there is "being-in-common" and "love-in-common" effected by the Spirit has this "sober moralism".⁹¹

Another powerful analogy from Christian tradition that Irenaeus uses to express the role of the Spirit in seeing God is in the Word of God as being conceived as "food" for man's spirit (cf above, p. 235-6). For Irenaeus, "food for growth" in this sense is man's basic need. Food for the spirit are things to see which reveal and lead on to new and deeper things seen. The ultimate and perfect "food" in this sense is the coming in the flesh of the Son of God. Here the two dimensions of seeing, as it were, come together. Here the "visible" as food contains the "invisible"; the comprehensible contains the incomprehensible. This is beautifully exemplified by the Feast at Cana

...He satisfied those who were reclining /at table/, and gave drink to those who had been invited to the marriage; showing that the God who made the earth, and commanded it to bring forth fruit, who established the water, and brought forth the fountains, was He who in these last times bestowed upon mankind, by His Son, the blessing of food and the favour of drink: the Incomprehensible /acting thus/ by means of the comprehensible, and the Invisible, by the visible; since there is none beyond Him, but He exists in the bosom of the Father.⁹²

One must be careful, here, not to gain the impression that

only the Invisible aspect of this "food" has lasting value. The flesh, as the visible and sensible, has value in its own right. In fact, the preservation to incorruption of the flesh of man is the ultimate "fruit" of the invisible Spirit and is the salvation of the flesh as Paul testifies

But the Apostle himself also, being one who had been formed in a womb, and had issued thence, wrote to us, and confessed in his Epistle to the Philippians that "to live in the flesh was the fruit of his work;" (1 Phil 1:22) thus expressing himself. Now the final result of the work of the Spirit is the salvation of the flesh...For what other visible fruit is there of the invisible Spirit, than the rendering of the flesh mature and capable of incorruption?⁹³

Of course, the saving work of the Spirit within man is not restricted to the flesh but is full of riches and greatness working in many ways to adjust man to his ultimate salvation

...Thus in a variety of ways, He adjusted the human race to an agreement with salvation. On this account also does John declare in the Apocalypse, "And His voice as the sound of many water." (Rev. 1:15) For the Spirit of God is truly like many waters, since the Father is both rich and great...⁹⁴

The goal of the Christian vocation is the face to face vision of the Father. Irenaeus prefers not to speculate on the divine paternity in se, e.g., on how the Father is Father insofar as the eternal generation of the Son is concerned. For Irenaeus, God is Father to us because of His love for us

Now this being is the Creator (Demiurgus), who is, in respect of His love, the Father; but in respect of His power, He is Lord; and in respect of His wisdom, our Maker and Fashioner...⁹⁵

And because of His love, the Father brings us up gradually to know Him more and more until ultimately we see Him face-to-face. This vision has the power to transform us and make us, like Him, immortal:

...For God is He who is yet to be seen, and the beholding of God is productive of immortality, but immortality renders us high unto God.⁹⁶

In this way we become His "sons" and He, our "Father". Of course all this is achieved gradually, as explained above, by the action of His two "hands", the Word and the Spirit. This "sonship" through love and immortality must harmonize with our "sonship" which is by virtue of our being more and more assimilated into the Image, the Word, who is the Eternal Son.

Since the distinctive characteristic of the Father is immortality, our receiving it must be the Father's ultimate gift to us and therefore our ultimate goal. Now, in this life, the Spirit is constantly preparing man for this goal, working our "adoption" in the Son by effecting our transformation to immortality by way of vision

...For God is powerful in all things, having been seen at that time indeed, prophetically through the Spirit, and seen, too, adoptively through the Son; and He shall also be seen paternally in the kingdom of heaven, the Spirit truly preparing man in the Son... and the Son leading him to the Father, while the Father, too, confers upon him incorruption for eternal life, which comes to every one from the fact of his seeing God...⁹⁷

Irenaeus tends to attribute certain divine effects in man to one or other of the divine Persons. Creation is attributed to the Father, revelation to the Son, and sanctification to the Spirit. Daniélou notes, however, that these attributions were common in Church tradition. From this point of view, the action of the Father is considered as first and that of the Spirit last if viewed in historical sequence.⁹⁸ This would seem to contradict the historical sequence given above. This apparent contradiction can be resolved if we realize that Irenaeus frequently looks at history from different viewpoints. In the Spirit-Son-Father sequence his viewpoint is God as the initiator in His involvement with the fallen human race. Here

creation is presupposed and we are dealing with God's gradual self-disclosure to the race as a whole. In the second sequence, Father-Son-Spirit, the point of view more concerns how man as the individual recipient of divine gifts is transformed.

Of course, Irenaeus is aware that he is taking different point of view. It is clear from many texts that he realizes that the divine actions of Father, Son and Spirit, are, after all, simultaneous since the divine Persons never act alone. All act throughout history from beginning to end. These sequences, then, are only used as an aid to distinguish or emphasize various "steps" in the development of God's plan through history. The simultaneity and universality of the action of the Father, Son and Spirit throughout history may be seen, for example, in the passage where the work of revealing is placed in historical perspective.

...But the Son, administering all things for the Father, works from the beginning even to the end, and without Him no man can attain the knowledge of God. For the Son is the knowledge of the Father; but the knowledge of the Son is in the Father, and has been revealed through the Son; and this was the reason why the Lord declared: "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; nor the Father, save the Son, and those to whomsoever the Son shall reveal [Him]." (Matt 11: 27; Luke 10:22) For "shall reveal" was said not with reference to the future alone, as if then [only] the Word had begun to manifest the Father when He was born of Mary, but it applies indifferently throughout all time. For the Son, being present with His own handiwork from the beginning, reveals the Father to all; to whom He wills, and when He wills, and as the Father wills. Wherefore, then, in all things, and through all things, there is one God, the Father, and one Word, and one Son, and one Spirit, and one salvation to all who believe in Him⁹⁹

3. Revelation Throughout History

To this point we have demonstrated in general terms Irenaeus' viewpoint on how man's vocation is realized in "seeing" God and how God takes the initiative in the realization of this vocation. Clearly, Irenaeus' historical view is an essential component of this doctrine.

We must now consider more concretely and in greater detail this divine initiative to reveal through history. In this way we shall gain further insights into Irenaeus' theological system.

i. "Seeing" God in History is a Cumulative Process.

We have considered how the Word of God is Lord of History. If we realize that man's vocation consists primarily in seeing God, we can also realize that this Lordship of the Word would be exercised in a way that reveals God to man in and through history. There seems to be no doubt that here we are at the heart of Irenaeus' thought.¹⁰⁰

If God by His Word (and Spirit) teaches man in and through history, it should not be surprising that this revealing process has a certain order and pattern which is progressive and harmonious. Something of this sort has already been indicated in our references to Irenaeus' concept of the "divine pedagogy" (p. 266-9).

In a pedagogy, knowledge is given in gradual and orderly fashion. Knowledge of simple and basic matters must precede the more complex. This order is patterned to suit the knowing subject at every level of growth. Growth proceeds according to levels, steps, stages. Of course, learning in this way is also cumulative in that the more simple and basic concepts coming first, form a foundation or basis for the more

complex ideas built upon them. As knowledge grows, vision and understanding broaden and develop and comprehension deepens. Thus not only does knowledge increase but capacity also. All this, of course, takes a good deal of time so that time and the accompanying changes are essential to this process. There is even a certain moral development involved here in that certain attitudes are essential on the part of the knowing subject if the process is to succeed. One could include here, humility, openness of mind, love of truth, industry, patience.

For Irenaeus, this "time conditioning" for man's intellectual and moral development follows naturally from God's "modus operandi" in creation generally. After all, the whole of creation is likewise time-conditioned from beginning to end. This conditioning is even precise and concrete to measure of years and days as is indicated in Irenaeus' interpretation of Genesis

For in as many days as this world was made, in so many thousand years shall it be concluded. And for this reason the scripture says: "Thus the heaven and the earth were finished, and all their adornment. And God brought to a conclusion upon the sixth day the works that He had made; God rested upon the seventh day from all His works." (Gen. 2:2) This is an account of the things formerly created, as also it is a prophecy of what is to come. For the day of the Lord is as a thousand years; (2 Pet. 3:8) and in six days created things were completed: it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the sixth thousand year. 101

Man's progression in "seeing" God fits into this scheme of things and follows much the same pattern. For example, the visions and other theophanies experienced by the prophets are not the same as the face-to-face vision at the end of time, but it is the same God who is revealing and who is "seen". The difference represents a development, progression and accumulation through time. Each "vision" or theophany,

once given to man is an historical event of significance. It does not lose its value as time passes but remains as part of the "record" of what is seen. Vision upon vision, ministration upon ministration build man's accumulated grasp of God. Therefore, as history progresses so does the visibility of God. One may say with this view of things, that the visibility of God is "history's arrow". It also marks the days, years and centuries:

Therefore the Son of the Father declares [Him] from the beginning, inasmuch as He was with the Father from the beginning, who did also show to the human race prophetic visions, and diversities of gifts, and His own ministrations, and the glory of the Father, in regular order and connection, at the fitting time for the benefit [of mankind].102

Again, events of revelation do not only happen at a "fitting time", they also have this characteristic that they can only be properly understood as parts of a whole in the time-line. For example, the revelations of the past and the present are mutually enlightening. Although special or extraordinary in character, no revelation should be considered as an "intrusion" into history. They are an essential part of the fabric of history which is divinely guided in its totality. This concept is exemplified in the way that Irenaeus sees Moses in establishing Deuteronomy. Before Moses can lead his people to the Promised Land (an event of significance to revelation), he must place the event in its historical context. He must refresh the minds of the people on "the great works of God" that have formed their past up to the present. They must "see" God in their history and the part that they are now playing in it:

When the forty years were completed, the people came near to the Jordan, and were assembled and drawn up over against Jericho. Here Moses assembled the people and again summed up everything, recounting the great

works of God even to that day, preparing and disposing those who had grown up in the desert to fear God and obey His commandments, and imposing on them a new code of laws, in addition to the one made before.¹⁰³

If an event is significant by virtue of its relationship to the past, the same must hold for its relation to the future. Every event of revelation is, because of its relation to the future, a prophecy. It points to the future, takes its meaning and has its fulfillment there. In this sense, every event of history is a kind of "seeing" in itself incomplete but together with the future to which it points forms a kind of wholeness or completeness. In other words, "seeing" through history accumulates just as knowledge accumulates (yet it is not a knowledge from human powers but from the power of God). Perhaps something of this can be seen in Irenaeus' idea of prophecy when he quotes the Lord from Matthew, "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see..." (Matt. 13: 17). The prophets and holy men see in the historical events of Israel the works of the Father and the coming of their Lord. They are filled with desire for Him even though they have not seen Him. In this they have foreknowledge of the future to be fulfilled.¹⁰⁴

In this kind of "historical seeing" the Father although invisible by nature is, in effect, being revealed by the Son. The Son is the Word who, by and in history, shows forth the "outlines" and "forms" of the divine which are the "dispensation" of God. Since God is so rich and great that no one form can adequately express Him, the forms and dispensations are many and varied. History, by virtue of its very diverse nature and extension is ideally suited to deploy and express this divine variety and richness:

...(as also the Lord said: "The only-begotten God... which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared

[Him];" and He does also Himself interpret the Word of the Father as being rich and great): not in one figure, nor in one character, did He appear to those seeing Him, but according to the reasons and effects aimed at in His dispensations, as it is written in Daniel...105

Naturally, then, we can understand how Irenaeus, with this kind of overview, sees that every ministration of God, every vision, every gift, every glory... has its own proper "time" (kairos) which is freely and deliberately placed by God. Irenaeus' view in a modern idiom might be to compare history to a gigantic symphony composed by God for man's benefit. Each event is a melody blending perfectly into the whole composition, each playing its essential role at its exact time and sequence. In other words, God's revelations throughout history are planned precisely with the human condition and need in mind. God is indeed a Father seeing to the needs of His children:

...Therefore the Son of the Father declares [Him] from the beginning, inasmuch as He was with the Father from the beginning, who did also show to the human race prophetic visions, and diversities of gifts, and His own ministrations, and the glory of the Father, in regular order and connection, at the fitting time for the benefit [of mankind]. For where there is a regular succession, there is also fixedness; and where fixedness there is suitability to the period; and where suitability there is also utility...106

Briefly stated, just as time and history are suitable instruments for divine revelation, so also man, being in his nature suited to time, is thereby adapted to grasp and accept that revelation. This adaptation to time and history of the processes of bringing man and God together is manifested in so many ways. It is implied in the process of man and God "becoming accustomed" to each other¹⁰⁷ and it is implied in the way that God manifests His goodness to man. It ensures that God will continually find new opportunities to give and

forgive, and man, new opportunities to receive:

...but man receives advancement and increase towards God. For as God is always the same, so also man, when found in God, shall always go on towards God. For neither does God at any time cease to confer benefits upon, or to enrich man; nor does man ever cease from receiving the benefits, and being enriched by God. For the receptacle of His goodness, and the instrument of His glorification, is the man who is grateful to Him that made him; and again the receptacle of His just judgement is the ungrateful man...108

This adaptation is manifested, finally, in the serene and patient way that God draws man on to his final perfection.109

ii. The Stages of Seeing God

Harl has traced a development in ancient philosophies of the idea of man's advance to God and the progressive stages involved. In the Second Century, a revived interest in Plato's conception of the idea as in The Banquet was the background for further philosophical speculation.110

We have already considered how man's advance to God based on seeing and understanding was considered to parallel a gradual "freeing" of the soul from the body and its influence. This dualistic conception was developed to its most radical extreme in Gnosticism. Popular at this time also was the idea that the advance to God through knowledge was a learning process or "pedagogy" consisting of appropriate steps or stages aided by intermediaries.111 Considering, therefore, the current notions of his time and the Gnostic presence, we can better understand Irenaeus' preoccupation with the matter of man's advance to God and the pedagogical steps involved.

Referring back to the previous section, it is clear that, in Irenaeus' view, the pedagogy involved in man's advance to God occurs in and through history. One has only to

consult the history of God's encounters with man as recorded in the Scriptures to see the steps in this pedagogy clearly delineated.

As outlined in Chapter I, the Gnostic system presumes the existence of two irreconcilable realms, the divine Pleroma above and the extra-pleromatic realm below. In ascending towards the pleroma one traverses various places (levels) of increasing ontological value, i.e., the seven "heavens" and the realm of Ahamoth. (The "Saviour" descended through these same levels in coming to earth.) For each individual, after death the body is left to disintegrate while the soul with the Pneuma (if possessed) ascends through these "levels" to finally enter the Pleroma. Only the Pneuma (divine spark) may enter the Pleroma; the soul must remain in the intermediate heaven of Ahamoth. Moreover, the human race is divided into "races" on the basis of whether or not an individual possesses psyche and/or pneuma. In the final analysis, an individual's ultimate fate depends on his "racial" category.

Clearly, then, in the Gnostic system, there are "steps" or degrees separating the world of men from the divine but they are, so to speak, crystallized into separate ontological places or entities. One simply "ascends" spacially through these places by virtue of a nature already determined. This ascent to the divine is completely a-historical in that there is no growth or development of one's being or powers in this world of time and history. There is only an awakening to what is already possessed and already there. There can be no "pedagogy" in the proper sense of the Word. Neither is there any harmony or unity in this system since the principle parts and levels are irreconcilable with each other. Even the parts of the Scriptures which supposedly contain testimony of this system are in opposition to each other.

Irenaeus' approach is to refute the Gnostics by demonstrating that the parts of Scripture express or reflect steps or "stages" in the history of man's advance towards God here on earth. In this way, differences in the Scriptures (e.g., between Old and New Testaments) can be shown to be consistent with an overall harmony and unity.¹¹² By demonstrating from the Scriptures that the Word of God must be "Lord of History"¹¹³ Irenaeus effectively refutes those (Valentinians and Marcionites) who "explain it as if the true God were known to none prior to our Lord's advent; and that God who was announced by the prophets ...not to be the Father of Christ."¹¹⁴

Irenaeus considers that, generally speaking, the "steps" which lead man to God are many and that each step establishes a new arrangement of God with man, i.e., a "covenant". Each covenant measures a progress in man's relationship to God up to and including the last decisive "step", the Incarnation. Jesus, as the incarnation of the Word of God, is Himself the New Covenant in respect to all the others that preceded it:

For the new covenant having been known and preached by the prophets, He who was to carry it out according to the good pleasure of the Father was also preached, having been revealed to man as God pleased; that they might always make progress through believing in Him, and by means of the successive covenants, should gradually attain to perfect salvation... For there is one salvation and one God; but the precepts which form the man are numerous, and the steps which lead man to God are not a few.¹¹⁵

Of course, just as each step represents a new era of seeing God, it also represents a time of new gifts of grace and a higher degree of advantage:

It is allowable for an earthly and temporal king... to grant to his subjects greater advantages at times; shall not this then be lawful for God, since He is [ever] the same, and is always willing to confer a

greater [degree of] grace upon the human race, and to honour continually with many gifts those who please Him.¹¹⁶

While there is no doubt about the principle of steps as such, Irenaeus does not take great issue with the actual number of steps. There can be two, three, four or five depending on one's point of view or the tradition one may follow. For example, when he is emphasizing the newness of the final step, the Incarnation, he places its uniqueness over against all previous time. In this case, one gets the impression that there are fundamentally only two steps or two covenants, the Old and the New Testament: The Old Testament prophecies and prepares for the New Testament. If one should take the point of view of how divine initiative to reveal throughout history may be attributed to each of the divine Persons, one may arrive at three steps or stages: a. prophetic revelation through the Spirit, b. revelation adoptively through the incarnate Son, and c. paternal revelation as the direct vision of the Father

For God is powerful in all things, having been sent at that time indeed, prophetically through the Spirit, and seen, too, adoptively through the Son; and He shall also be seen paternally in the Kingdom of heaven, the Spirit truly preparing man in the Son of God, and the Son leading him to the Father, while the Father too, confers [upon him] incorruption for eternal life, which comes to everyone from the fact of his seeing God. For as those who see the light are withing the light, and partake of its brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, if one is considering revelation throughout history from the point of view of a divine pedagogy suited to man's needs, then one can distinguish three basic stages: a. creation, b. law and prophets, and c. Incarnation.¹¹⁸ or four if we place the Patriarchs as a separate step between creation and the law and prophets.¹¹⁹

or five if we separate law and prophets as distinct periods.¹²⁰

We are in agreement with Luneau that the four-stage scheme best suits Irenaeus' historical overview, i.e., a. creation (and natural law) which includes time from Adam to Abraham, b. Patriarchs, Law and Prophets which includes time from Abraham to John the Baptist, c. Christ and the Church which includes time from the birth of Christ to the Second Coming and d. the Parousia which includes the time of the Millenium.¹²¹ In this Chapter, we shall elaborate on the first three of these stages. The last stage, the millenium will be reserved for Chapter VI.

iii. The Patriarchs as Archtype "Seers"

The first era of man's upbringing is the time from Adam to Moses. It is a period when man relates to God by way of creation or nature.¹²² It is a time of "natural law" in the sense that man can know God's will by the way that He reveals Himself in the nature of things, i.e., through His creation. It is a time of beginnings. It would also be a time of innocence and child-like simplicity were it not for the fact that Adam sinned in the beginning thereby plunging the whole race into sinfulness and its consequences. Thus it is a world wherein reigns sin, ignorance suffering and death. In Cain we have the extreme example of this spirit.

Nevertheless, during this period some men live holy lives turning to God as they know Him through His creation and obeying Him through a kind of "natural law". The most outstanding of these "holy men" had developed special relationships with God for which reason they had special historical significance. They are called Patriarchs. Among these were Abel, Noe and especially Abraham.

To these Patriarchs God gave special revelations by way of His Word. These took the form of personal encounters reminiscent of those with Adam in the Garden before the Fall:

...the Son of God...speaking with Abraham, when about to eat with him; at another time with Noah, giving to him the dimensions "of the ark"; at another, inquiring after Adam...¹²³

...And the Word of God Himself used to converse with the ante-Mosaic patriarchs, in accordance with His divinity and glory...¹²⁴

Among the Patriarchs who held converse with the Word, Abraham was the object of special favour.¹²⁵

Because of these special encounters, these Patriarchs can be called, in a sense, the first "seers" of the Word.

Moreover, since they responded to the Word in an ideal fashion they were considered as "archtypes" in this regard and stand as models for all time.

Why were the Patriarchs able to respond to the Word in this ideal way? It was by the power of the Spirit of God dwelling in the "seer". This does not imply a lack of freedom in the response on their part. As free beings they had the power to cooperate with the inspiration of the Spirit or not. As the Spirit inspired in freedom so they responded in freedom. Nevertheless, by virtue of the Spirit, their response bears the character of the superhuman and the divine and therefore presents an ideal from the point of view of man's vocation.

What were these characteristics of the response of the Patriarchs to the Word? One was their extraordinary faith and for this we have the perfect archetype in Abraham. For this reason he has been called the "father of all believers":

But that our faith was already prefigured in Abraham, and that he was the patriarch of our faith, and as it were, the prophet of it, the Apostle has very fully taught, when he says in the Epistle to the Galatians: "He therefore that ministereth to you, the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith?.... For which reason the Apostle declared that this man was not only the prophet of faith, but also the father of those who from among the Gentiles believe in Jesus Christ, because his faith and ours are one and the same: for he believed in things future, as if they were already accomplished, because of the promise of God: and in like manner so we also, because of the promise of God, behold through faith that inheritance laid up for us in the future kingdom.¹²⁶

Abraham's response to the Word in faith is ideal. The extraordinary quality of his faith is proven both by his understanding of the Word and his obedience (ἀκολουῖται) to it. As to understanding, Abraham is able to envision in the Word's

promise and command the divine plan for man's salvation. His obedience is shown by his attitude of "following the Word" in complete trust and fidelity throughout his whole life. The highlight of this life of faith is seen in the occasion when the Word commands Abraham to sacrifice his son Issac. He was able to "see" or understand in this sacrifice his own salvation together with the salvation of the whole human race by the fact that it would foreshadow and participate in a future event, the sacrifice of the Incarnate Word. When his faith is put to this test he responds in an ideal fashion and sets the pattern for all believers including those who would follow the Incarnate Word when He finally came:

Righteously, also the apostles, being of the race of Abraham, left the ship and their father and followed the Word. Righteously also do we, possessing the same faith as Abraham, and taking up the cross as Isaac did the wood, (Gen. 22:6), follow Him. For in Abraham, man had learned beforehand, and had been accustomed to follow the Word of God. For Abraham, according to his faith, followed the command of the Word of God, and with a ready mind delivered up, a sacrifice to God, his only-begotten and beloved son, in order that God might also be pleased to offer up for all His seed, His own beloved and only-begotten Son, as a sacrifice for our redemption.¹²⁷

How was Abraham able to have this extraordinary power of historical and prophetic vision where he sees in his own sacrificial response to the Word's command, the saving power of God in a future event? He is able to do this by the power of the Spirit dwelling within him, i.e., he was "in the Spirit":

Since, therefore, Abraham was a prophet, and saw in the Spirit the day of the Lord's coming, and the dispensation of His suffering, through whom both he himself and all who, following the example of his faith, trust in God, should be saved, he rejoiced exceedingly. The Lord, therefore, was not unknown to Abraham, whose day he desired to see; (Jn 8:56) nor, again, was the Lord's Father, for he had learned from the Word of the Lord, and believed Him; wherefore it was accounted to him by the Lord for righteousness.¹²⁸

Evieux sees in Irenaeus' presentation of Abraham an example of man "becoming accustomed" to God through historical events in which both the Word and the Spirit cooperate in man's seeing and responding to divine revelation.¹²⁹

Evieux's observation on the patriarchal and prophetic aspects of Abraham¹³⁰ may now serve as a basis for further observations if these aspects are considered in their historical dimensions. First of all, "patriarch" has historical connotations when considered as the first in a genealogical series extended through history. We have already considered this meaning in the typology between Adam and Christ (cf p 188-195). In this case, however, the genealogy is also projected into the spiritual realm where he is the "father of all believers". This is so not only because of his genealogy in the flesh but also because he is an ideal type as expressed above and has universal application and consequences throughout space and time. Moreover, he is "father" because of the content of what he believed, i.e., that by obedience his faith will permit the realization of a promise from God in which his innumerable "offspring", embracing all future generations, will be saved. In other words, the object of his faith contains, so to speak, that realization as it points to and participates in the future event which is the source of the power by which that realization is made possible: the redemptive sacrifice of the Word made flesh. The living faith of Abraham is also, therefore, prophetic. More specifically, in his historic sacrifice, he himself prefigures the will and action of the Father as Isaac prefigures Christ in His sacrificial death in the Cross.

Abraham, then, may be called an archtypal "seer" because he sees the Word in an obscure way by symbolic personal experiences. In this seeing he is rendered "accustomed" to the way of God in respect to man as He acts and reveals Himself in history.¹³¹

We see here again in this historical typing of Abraham Irenaeus' characteristic way of writing theology by grounding it in an historical type-event. It is also characteristically anti-Gnostic. The Gnostics had also used the Abraham type but in an a-historical way. They divided the "sons" of Abraham from the "sons" of God on ontological grounds. The former were considered to be the "psychics", while the latter were the pneumatics (i.e., those possessing the divine "seed"). Irenaeus, by bringing Abraham and Christ together into a common divinely-ordered history, was able to bring the human race into unity and demonstrate the unity and integrity of the one God in His creative and redemptive design.

So He fulfilled the promise made to Abraham by God, that He could make His seed like the stars of heaven; for Christ did this by being born of the virgin who came of Abraham's seed, and setting up as lights in the world those who believe in Him, justifying the Gentiles with the same faith with Abraham....132

To strengthen the historical bonds between Abraham and Christ even more, the details of life and that of his posterity are seen as types which prefigure the life of Christ and the Church.

Even the era of the Law is prefigured in Abraham and his posterity. Abraham prefigures both covenants, i.e., both of Moses (the Law) and of Christ especially in that his faith prefigures the fidelity and faith of both eras

For thus it had behooved the sons of Abraham... so that in him both covenants might be prefigured, that he might be the father of all who follow the Word of God, and who sustain a life of pilgrimage in this world, that is, of those who from among the circumcision and of those from among the uncircumcision are faithful...and He gathered into the one faith of Abraham those who, from either covenant, are eligible for God's building...133

This same theme is continued in the following patriarchs, the descendants of Abraham, which has the effect of bringing the Jews and Gentiles into unity following the unity of both covenants in Abraham. The history of Isaac is a case in point:

The history of Isaac, too, is not without a symbolical character. For in the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle declares: "Moreover, when Rebecca had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac, she received answer... from the Word, "that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said unto her, "Two nations are in thy womb..." (Rom 9: 0-13; Gen 25:23) From which it is evident, that not only were there prophecies of the patriarchs, but also that the children brought forth by Rebecca were a prediction of the two nations...¹³⁴

Again, in the histories of Jacob and Rachel the actions of Christ and also the Church are symbolized.¹³⁵

Along with the demonstration of the faith of Abraham and the other patriarchs there is the recurring theme of Paul, that such faith, being both prior and posterior to the Law, is therefore beyond the Law. It is faith from the "uncircumcision" which comes both at the beginning and the end and therefore shows itself to be a "permanent" characteristic or disposition of the divine plan in history. The period of the Law, then, must constitute an "intervening" period with its own special time and purpose. The Law, then, constitutes a non-permanent characteristic of the divine plan in history. (This new basis for division is perfectly consistent, however, with the concept of progress in stages as outlined above)

...He gathered into one faith of Abraham those who, from either covenant, are eligible for God's building. But this faith which is in uncircumcision, as connecting the end with the beginning, has been made both the first and the last. For, as I have shown, it existed in Abraham antecedently to circumcision, as it also did in the rest of the righteous who pleased God: and in these last times, it again sprang up among

mankind through the coming of the Lord. But circumcision and the law of works occupied the intervening period...¹³⁶

Another way that the sequence of history is expressed from Abraham is by use of the analogy of sower and reaper. Here, again, the two covenants are brought to union: the Patriarchs sow and the Church reaps. The intervening period is a history of growth, maturation and ripening.¹³⁷

iv. The Prophets See God in Various Ways

The era of the Patriarchs is followed by the era of the Law and the Prophets. This time extends from Moses to the birth of Christ. In this period man sees God through revelation in new ways. It must be said at the outset that this newness does not lie in the divine Persons through whom God reveals Himself. It is still the Word who makes Himself "visible" to man in some way and it is still the Spirit who gives man the power to see and the disposition to act according to what is seen, i.e., according to the will of God. The newness does not consist either in the attitude of faith and trust of the one who believes for this attitude is commonly required of man at all times. The newness does not consist in the selection of "chosen" messengers for this is true of both patriarchs and prophets. Neither does the newness of the era of the Prophets consist in a different truth being given by God for the truth from God remains forever.

How, then, does the prophetic era differ from that of the Prophets? Fundamentally, the difference lies in the fact of the presence on the earth of a "people of God", the Israelites, a "Holy Nation", a "people set apart". Those who professed to believe in the tradition of the Patriarchs were now by the Word and the Spirit in the Exodus and at Sinai organized into a collectivity by leadership and law. They now have definitive outlines of moral obligation to God, neighbour and society as well as prescriptions for cult, aspects of cultural development and developing tradition. The prophets, like the patriarchs were chosen by God to shine as lights in the world but the milieu of this world is now different. The milieu of the patriarchs was a world of creation and nature whereas the milieu of the prophets is one of society, culture and cult.

The prophet, then, was chosen by God to be a "light" to His chosen people. This light had to speak to a people with special awareness and special needs. For one thing, being organized under the Law they had a greater awareness of social and religious obligation. This included a greater awareness of breaking the law and of sin - especially the social dimension of sin and its consequences. This would carry with it a keener awareness of man's "fallenness" and the need for salvation; not only at the individual level but also as a member of a divinely constituted group. The meaning of salvation handed down from the Patriarchs, in this context, would take on wider dimensions.

The prophets had to be centers of light and vision from whom would go to all the people this same light and vision. This "seeing" would be transmitted not only by the prophet's words but also by the way they lived their lives. An example is found in the history of the life of the prophet, Hosea whose strange misfortune in choosing an unfaithful wife, projected onto the people of Israel, typified the saving action of Christ in the Church

However, it was not by means of visions alone which were seen, and words which were proclaimed, but also in actual works, that He was beheld by the prophets, in order that through them He might prefigure and show forth future events beforehand. For this reason did Hosea the prophet take "a wife of whoredoms," prophesying by means of the action, "that in committing fornication the earth should fornicate from the Lord," (Hos 1:2, 3) that is, the men who are upon the earth; and from men of this stamp it will be God's good pleasure to take out (Acts 15:14) a Church which shall be sanctified by fellowship with His Son, just as that woman was sanctified by intercourse with the prophet... That which had been done typically through his actions by the prophet, the apostle proves to have been done truly by Christ in the Church. 138

The first function of the prophet then was to preach the need for salvation with the people. This meant the need for repentance and sanctification in order that man might achieve his goal of seeing God. This also implied a "disciplining" in "seeing" beforehand that man could look to a hoped-for salvation in the future — a salvation in seeing God through the work of the Son and the Holy Spirit:

...But it was still a future thing that man, through the good pleasure of the Holy Spirit, should see God, it necessarily behooved those through whose instrumentality future things were announced, to see God whom they intimated as to be seen by man; in order that God, and the Son of God, and the Son, and the Father, should not only be prophetically announced, but that He should also be seen by all His members who are sanctified and instructed in the things of God, that man might be disciplined beforehand...139

The prophets, then indicate beforehand that God should be seen by man; as the Lord also says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." (Mtt. 5:8)140

The prophets prophetic announcement of future salvation, was not merely a preparation of knowledge but also of disposition and attitude so that changes would take place within man himself. For it is not enough to say "Father and Son" but one must be changed. A spirit of submission and love of God is required before He may be actually seen. In this way the ultimate adaptation to glory is prefigured and exercised in advance. In short, it means that the prophets show by their lives the ongoing mystery of God's saving action in drawing man on to the fuller life of glory in His sight. Then by participating in this prophecy in a like manner all the people may be drawn on with them. In this way, they all become a part of God's revealing and saving action in history.

The prophecy of the Son of Man's coming to save foreshadowed in Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac now takes on new

meaning. The prophets reveal more of the historical specifics of His coming. He will be a "Son of David" and therefore a king and leader of God's people. He is also the Son of God so that with the new kingdom He will bring renewal and fulfillment:

Hither was sent by God the prophets, through the Holy Spirit; they admonished the people and brought it back to the God of the patriarchs, the Almighty, and were the heralds of the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, announcing that His flesh would blossom forth from the seed of David, that He would be according to the flesh a son of David, who was the son of Abraham through a long line of succession; but according to the Spirit, Son of God, pre-existent with the Father, born before all the building of the world, and appearing to the whole world in the end of this age as man, the Word of God, resuming anew in Himself all things in heaven and on earth.¹⁴¹

With more and more emphasis placed on the future, the prophets, each in his own way, outline and prefigure the redemption of man in the life of Christ even to specific events in the life of Christ. Taken all together, these prophets present a complete picture of the person of Christ and His place in the overall plan (dispensation) of God:

...For just as the working of the whole body is exhibited through means of our members, while the figure of a complete man is not displayed by one member, but through means of all taken together, so also did all the prophets prefigure the one Christ; while every one of them, in his special place as a member, did, in accordance with this, fill up the established dispensation, and shadowed forth beforehand that particular working of Christ which was connected with that member...¹⁴²

The promise of a new kingdom of divine perfection provided motivation to virtue. An emphasis on repentance for sin and a new spirit of obedience was enhanced by the presence of the Law which sharpened the awareness of sin. A review of the occasions of God's mercy in Israel's past served as

revelation of God's infinite mercy and His desire to save. This provided hope for the sinner. The story of Jonah the prophet provides an example of God's patience and longsuffering with man's imperfection and sin. Irenaeus explains that it is this kind of revelation that provides the understanding for the ultimate manifestation of the mercy and longsuffering of God in the passion of Christ

Long-suffering, therefore was God, when man became a defaulter, as foreseeing that victory which should be granted to him through the Word.. For, when strength was made perfect in weakness, it showed the kindness and transcendent power of God.. For as He patiently suffered Jonah to be swallowed by the whale ...having been cast out again, he might be the more subject to God...and might bring the Ninevites to a lasting repentance...so also from the beginning did God permit man to be swallowed up by the great whale, who was the author of transgression, not that he should perish altogether when so engulfed; but, arranging and preparing the plan of salvation which was accomplished by the Word, through the sign of Jonah.../This was done/ that man, receiving an unhop-
ed-for salvation from God, might rise from the dead and glorify God...143

The deliverance of Jonah, then, is a figure of man's deliverance from sin and death in the death of Christ and a prophecy of resurrection in Christ to incorruption and glory.

Moses is also one who shows forth by type the mystery of Christ especially in the Passover symbol. Again, the freedom brought through the future passion of Christ is symbolized

...from this He saved the children of Israel, showing forth in a mystery the Passion of Christ, by the immolation of a spotless lamb, and by its blood, given as a guarantee of immunity to be smeared on the houses of the Hebrews; and the name of this mystery is the Passover...source of freedom. And He divided the Red Sea...and the pursuing Egyptians; who...all perished, this was God's judgement on those who had unjustly afflicted Abraham's seed.144

In these visions of the Son of Man, the prophets saw even to deeper meanings. For example, they saw that the actions of the Son of Man would recapitulate God's creation in man. They conveyed this message to the people directly by their words or typically by their actions.

...Moreover with regard to the other arrangements concerning the summing up that He should make, some of these they beheld through visions, others they proclaimed by word, while others they indicated typically, by means of outward action, seeing visibly those things which were to be seen; heralding by word of mouth those which should be heard; and performing by actual operation what should take place by action; but at the same time announcing all prophetically. ¹⁴⁵

Historical events of the past were also used by the prophets as types to signify the ultimate events surrounding the future coming of the Son of Man. In this way, the Ark of the Covenant could typify the future Church established by the Lord. As we shall see below (p 316-317), this is an example of how typing of history helps the believer to envision and participate in invisible realities. Not only does the historical type signify a future historical event, as it were, in the horizontal dimension, but both type and future event point to and are involved in a vertical dimension of "heavenly" realities:

...He (Moses) also constructed at God's command the tabernacle of the testimony, a visible construction on earth of what is spiritual and invisible in heaven, and a figure of the form of the Church, and a prophecy of things to be... ¹⁴⁶

The historical event of the Exodus is used in much the same way. The Exodus is not only a type of the Church in that in both cases a "holy people" are called forth from out of the Gentiles, but also in that it typifies the future drawing of the Church itself from out of this world to "His own inheritance" above at the end of time. To this may be added associated types: the punishments visited on the world for its rejection

of Christ's Church were signified by the plagues sent upon the Egyptians before the Exodus

...For the whole exodus of the people out of Egypt, which took place under divine guidance, was a type and image of the exodus of the Church which should take place from among the Gentiles...and for this cause He leads it out at last from this world into His own inheritance, which Moses the servant of God did not bestow, but which Jesus the Son of God shall give for an inheritance, and if anyone will devote a close attention to those things which are stated by the prophets with regard to the time of the end, and those which John the disciple of the Lord saw in the Apocalypse, (Rev 15: 16) he will find that the nations are to receive the same plagues universally, as Egypt then did particularly. 147

Just like the patriarchs, the prophets were given revelations through the Word and they responded by the power of the Spirit within them. But what did they actually see? First of all, they "saw" in the sense that they understood the meaning of the tradition of revelation that was handed on to them from the patriarchs and Moses and were able to interpret these truths for their people according to the contemporary historical context. In addition to this, however, they also experienced personal encounters with God in which they saw new realities. Irenaeus insists that what they saw was never a direct vision ($\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$) of God but only an "appearance" or "likeness" of the glory of God. Ezechiel's vision is a case in point

...This, too was made clear by Ezechiel, that the prophets saw the dispensations of God in part, but not actually God Himself. For when this man had seen the vision (Ezech 1:1) of God, and the cherubim, and their wheels...lest anyone might happen to think that in those visions he had actually seen God, he added: "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of God." (Ezech 2:1) 148

For Irenaeus, prophecy, although holding light and truth, holds it with a certain obscurity and, at times, even

ambiguity. Christ, for example, was contained in the prophecies but obscurely, as "a treasure hidden in a field" and was really not seen directly. Yet He would be seen directly at the Incarnation.¹⁴⁹ But since the goal of man is, in fact, to see God face to face at first adoptively through the Incarnate Son and afterwards paternally in the Kingdom of the Father, these figures or visions of the Father and the Son seen by the prophets were prophetic figures pointing to a perfect vision of the future. These were also preparatory figures of the final glory.¹⁵⁰

When we consider Irenaeus' conception of the divine economy in all its shades of meaning, we can appreciate that his emphasis on the visual and revelatory aspects of God's action ad extra, i.e., in creation, has a uniquely historical character. The divine intention, plan or "blueprint" is constantly being realized historically in a sequence of significant events through time with a view that they be "seen" by men with the result that God is gradually and accumulatively revealed to man. Since, by God's design, man's vocation is to see God, God's intention for man is likewise being realized by this historical process of self-disclosure. This, in essence, is what Irenaeus means by the divine economy when viewed overall. This is true even though the ultimate term of the historical process is itself beyond history: the immediate vision of God.

The anti-Gnostic character of Irenaeus' economy concept is obvious. The Gnostic "economy" exists only within the divine realm. There is no economy ad extra. History has no revelatory function in their system. One "sees" or "knows" by a special internal "awakening" to what has already occurred within the Pleroma before history began. History only follows from the creation of the Demiurge and bears no significant relation to the unknown Father. Irenaeus counters this view completely.

v. Seeing by Type in the Old Testament

For Irenaeus, the significant historical events of the Old Testament are types or figures of New Testament events. (cf p 188-196). The type, however, always signifies something deeper than the historical event itself. In fact, Old Testament events may only signify mysterious heavenly realities without specific reference to future events. Such is the case in Solomon's building of the temple

...here is Jerusalem, where King David, and his son Solomon, who built the temple in the name of God, after the likeness of the tabernacle which Moses had made on the pattern of heavenly and spiritual things.¹⁵¹

Most often, however, such types as these are also types of the future Church divinely founded by Christ which, in turn, is itself a type of celestial realities. Irenaeus always stresses that these types of our day which are directly related to the types of that day, are from the same God and signify the same divine realities (mysteries). From this firm position Irenaeus refutes the Gnostic dualistic doctrine in which such types following from Christ are types of a different divine reality (Pleroma) than that signified by the Old Testament:

Now the gifts, oblations, and all the sacrifices, did the people receive in a figure, as was shown to Moses in the mount, from one and the same God, whose name is now glorified in the Church among all nations. But it is congruous that those earthly things, indeed, which are spread all around us, should be types of the celestial, being both, however, created by the same God. For in no other way could He assimilate an image of spiritual things to suit our comprehension. But to allege that those things which are super-celestial and spiritual...are in their turn, the types of celestial things and of another Pleroma, and to say that God is the image of another Father, is to play the part both of wanderers from the truth, and of absolutely foolish and stupid persons...¹⁵²

The typing by the physical realities; therefore, ends in the spiritual reality. One may not assert that spiritual realities may be types of other spiritual realities because then the whole purpose of the meaning and significance would be lost and God could never be reached. This is the result of intellectual vanity

....For as I have repeatedly shown, such persons will find it necessary to be continually finding out types of types, and images of images, and will never be able to fix their minds on the one and true God. For their imaginations range beyond God, they having in their hearts surpassed the Master himself, being indeed in idea elated and exalted above Him, but in reality turning away from the true God.¹⁵³

This kind of application of typology to history has an important pedagogical function. It is always an effective teaching instrument at the time of application even though its full meaning remains shrouded in mystery. The prefiguring of the future coming of Christ and the events surrounding it, while exercising the virtue of faith and hope, had the effect of accustoming man to the ways of God.¹⁵⁴

Viewed in this way, history may be considered as the pedagogical "forum" in which God is always calling man forward and upward from the typical to the real, from the temporal to the eternal, from the carnal to the spiritual and from the earthly to the heavenly.¹⁵⁵

It must be said, moreover, that in Irenaeus' view, these institutions and events of the Old Testament had value in themselves not only with respect to their pedagogical function but also from the fact that God was in some sense present and visible to His people in them. It was this presence and this visibility which, by virtue of the Spirit, effected transformations in His people leading to immortality and glory. This must be true even though the events themselves took their

value from the future Christ event to which they were pointing.

While the institutions of the Old Testament were provisional and having served their purpose in God's Plan have passed from the scene, the prophetic teachings of the Patriarchs and the Prophets concerning them still remain. These teachings facilitated the understanding and acceptance of Christ when He came¹⁵⁶ and for this reason will continue to endure as long as history.

vi. The function of Law in the Process of Seeing God

a. The Origin and Nature of Law

An understanding of Irenaeus' conception of Law might well begin with a look at his interpretation of the giving of the Law to Moses on Mt. Sinai. The first important concept here is that the Law is not man-made but is from God. The Law was written with the "finger of God":

And in the desert Moses received from God laws...written with the finger of God; and "finger of God" is that which is put forth by the Father in the Holy Spirit, and the commandments and laws which He committed to the children of Israel to be kept...¹⁵⁷

But what of those who had never heard of the Decalogue? Did they live only by man-made laws? Irenaeus recognizes that the Decalogue was only an external expression of a law implanted in mankind from the beginning:

They (the Jews) had therefore a law, a course of discipline, and a prophecy of future things. For God, at the first, indeed, warning them by means of natural precepts, which from the beginning He had implanted in mankind, that is, by means of the Decalogue (which, if any one does not observe, he has no salvation) did then demand nothing more of them...¹⁵⁸

It would seem, therefore, that man was created equipped with a kind of "natural law" from the beginning according to which his heart and mind could be guided so that he might be saved. This natural law, the essence of which seems to be love of God and neighbour, was, for example, written into the hearts and souls of the Patriarchs long before the Law was given on Mt. Sinai:

Why, then, did the Lord not form the covenant for the fathers? Because "the law was not established for righteous men." (Tim. 1:9) But the righteous fathers had the meaning of the Decalogue written in their hearts and souls... that is, they loved the God who made them, and did no injury to their neighbour...159

The Decalogue, then, in Irenaeus' view, is merely the expression of that law which is common and universal to all men and holds for all time. It was written by God into the nature of things from the beginning. The ultimate proof of its authenticity is that it was announced and extended by the Incarnate Word Himself:

...Preparing man for this life, the Lord Himself did speak in His own person to all alike the words of the Decalogue; and therefore, in like manner, do they remain permanently with us, receiving by means of His advent in the flesh, extension and increase, but not abrogation.160

What, then, is this special expression of the law which is, the Decalogue? It is its external character. It regards external actions and corporeal objects. It tends to teach man by externally compelling or coercing his spirit from outside:

For the law, since it was laid down for those in bondage, used to instruct the soul by means of those corporeal objects which were of an external nature, drawing it, as by a bond, to obey its commandments, that man might learn to serve God.161

This coercive element of the Decalogue is opposed to the spirit of the Gospel in that the latter is one of freedom. According to the Gospel, man must be compelled from within his soul to love of God and neighbour. Thus Christ suppressed from the Law that which was given in Egypt relative to servitude but that which was "natural" and led to freedom he augmented and enriched. The natural law of love of God and neighbour is common to both Christians and Jews and comes from the same God:

Inasmuch, then, as all natural precepts are common to us and to them (the Jews), they had in them indeed the beginning and origin; but in us they have received growth and completion. For to yield assent to God, and to follow His Word, and to love Him above all, and one's neighbour as oneself ...and to abstain from every evil deed, and all other things of a like nature which are common to both "covenants", do reveal one and the same God...¹⁶²

Nevertheless, there were parts of the Mosaic legislation that, although they were from God, were abolished by Christ.¹⁶³ Why, then, were they given in the first place? They were given "on account of their hardness of heart" and their tendency to disobedience. But Irenaeus argues that examples of precepts given out of consideration for human infirmity can also be found in the New Testament. All of which supports the principle that God, in educating man and drawing him on to higher things, takes the conditions and needs of man into consideration at every step along the way.¹⁶⁴

Yet if we consider the "law of Moses" in its detailed totality, we find in it other precepts which indeed can be said to be man-made. Many of these tended to impede or even oppose the law from God. In this sense of course, they were not truly part of the Mosaic Law, i.e., the law given by Moses himself. Irenaeus argues this point in defending Jesus in His criticism of "the traditions of the elders":

...He (Jesus) therefore did not throw blame upon that law which was given by Moses, when He exhorted it to be observed, Jerusalem being as yet in safety; but He did throw blame upon those persons, because they repeated indeed the words of the law, yet were without love...He does not call the law given by Moses commandments of men, but the traditions of the elders themselves which they had invented, and in upholding of which they made the law of God of none effect, and were on this account also not subject to His Word.¹⁰⁵

b. The Purpose of the Law

We have already suggested that the law serves as God's instrument for man's education and upbringing. More specifically this function of the law has several aspects. For one thing, the law can serve to bring man to the awareness of sin. It exposes sin for what it is, a "murderer":

...but the law coming, which was given by Moses, and testifying of sin that it is a sinner, did truly take away his (death's) kingdom, showing that he was no king, but a robber; and it revealed him as a murderer.¹⁰⁶

Yet, although the law is spiritual, it does not have power in itself to destroy sin:

...It laid, however, a weighty burden upon man, who had sin in himself, showing that he was liable to death. For as the law was spiritual, it merely made sin to stand out in relief, but did not destroy it. For sin had no dominion over the spirit but over man.¹⁶⁷

But the law falls upon man not only in respect to sin but also as regards his imperfection which follows from his creatureliness. Here Irenaeus' concept of history comes into full play. Following the law of nature, in the early stages of development man needs to be guided by external forces until he learns the proper way to behave. When this period of "training" is completed he is better let free to act on his own accord when he

can serve God freely. This, in fact, is the pattern of man's development in history:

...But the Word set free the soul, and taught that through it the body should be willingly purified. Which, having been accomplished, it follows as of course that the bonds of slavery should be removed, to which man had now become accustomed, and that he should follow God without fetters; moreover that the laws of liberty should be extended...168

God would prefer not to enact laws that require "slavish obedience" because He prefers that man turn to Him wholeheartedly and willingly. But when man will not comply to His will God takes pity on man for that condition and gives him a law appropriate to it:

Moreover, the prophets indicate in the fullest manner that God stood in no need of their slavish obedience, but that it was upon their own account that He enjoined certain observances of the law. And, again, that God needed not their oblation... He thus teaches them that God desires obedience, which renders them secure, rather than sacrifices and holocausts, which avail them nothing towards righteousness; and /by this declaration/ he prophesies the new covenant at the same time. (Ps. 40:6)169

The law, therefore, is not for God but for man as an aid to his proper development. Even service to God is not demanded for Himself but for the sake of those who serve. To serve God is, after all, the glory of man.¹⁷⁰ God gives the law to man even according to man's desire: "they were placed for the future in a state of servitude suited to their wish..."¹⁷¹

Irenaeus' comprehension of the law is enlightened by his historical view. In summary it could be stated this way. In the beginning, God created man with a natural law "written in his heart" to guide his moral development through history. But man's sin entered into history to frustrate this moral development. God, by certain historic initiatives, supplemented the law of nature with a "law of bondage" (praecepta

servitutis) in order to effect correction of the consequences of sin. When this Law's historical role comes to term it passes from the scene having accomplished its purpose. The Christ-event brings the "covenant of the Law" to a close. Christ abolishes the "bonds of slavery" but not the "natural precepts". These latter are augmented and enriched. On the personal level, progress is made from external guidance of the law to internal guidance from the Spirit; from attachment to precepts to a personal attachment to God. This fits well into Irenaeus' overall historical scheme of man's upbringing wherein he progresses from material and corporeal objects to spiritual and divine realities.¹⁷²

Evieux explains how Irenaeus integrates the period of the Law into his historical view by making a parallel with the Incarnation. The Word "comes down" to give the Law to Moses as a saving event just as He "comes down" to man in the Incarnation to save man. This enables man to "ascend" again with the Word to God. God's descending and ascending is associated with God and man "becoming accustomed" to each other (which in the overall view is God's purpose in history). Consequently, to observe the "Law of Moses" in its time was to enter into the Word's loving design for man - to "walk in pilgrimage" with Him in and towards His progressing, saving action.¹⁷³

Irenaeus' immediate purpose in these arguments about the law is to refute the Gnostic claim that the Law of the Old Testament was created by the Demiurge who was a different God from the Father of Jesus.¹⁷⁴ Irenaeus' historical view enables him to clearly demonstrate that differences in the Old Law and the Law of the Gospel derive not from a difference in origin but from the difference in the stage that man had come along the way of a providentially guided history.

In the Gnostic scheme the "descent and ascent" of the "Saviour" was as to a spacial dimension only. He became only superficially involved with a world which was essentially foreign and alien to him and took none of it with him in his ascent into the Pleroma. Irenaeus, on the other hand, argues that the Word truly descends and ascends relative to a world of creation and time which is truly His own. His truly ontological or "vertical" involvement is perfectly integrated into the historical or "horizontal" scheme rendering Himself at unity and harmony with man and creation at every period of development including that of the Law.

c. The Law as Sign.

The Law as the tradition of Moses does not have merely a negative function, viz., an institution to expose and counteract sin. The law can, in its own right, signify positive spiritual or divine realities. For example, circumcision which is a precept of the law signifies a spiritual reality which St. Paul understood as "circumcision after the Spirit". The Sabbath law also, like circumcision, points to a spiritual reality: the bond between God and man and man's consecration to God.¹⁷⁵ Such laws, then, even though they create a certain "bondage" do have sign value:

The laws of bondage, however, were one by one promulgated to the people by Moses, suited for their instruction or for their punishment, as Moses himself declared: "And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgements." (Deut. 4:14) These things, therefore, which were given for bondage, and a sign to them, He canceled by the New Covenant of liberty...¹⁷⁶

The Old Law as a "type of future things" contained the New. As in the case of the historical events of the Patriarchs or their interpretation by the prophets, the law

points not only to spiritual realities above but also to future events at the same time:

...Whereas to scoffers, and to those not subject to God, but who follow outward purifications for the praise of men (which observances had been given as a type of future things, — the law, typifying as it were, certain things in a shadow, and delineating eternal things by temporal, celestial by terrestrial) ...177

The law, therefore, contains prophetic elements by way of its sign value and these become more clear when we consider the "new law" drawn up by Moses after the sojourn of forty years in the desert. Irenaeus believes that here were contained prophecies of the Christ-event and subsequent realities:

...And this was called Deuteronomy and in it also many prophecies are written about our Lord Jesus Christ and about the people and about the calling of the Gentiles and about the kingdom...178

Although the law is spiritual in essence since it has God as its author, it has no power in itself to destroy sin. Only Christ, which the law prefigures, can destroy sin through the Incarnation.¹⁷⁹ There is no justification in the sign itself; only in the future thing signified:

And that man was not justified by these things, but that they were given as a sign to the people, this fact shows...that Abraham himself, without circumcision and without observance of Sabbaths, "believed God and it was imputed unto him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God." (Jas. 2:23) Then again Lot, without circumcision, was brought out from Sodom, receiving salvation from God. So also did Noah.... Moreover, all the rest of the multitude of those righteous men who lived before Abraham, and those patriarchs who preceded Moses, were justified independently of the things above-mentioned, and without the law of Moses...180

According to Wingren, the law, as a prophecy of Christ, prophesies its own abolition in that Christ is the "fulfillment and end of the Law".¹⁸¹

d. Christ is the Fulfillment of the Law

Just as Christ as the Word is the beginning of the Law so also is He its final cause and end. This is part of what is meant by the "ascending and descending" of God to man and man to God wherein salvation operates:

...For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." (Rom. 10: 3, 4) And how is Christ the end of the law, if He be not also the final cause of it? For He who has brought in the end has Himself also wrought the beginning; and it is He who does Himself say to Moses, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have come down to deliver them;" (Ex. 3:7,8) it being customary from the beginning with the Word of God to ascend and descend for the purpose of saving those who were in affliction.¹⁸²

When Irenaeus states that Christ is the one who "wrought the beginning of the law" he means that it was He as the Word of God who "wrote" the Decalogue on the tablets of stone held by Moses on Mount Sinai. This is done in the context of the covenant that God made with Israel after "saving" them from Egypt. This action effectively inaugurates the period of the Law in salvation history. In this way the Word "descended" to His people to save them and through the instrumentality of the law He assists them to "ascend" with Him to the Father. This is an example of the mediatorial function of the Word between the Father and His creature, man. The one who "ascends and descends" is the one who mediates between the Father above and man below. In this way He helps God and man to become "accustomed" to each other.¹⁸³ Now Irenaeus wishes that his readers see a parallel and continuity between this and the action of the Word in making an "end of the law" by again descending this time into man by way of the Incarnation and dying the sacrificial death (Redemption) - all of which brings "righteousness to everyone that believeth". He then "ascends" via the Resurrection to the Father in order to draw all men

upwards with Him. By these actions He "delivers" man from sin and death and raises him up with Him to the Father by way of the Spirit and the Church. Man thereby experiences much more profoundly and effectively the mediatorial role of the Word in which God and man are made accustomed to each other.¹⁸⁴ This second "ascending and descending" (which is prefigured by the first) effectively puts an end to the period of the Law in the sense explained above.¹⁸⁵ Of course, there are many other examples of "ascending and descending" as the Word is constantly mediating between God and man as He leads man on step by step to the Father.

Does Irenaeus understand the mediatorial "ascending and descending" in a spacial or cosmic sense? While he does seem to share the contemporary conception of a seven-tiered hierarchical Cosmos,¹⁸⁶ he nevertheless visualizes the process of "ascending and descending" in an anti-Gnostic sense, i.e., not primarily ontologically and spacially but morally and historically.¹⁸⁷

That justice consists in the love that binds man to God is clear from the fact that the essence of the law is expressed by love of God and neighbour. The Pharisees, therefore, who measured justice from the written law itself and not by their personal relationship to God, opposed true justice. As Evieux reads Irenaeus, justice in its supreme expression comes by way of the Man who is "Love incarnate". Therefore to be just means to conform to Him (ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ Λόγῳ) in obedience and sacrifice for the work of salvation. The Law is therefore consummated in the Word Incarnate as its end. Yet He is not only the principle and end of the Law but also the one who works out the salvation economy,¹⁸⁸ i.e., He fulfills the complete measure of the law as the economy is worked out through history. In this sense, it is in history that the working out of justice is realized

and manifested.

A concept of recapitulation parallels this developed concept of justice. In a cosmic sense, Christ recapitulates all things as their principle and center of harmony and unity in space and time. Salvation is realized by this act of recapitulation (cf p 182-197). We can see a parallel here to the logical sense of recapitulation in reference to law. Love recapitulates the whole of the law in that it is its center and resumé. D'Alès observes that Irenaeus tends to blend the cosmic and logical meanings of recapitulation so that one is virtually indistinguishable from the other.¹⁸⁹ As all commandments are summed up (recapitulated) in the commandment of love, so the justice of God is satisfied in the redemptive sacrifice of Christ. The supreme concrete act of love (Passion and Death) is the same act in which, in effect, all things are recapitulated and salvation is achieved. Thus Jesus achieves both justice and salvation in the one act of recapitulation. Undoubtedly, the reason that Irenaeus can blend salvation and justice so easily in the one act of recapitulation is that he sees that the historical context in which both are worked out is the same.

e. The Law as an Intervening Stage of Development

Man cannot now return to the period of the Law. That stage of man's development is complete. In other words, man cannot turn back the clock and reverse history. Man has now been set free because the Law has been fulfilled in Christ. Man is now and forever established in a new state and he must walk in it

That He does not wish those who are to be redeemed to be brought again under the Mosaic legislation - for the law has been fulfilled by Christ - but to go free in newness by the Word, through faith and love towards the Son of God...¹⁹⁰

The time of the law is, for Irenaeus, an "intervening" period insofar as man's seeing God is concerned. Before the Law, God gave man a period in which His will could exercise freely. Following this is the period of the Law when God imposes His will. In the first period, the Patriarchs showed man the proper way to live vis-a-vis God. But men fell away from this ideal and God therefore found it necessary to take mankind in hand by way of the Law

...But when this righteousness and love of God had passed into oblivion, and became extinct in Egypt, God did necessarily because of His great goodwill to men, reveal Himself by a voice...led the people...fed them...taught just dealings towards our neighbour...prepares man for His friendship...God, however, standing in no need of anything from man. 191

The first period has greater similarities with the last (of Christ) than that of the Law especially as regards freedom and the emphasis on the inner man of faith. As we saw above, Abraham is "father" to the faith of Christians. 192

The Law then was an intervening period of external discipline given in view of sin. It was farther from the ideal given by the Fathers in the previous period of freedom. The following period of the Gospel was, therefore, in some respects a restatement of the freedom of the Patriarchal period. The Law having fulfilled its purpose is now discarded. Irenaeus uses the analogy of the discarded branch to illustrate this concept. 193

vii. The Incarnation: A New Era for Seeing God

Although the Word of God had been "present" in various ways during the first stages of history, now, in the Christ-event His presence has something of the character of the unprecedented, the utterly new:

...What then did the Lord bring to us by His advent?
-- know ye that He brought all possible novelty,
by bringing Himself who had been announced...194

The difference of this kind of presence from what existed previously may be compared by analogy to the difference of a king's presence in person as compared to his presence by messengers. Yet even this extraordinary presence does not appear to man, as it were, in a flash but comes by way of the "law of growth" in keeping with Irenaeus' historical view. This manner of arrival is done for man's sake who, by his nature, can see only gradually just as he matures only gradually:

...God had power at the beginning to grant perfection to man; but as the latter was only recently created, he could not possibly have received it, or even if he had received it, or containing it could he have retained it. It was for this reason that the Son of God, although He was perfect, passed through the state of infancy in common with the rest of mankind, partaking of it thus not for His own benefit, but for that of the infantile stage of man's existence, in order that man might be able to receive Him...195

This law of growth is an accustoming of man to God and God to man resulting in a movement from "remoteness" from the Creator to a "likeness" to the Creator. In this respect the new presence and vision effected by the Incarnation provides the means and the power to achieve a full measure of this "accustoming" because of the nature of the Incarnation and its redemptive effects.

...for He, too, "was made in the likeness of sinful flesh", (Rom 8:3) to condemn sin, and to cast it, as now a condemned thing, away beyond the flesh, but that He might call man forth into His own likeness, assigning him as His own imitator to God, and imposing on him His Father's law, in order that he may see God, and granting him power to receive the Father: being the Word of God who dwelt in man, and became the Son of Man, that He might accustom man to receive God, and God to dwell in man according to the good pleasure of the Father. 196

The redemptive effects of this new presence result in unprecedented giving of gifts not only to the "chosen people" but to all in the measure that they love God:

...For one and the same Lord...confers gifts upon men, that is, His own presence, and the resurrection from the dead...who always has more to measure out to those of His household. And their love towards God increases, He bestows more and greater "gifts"... and we...shall make progress, so that no longer through a glass, or by means of enigmas, but face to face, we shall enjoy the gifts of God... 197

The goal of the Incarnation was, in fact, so that "all things might behold their King" and thereby attain immortality because the light of the Father shines through the flesh of the Son:

...and that all things...might behold their King; and that the paternal light might meet with and rest upon the flesh of our Lord, and come to us from His resplendant flesh, and that thus might man attain to immortality... 198

Lanne sees in this text an antignostic evaluation of the flesh. The Gnostics rejected the flesh as being unworthy of ~~sal~~vation. For Irenaeus, not only is the flesh of Christ the instrument of divine light but the flesh of man is destined to incorruption by that light. 199

In the Incarnation, not only is there a "seeing" but also a full communication, a commixio et communio Dei et

hominis wherein man and God converse with each other.²⁰⁰ This is a vision of God not according to greatness but according to love.²⁰¹ Already to the prophets God revealed that He would be seen face-to-face when He came to earth as a man i.e., in the flesh. As explained in Chapter IV, "in the flesh" means in this world of divinely guided history. This theme appears again in:

...Wherefore the prophets, receiving the prophetic gift from the same Word, announced His advent according to the flesh, by which the blending and communion of God and man took place according to the good pleasure of the Father, the Word of God foretelling from the beginning that God should be seen by men, and hold converse with them upon earth, should confer with them, and should be present with His own creation, saving it and becoming capable of being perceived by it...²⁰²

Clearly, then, Irenaeus understands that the disciples who saw Christ were, in fact, seeing God face-to-face. But it is the Son who is seen directly, not the Father (the Father is seen nevertheless in the Son indirectly inasmuch as the Son is the visibility of the Father). Larne has shown that this point of view explains Irenaeus' curious interpretation of Exodus (Ex. 33:20-2), in light of the Transfiguration in St. Matthew's Gospel (Mtt. 17:3):

...But Moses desired to see Him openly who was speaking with him and was thus addressed: "Stand in the deep place of the rock, and with My hand I will cover thee. But when My splendour shall pass by, then thou shalt see My back parts, but My face thou shalt not see: for no man sees My face, and shall live." (Ex. 33:20-22). The facts are thus signified: that it is impossible for man to see God; and that through the wisdom of God, man shall see Him in the last times, in the depth of the rock, that is, in His coming as a man. And for this reason did He [the Lord] confer with Him face to face on the top of a mountain, Elias being also present, as the Gospel relates, (Mtt. 17:3). He thus making good in the

end the ancient promise.²⁰³

This vision of the Incarnate Son, then, constitutes, for Irenaeus, the first "face-to-face vision of God which must be distinguished from the final face-to-face vision of the Father. This latter also will come in its proper time: "and He shall also be seen paternally in the Kingdom of Heaven..."²⁰⁴ Lanne is certain that Irenaeus' references to divine transcendence in this reference to the Father are for polemic reasons. The text of Irenaeus runs as follows:

...And for this reason, He although beyond comprehension, and boundless and invisible, rendered Himself visible and comprehensible, and within the capacity of those who believe, that He might vivify those who receive and behold Him through faith...²⁰⁵

The three adjectives I have underlined translate the Greek original which are also the very words used by the Valentinians to describe the transcendence of the first Aeon, Propator.²⁰⁶ Irenaeus also holds to the Father's transcendence and invisibility as emphasized in the Old Testament sayings to the effect that no man can see God and live. But he accepts this transcendence in the absolute sense only insofar as the divine greatness is concerned. He opposes the Gnostic conception that the Father is in all respects always and forever invisible to man. God has the power to reveal Himself to man and this He does:

...But in respect to His greatness, and His wonderful glory, "no man shall see God and live" (Ex. 33:20) for the Father is incomprehensible; but in regard to His love and kindness, and as to His infinite power, even this He grants to those who love Him, that is to see God...²⁰⁷

Irenaeus' point, however, is that this seeing of God even when it is "face-to-face" does not come all at once, as

it were, in a flash, but rather by way of a special harmonious design - a sequence of "steps" in harmony with God's overall plan of creation, as it unfolds in history. Thanks to his historical view, Irenaeus is able to outline this harmonious sequence as it is revealed in history and recorded in the Scriptures. For him every aspect of this sequence occurs in history even to the seeing of God face-to-face...and the last step, the vision of the Father, brings history to a close.

The various stages of man's development in seeing God may be summarized as follows:

a. by way of creation: This corresponds to the period from the Fall to the Exodus. Through creation man comes to know the Creator, e.g. God's will is known through a kind of "natural law". The Patriarchs, in "seeing" by figure and type to future dispensations of the Word, link this period with the following ones.

b. by theophany and type: By various theophanies, God "descends" into history to form His faithful into a people with Law, tradition, and cult. Prophets see "figures" of the future Incarnation in relation to which the forms and personalities of the people of God can be seen as types.

c. by the incarnation of the Word: This constitutes the first face-to-face vision of God. This is a direct vision of the Son (Word) in whom the Father is seen indirectly. This is divided into two periods: i. the direct vision by the disciples and the indirect vision by the faithful in the Church. ii. by all the faithful directly at the Second Coming (throughout the period of the millenium, cf below, p 415f).

d. by face-to-face vision of the Father: this effects the close of the millennial period and of history.

Each of these stages represents an advance in man's realization of his vocation to see God. All the while it is

the Spirit, working from within, who gives man the divine power to see. Each increase in vision effects an increase in life and growth. Man grows from estrangement to familiarity, from "slavery" to freedom, from immaturity to maturity, arriving ultimately at a fullness of knowledge and love (gnosis) while acquiring the attributes of incorruptibility and immortality. Moreover, this process of "seeing" God and its effects is recapitulated in the personal history of every faithful individual in such a way that the latter is integrated into the former. The interrelationships and integrations of all these steps and processes are many and profound.

4. Man as the Responsible Seer

One cannot fail to notice the emphasis Irenaeus places on man's freedom in his relationships with God. Man is intelligent and free. Man can seek out, choose and follow his own destiny. Moreover, man can responsibly choose good or evil and thereby merit reward or punishment. So much is freedom inherent to man's nature and God's design that God will go to any length to respect it. In whatever way He acts towards man, He will always take freedom fully into account. He would not even forcefully constrain man from his own self-willed destruction. The example of Jesus lamenting over an obstinate Jerusalem serves as Irenaeus' keynote text for his tract on human freedom:

This expression [of our Lord], "How often would I have gathered thy children together, and thou wouldst not," (Mtt. 23:37) set forth the ancient law of human liberty, because God made man a free [agent] from the beginning, possessing his own power, even as he does his own soul, to obey the behests (ad-utendum sententia) of God voluntarily, and not by compulsion of God...208

In view of this respect for man's freedom, God always acts by way of "exhortation" (suasio, suadens, πειθων or suadela πειθοιτα)²⁰⁹ and "counsel" (consilium)²¹⁰ for which reason man should offer to God a heart "in a soft and tractable state" (cor molle et tractibile).²¹¹

True Gnosis is knowledge of God gained and held lovingly within such a context of freedom.

i. Seeing Good and Evil

Imperfections, as such, should not be a discredit to man inasmuch as they are a necessary aspect of his creatureliness. On the other hand, one would not be inclined to consider the possession of imperfections as an advantage. For Irenaeus, however, imperfections in man may serve a good

purpose. Imperfections may serve to teach man of his total dependence upon his Creator. It can teach a true humility. True humility is extremely important in view of the fact that the root of evil consists in man's tendency to exalt himself above his actual condition. We have the classic example of Adam and Eve before the Fall wishing to be like God.

Following Scripture and the Judaeo-Christian tradition generally, Irenaeus likes to draw analogies between physical and moral infirmity. Like physical defect or imperfection, moral infirmity has the ability to teach man the reality of his own condition and thereby can inspire a spirit of humility. This is a part of God's pedagogy in which God can be said to "...deliver man into his own infirmity" (Paul):

The Apostle Paul has, moreover, in the most lucid manner, pointed out that man has been delivered over into his own infirmity, lest, being uplifted, he might fall away from the truth. Thus he says in the second epistle to the Corinthians: "And lest I should be lifted up by the sublimity of the revelations, there was given unto me a thorn in the flesh... (2 Cor. 12:7-9)". ...For strength is made perfect in weakness, rendering him a better man who by means of his infirmity becomes acquainted with the power of God. For how could a man have learned that he is himself an infirm being, and mortal by nature, but that God is immortal and powerful, unless he had learned by experience what is in both? 212

The profit to man, however, does not derive from the sin itself insofar as it is evil, but from the experience insofar as it teaches man about his own weakness and his dependence upon God. This as an important aspect of gnosis:

For there is nothing evil in learning one's infirmities by endurance; yea, rather, it has even the beneficial effect of preventing him from forming an undue opinion of his own nature (non aberrare in natura sua). But the being lifted up against God, and taking His glory to oneself, rendering man ungrateful, has brought much evil upon him. /And thus, I say, man must learn both things by experience/,

that he may not be destitute of truth and love either towards himself or his Creator...But the experience of both confers upon him the true knowledge as to God and man, and increases his love towards God...213

Clearly, the knowledge of good and evil acquired in this way through experience is essential to man's "growing up" and part of his "becoming accustomed" to see God. Here again, Irenaeus is thinking both in terms of the personal history of the individual as well as the history of the human race as a whole. As a free and responsible being man experiences both good and evil together with the knowledge of their value. This is a knowledge and a comprehension all the more deep because it is rooted in experience. Obedience to God brings life, disobedience brings death. The goodness of the former is known all the more clearly when it can, by experience, be contrasted with the latter

Man has received the knowledge of good and evil. It is good to obey God, and to believe in Him, and to keep his commandment, and this is the life of man; as not to obey God is evil, and this is his death. Since God, therefore, gave [to man] such mental power (magnanimitatem) man knew both the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience, that the eye of the mind, receiving experience of both, may with judgement make choice of the better things... Wherefore he has also had a two-fold experience, possessing knowledge of both kinds, that with discipline he may make choice of the better things. But, how if he has no knowledge of the contrary, could he have had instruction in that which is good? For there is thus a surer and an undoubted comprehension of matter submitted to us than the mere surmise arising from an opinion regarding them...214

Placing now this conception of the utility of the experience of evil within the context of Irenaeus' overall historical view, one can better appreciate the nature of God and His designs. As the whole panorama of history constitutes the forum for the dramatic struggle between God and Satan, man

passes through many experiences of evil and the subsequent saving action of God. In this context, the concept of God's patience and long-suffering becomes unmistakably clear, especially when we consider man's repeated serious infidelity:

But inasmuch as God is invincible and long-suffering, He did indeed show Himself to be long-suffering in the matter of the correction of man and the probation of all...215

In this manifestation of the long-suffering of God and man's learning (through repeated failures) to love God more is seen the "purpose of history" and the triumph of God

This, therefore, was the Object of the long-suffering of God, that man, passing through all things, and acquiring the knowledge of moral discipline, then attaining to the resurrection from the dead, and learning by experience what is the source of his deliverance, may always live in a state of gratitude to the Lord, having obtained from Him the gift of incorruptibility, that he might love Him the more for "he to whom more is given loveth more;" (Lk 7:43)...216

Viewed from the historical plane, therefore, salvation itself is pedagogical. It may be said that man's sin indirectly gives glory to God. It presents the occasion whereby God can be shown to be the greater Power and the greater Conqueror. This is part of the "mystery" hidden in the economy of salvation:

...This was necessary, too, inasmuch as the whole economy of salvation regarding man came to pass according to the good pleasure of the Father, in order that God might not be conquered, nor His wisdom lessened, in the estimation of His creatures...217

Being saved after sin even causes man to "cling" to God more securely because greater freedom of will is involved. After coming through a trial one sees the prize of salvation more clearly and grasps it with "violence" (i.e., all the force of the will).218

Man's struggle through all the trials that sin and evil bring throughout all time causes great tribulations and sufferings. This also, in the overall historical view, has its ultimate divine purpose. It serves as a principle of polarization. The good being purified and refined by this suffering are thereby "sifted out" from the evil as wheat is from chaff at the harvest

And therefore throughout all time, man, having been moulded at the beginning by the hands of God ... is made after the image and likeness of God: the chaff, indeed, which is the apostasy, being cast away; but the wheat, that is, those who bring forth fruit to God in faith, being gathered into the barn. And for this cause tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on fire for purification⁷, they may be fitted for the royal banquet...²¹⁹

Irenaeus' sweeping all-embracing vistas which reach to mysteries hidden in God can encompass and make meaningful the deepest personal experience of every individual as he struggles day by day in the heart-rending conflicts of good versus evil; joy versus suffering. His spiritual vision is not such as to allow him "escape" from such realities. After all, in the final analysis, it is of these realities that a divinely-guided history is fashioned. One may not escape from what is so essentially meaningful. On the contrary, the Christian must savour the "depths" of "total involvement" in the business of living day to day on this earth; he must "face up" to the realities of evil, suffering and death in and around him. is here, at the level of the physical, the visible and the earthly that man struggles, falls and rises again. It is here that his "up-bringing" and "accustoming" in respect to God operate. It is here that true gnosis is tested and grows in the mind and spirit of man.²²⁰

Irenaeus' position on man's involvement in his terrestrial condition is certainly in opposition to the Gnostic view wherein "gnosis" implies a realization of the meaninglessness and purposelessness of man's terrestrial existence especially where the struggle against evil is concerned. The Gnostic is basically indifferent to the world or even mocks it. After all, in the Gnostic view, life with its situations involving evil and suffering are the result of the work of the Creator Demiurge and bears no significance or concern to the transcendent Father and the Pleroma.

ii. Man's Free Choice: To See or Not to See

Since man was created with free will, he has power over himself to make himself what he is. In other words, man is responsible for what he makes of himself and is therefore subject to reward or punishment

...But man, being endowed with reason, and in this respect like to God, having been made free in his will, and with power over himself, is himself the cause to himself, that sometimes he becomes wheat and sometimes chaff. Wherefore he shall also be justly condemned, because, having been created a rational being, he lost the true rationality, opposed the righteousness of God, giving himself over to every earthly spirit, and serving all lusts; as says the prophet, "Man, being in honour, did not understand: he was assimilated to senseless beasts, and made like to them." (Ps 49:12)221

Free will is so closely connected with "reason" or the "rational" that the two ideas seem to be, for Irenaeus, almost synonymous. Moreover, to be moral is to be "rational" and vice-versa. This is in keeping with a "gnosis" in the biblical or Judaeo-Christian sense.

Man was not created evil, nor is he evil in his nature. The evil in him is there because he wills it. Even then man always has the power to act rightly:

...And Isaiah, when preaching in Judea...termed them "rulers of Sodom"...intimating that they were like the Sodomites in wickedness, and that the same descriptions of sins was rife among them...And inasmuch as they were not by nature so created by God, but had power also to act rightly, the same person said to them, giving them good counsel, "Wash ye, make ye clean...(Isa 1:16)"²²²

This freedom to be master of one's own destiny, so to speak, is a great power given to man by God. It makes man like to God. It is, in a way, a frightening power in that when man uses it to reject God the result can be terrible evil. For this reason, God continually advises man to use his freedom wisely and hold to the good by obedience to God.

No doubt, if any one is unwilling to follow the Gospel itself, it is in his power to reject it, but it is not expedient. For it is in man's power to disobey God, and to forfeit what is good; but such conduct brings no small amount of injury and mischief...But because man is possessed of free will...advice is always given to him to keep fast the good, which thing is done by obedience to God.²²³

God wills to "promote" man towards greater likeness to Him but He cannot do so unless man cooperate in freedom. Man must have the right attitude which begins with viewing the Creator and the created in their proper light and continues with love, submission and thanksgiving as well as the willingness and desire to receive great things from God.

...For he who holds, without pride or boasting, the true glory (opinion) regarding created things and the creator, who is the Almighty God of all, and who has granted existence to all; such an one, continuing in His love and subjection (Jn 15:9) and giving of thanks, shall also receive from Him the greater glory of promotion...looking forward to the time when he shall become like Him who died for him...²²⁴

As indicated above, it is in the act of seeing God that man receives all good things from God. But it is not sufficient that God simply reveal Himself, man must, according to his

freedom and ability, "grasp" it. An analysis by Evieux of words employed by Irenaeus would be helpful here. Irenaeus employs two related words which are translated into Latin as percipere and capere. Percipere signifies to grasp, take to oneself, hold. It is used in reference to man's taking hold of God through revelation especially as man thereby progresses through time in accustoming himself to God. Percipere is related to capere in that it means to receive, possess or contain what has been grasped.²²⁵

Considering the following passage in the light of the special meanings of percipere and capere one can appreciate man's active involvement in seeing God as He progressively reveals Himself.

...For as those who see the light are within the light, and partake (percipiunt) of its brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God, and receive of His splendour (percipientes eius claritatem). But His splendour vivifies them; those therefore who see God, do receive life (percipiunt...vitam). And for this reason, He, although beyond comprehension, and boundless and invisible, rendered Himself visible, and comprehensible, and within the capacity (capacem) of those who believe that He might vivify those who receive (percipientes) and behold Him through faith...²²⁶

In light of what has been discussed above regarding the gradual manifestation of God throughout history, one can more appreciate the significance of the percipere and capere concepts in this context. Man actively grasps God in becoming accustomed to accept His gradual self-revelation throughout time. Again, the Christ-event as incarnation is the key in this process.²²⁷ In this overall picture of progress in seeing God throughout time, Evieux sees both a continuity and a discontinuity between the two operations expressed by percipere and capere.²²⁸ There is a continuity because the possessing or containing of what is seen, capere-continere (even if imperfect), is always correlative to the active grasping of it,

percipere-assuescere. This is a continuity of increase in time and measure (of accustoming, assuescere), i.e., throughout all of history. But there is also a discontinuity, because the perfect possession or containing (continere) of God is in the vision of the Father which brings history to a close and transcends it thereby surpassing the limitations of time and measure implied in percipere-assuescere.

The ultimate motivation inducing man to grasp God as He reveals Himself should be love or friendship. It is in genuine friendship that perfection of the will is attained. This indicates the reason that the new "law of love" of Christ is superior to the "old law" of constraint. In the atmosphere of the old law one felt obliged to do things as would a servant or slave. In the atmosphere of friendship with Christ, one acts as a friend does, willingly from within. In the Judaeo-Christian conception of things this latter way of responding is a kind of knowledge (gnosis) which, although not contradictory to the former, is superior to it

...For in that which He says, "I will not now call you servants," He indicated in the most marked manner that it was Himself who did originally appoint for men that bondage with respect to God through the law, and then afterwards conferred upon them freedom. And in that He says, "For the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth," He points out, by means of His own advent, the ignorance of a people in a servile condition. But when He terms His disciples "the friends of God," He plainly declares Himself to be the Word of God, whom Abraham also followed voluntarily under no compulsion (sine vinculis), because of the noble nature of his faith, and so became the friend of God." (Jas 2:23)229

This relationship of friendship, however, is not needed by God but by man. In fact, this friendship itself is a gift from God to man resulting in eternal life. A case in point is found in Abraham's friendship with God:

...But the Word of God did not accept of the friendship of Abraham as though He stood in need of it, for He was perfect from the beginning ("Before Abraham was," He says, "I am" (John 8:58)), but that He in His goodness might bestow eternal life upon Abraham himself, inasmuch as the friendship of God imparts immortality to those who embrace it. 230

The fact that God gives freedom to man to the extent that He allows His love to be rejected by him is itself a proof of His supereminent goodness. The rejection of one who gives such freedom shows contempt for that very goodness. In justice, such contempt must be punished

...God did kindly bestow on them what was good; but they themselves did not diligently keep it, nor deem it something precious, but poured contempt upon His supereminent goodness...God therefore has given that which is good, as the apostle tells us in this epistle, and they who work it shall receive glory and honour, because they had done that which is good when they had it in their power not to do it; but those who do it not shall receive the just judgement of God, because they did not work good when they had it in their power so to do. 231

Along with this rejection the wicked become blinded so that they cannot "see". They are unable to grasp the meaning of the dispensations of God as they occur in history. As a case in point Irenaeus refers to the occasion when the pharisees objected to the people's acclaim of Jesus as He entered Jerusalem:

...And for this cause, upon His entrance into Jerusalem, all those who were in the way recognized David their King in His sorrow of soul, and spread their garments ~~for him~~...But to the envious wicked stewards...did the Lord reply, "Have you never read, Out of the mouths of babes..." (Mtt 21:16; Ps 8:3) thus pointing out that what had been declared by David concerning the Son of God, was accomplished in His own person; and indicating that they were indeed ignorant of the meaning of the Scripture and the dispensation of God...232

Freedom is correlative to universality. God gives his truth to all so that all have an equal opportunity to accept the good. Those who do not accept God, therefore, have no excuse. In fact, even the evil give testimony that they have received the truth.²³³ The pattern of development in the truly evil ones is that they reject the true and the good after having once known and received it

...For that evidence is true and cannot be gainsaid, which elicits even from its adversaries striking testimonies on its behalf; they being convicted with respect to the matter in hand, by their own plain contemplation of it...But after awhile they break forth into enmity and become accusers of what they had approved, and are desirous that their own testimony should not be regarded as true.²³⁴

Those who do not reject the truth they have received thereby freely allow God's creative action to work in them and through them. They produce labour that is truly the work of God and which, historically speaking, has truly lasting value, i.e., it helps forward the dispensations of God. It is a work on which the people of God can build. Such ones are ideally exemplified in the patriarchs and prophets:

"...For I have sent you foreward to reap that where-upon you bestowed no labour; other men have laboured; and ye have entered into their labours." (Jn 4:35)
Who, then, are they that have laboured and have helped forward the dispensations of God? It is clear that they are the patriarchs and prophets, who even prefigured our faith, and disseminated through the earth the advent of the Son of God, who and what He should be; so that posterity, possessing the fear of God, might easily accept the advent of Christ...²³⁵

Those who freely and willingly reject God remain in that state and produce no good but evil. They are, in effect, "sons of the Devil". The basis of this appellation lies in the fact that eternal fire was prepared for the apostate angels of whom the Devil is the "ringleader". Since the Devil cannot create anything, those who follow him are "sons" not by nature

but by attribution.²³⁶

The universality that is correlative to freedom applies also throughout all time. The equal opportunity to accept or reject applies to all generations of men throughout all of history. From the beginning the Word has spoken to all through creation. From the Exodus He spoke to all through the Law and the prophets as well as through the People of God as a whole. Finally, through the historical Christ He speaks directly to all, both Jew and Gentile. By "all" Irenaeus refers not only to groups and races but also to the willing and the unwilling:

For by means of the creation itself, the Word reveals God the creator; and by means of the world /does He declare/ the Lord the Maker of the world; and by means of the formation /of man/ the Artificer who formed him; and by the Son that Father who begat the Son; and these things do indeed address all men in the same manner, but all do not in the same way believe them. But by the law and the prophets did the Word preach both Himself and the Father alike /to all/; and all the people heard him alike, but all did not alike believe. And through the Word Himself who had been made visible and palpable, was the Father shown forth, although all did not equally believe in Him...²³⁷

A perfect freedom also implies that there may be degrees to which the good may be willed. God is willed by man sometimes more perfectly, sometimes less and he is rewarded or punished accordingly.²³⁸ It is clear from several of the above quotations that God gives counsel so as to encourage those who choose well. As for the obdurate, the counsel often takes the form of a rebuke to induce repentance. In Irenaeus' reference to God's rebuke to Judea via the prophet Isaiah, he indicates the history of God's perpetual and accumulating counsel of rebuke to those who are obdurate.²³⁹

Clearly, even from the perspective of the free and responsible individual, Irenaeus sees the human race in its

dramatic progress through time. It is the drama of man's free encounter with God. In it is the constant tension of the interaction of God's grace with man's will resulting in success or failure. As man in his freedom is responsible for his personal development so also does this responsibility play its role in the development of man as a whole. Without human freedom there would be no responsible development and consequently no history.

Yet herein lies a mystery. Even with man having complete freedom to alter the course of history or to affect it in so many ways, God is still in complete control and takes everything into account. Even evil is accounted for. To illustrate this, Irenaeus employs the biblical analogy of the wheat and the chaff at the harvest. Just as the chaff has its purpose and is even necessary while the wheat grows and is nevertheless cast out when the harvest arrives, so also in the development of the good throughout history, evil has its "necessary" function. It helps God to "mould" the good by its "testing" and "purifying" effects

And therefore throughout all time, man, having been moulded at the beginning by the hands of God, that is, of the Son and of the Spirit, is made after the image and likeness of God: the chaff, indeed which is the apostasy, being cast away; but the wheat, that is, those who bring forth fruit to God in faith, being gathered into the barn. And for this cause, tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on the royal banquet...240

iii. True Gnosis: To See God Lovingly

In rejecting the false gnosis of the Gnostics, Irenaeus does not wish to imply that he rejects gnosis (knowledge) as such. For him there is a true gnosis in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The stated purpose²⁴¹ of his writing the Adversus Haereses was not only to expose the false gnosis of the Gnostics but also to demonstrate in what the true gnosis consists. In the fourth book of the Adversus Haereses he does, in fact, present a short summary of true gnosis (γνῶσις ἀληθῆς):

True knowledge...is [that which consists in] the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient constitution ...of the Church throughout the world, and the distinctive manifestation of the body...of Christ according to the successions of the bishops, by which they have handed down that Church which exists in every place, and has come even unto us, being guarded and preserved...without any forging of Scriptures, by a very complete system...of doctrine, and neither receiving addition nor [suffering] curtailment [in the truths which she believes]; and [it consists in] reading [the word of God] without falsification, and a lawful and diligent exposition in harmony with the Scriptures, both without danger and without blasphemy; and [above all, it consists in] the preeminent gift of love...which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and which excels all the other gifts [of God].²⁴²

It is necessary to state at the outset that this "definition" of true gnosis is not intended as a precise overall definition or summary of all that Irenaeus would understand by the concept. Many essential ingredients of his thought are not included here, e.g., the Word, the Spirit, the Vision of God...Anyway it is not Irenaeus' style to write in the manner of precise and summary definitions. He is rather referring here to that aspect of gnosis which is more subjective, viz., the attitude that a believer should foster toward the authorities for truth that God has established and

which are immediately available to him. These include, as he states here, "the doctrine of the apostles and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout the world..." This refers to the tradition of the Church as it developed from the Apostles. No doubt Irenaeus means to say that the true gnosis is contained in these sources (especially the Scriptures of the New Testament) which are held as authoritative by the Church's teaching hierarchy. This is why he follows up with, "and the distinctive manifestation of the body...of Christ according to the succession of the bishops." This is clearly in opposition to the attitude of the Gnostic who totally disregards the Scriptures, the tradition and the teaching authority of the Church. They thereby cut themselves off from the source of true gnosis.²⁴³

True gnosis, for Irenaeus, consists first of all and primarily not in a creed but in an attitude of mind and heart. Without such an attitude one cannot "see" God or learn anything from Him; one is "blind" to His light and revelation.

The meaning intended here may also be better understood if one considers the context. The "definition" is part of Irenaeus' demonstration of the teaching of "a presbyter, a disciple of the apostles"²⁴⁴ whom he sets up as a model of the "spiritual disciple".²⁴⁵ Such a "spiritual disciple" can distinguish true gnosis from false "gnosis" (i.e., of the Valentinians and other Gnostics) primarily because of this kind of attitude which allows the divine light to enlighten the spirit.

The "definition" is also clearly polemic in nature. Each item describing the proper attitude of the "spiritual disciple" is a contrary over against a specific malicious aspect of the Gnostic's attitude which Irenaeus has already exposed earlier in his writings. "Without any forging of

Scriptures" is in contradistinction to the Gnostic's habit of inventing scriptures to suit their purpose; "complete system of doctrine" opposes the Gnostics' incomplete and inconsistent system; "an exposition in harmony with the Scriptures..." contrasts with the Gnostics' repeatedly contradicting the Scriptures or denying their divine authorship. In this way the Bishop of Lyons exposes the hypocrisy of the false gnosis while at the same time encouraging his faithful to the correct disposition wherein one holds fast and grows in the truth. We should give special mention, however, to the closing remarks on love which is, no doubt, an implied reference to Paul.²⁴⁶ As we shall see below, this is the most significant aspect of the "definition".

Beginning from this restricted and specifically motivated "definition" we could broaden our scope to include other areas essential to the "true gnosis" concept. We have noted throughout this chapter Irenaeus' accent on "seeing" God as the way to true gnosis. The seeing was according to order, progression, development and accumulation on a determined time scale. The first order of seeing follows upon man's nature as both bodily and spiritual. Man sees with bodily eyes the visible world but his spirit "sees" to the invisible. In this way man sees from the creation to the Creator or from seen figures and types to unseen realities. True gnosis is to accept, on the one hand, God's invisible transcendence, and, on the other hand, His immanence to His creation. This is the gnosis which allows one to "see" the imprint of God's power, wisdom, beauty and goodness in His creation. One can see also in the nature and order of creation a certain natural "law" which one, in conscience, must obey. In this way God by His creation reveals Himself to man so that man begins to "see" Him and know His will.

But God has written into creation a certain design or plan that is gradually realized as it changes throughout time

and history. This design, a mystery hidden in God's inherent invisibility, is gradually revealed as God reveals Himself gradually, step by step through His word and His Spirit. True gnosis is to cooperate in God's self-revelation so that one grows and develops in seeing God. This is true gnosis because in seeing God is man's salvation and ultimate well-being. Such a gnosis is, of course, immeasurably rich and varied. But one may ask what might be its most characteristic and permanent property which endures from its whole process of development to its fullness. In answering such a question, Irenaeus begins with the all-important first principle that God will always be God and man His creature. Thus God in His infinite greatness can never be known by man. He will always be immeasurable to all but Himself. This places the ultimate limit on true gnosis. There is, however, another and very real way that God can be known, and that is by His love.

Since man as creature must grow and develop through time, history serves as the forum in which God deploys the rich and varied ways to show His love. It is primarily in this way that man grows in his knowledge of God. God's love is shown first of all in the gifts He bestows in the beginning at creation. Adam and Eve are created in His Image (Word) and endowed with His life (Spirit). By these "two hands" (Word and Spirit) God continues to work at man's creation through history; accustoming man and God to each other so that finally men may become His "sons" by adoption and share His divine life eternally. It is through a gradual step by step process of "seeing" God that this accustoming comes about. The ultimate expression of God's love to man is the gift of Himself in friendship. The key to this act of giving is the Incarnation when the Word becomes flesh. This in itself is an historical event integrated into God's divinely guided history.

God's love is also shown in the freedom He gives to man. As God's love is given to man in perfect freedom, so also does He allow man to respond freely in love. Man, as a growing and developing creature, needs time to respond adequately. It is therefore, by many specific acts of God's initiatives and man's responses that the history of man's encounter with God unfolds. This, in fact, is what constitutes the essence of history. From man's point of view as creature, a developing gnosis of God is often acquired by "trial and error". God in his paternal love takes all such needs of man into account offering guidance through a kind of pedagogy suited to man's needs. He sends patriarchs, prophets, and finally Christ to lead and inspire man's response to God's love as well as the assistance of the divine life of the Spirit in his inner mind and heart.

God's love is demonstrated most of all in His mercy towards man when he is unfaithful to God. Often man knowingly and willingly rejects God's love. This is where evil enters the historical process and man falls under the power of Satan. Throughout history God's infinite mercy and pity is shown in His long-suffering vis-a-vis man's innumerable failings where-in God always works to save man: to inspire repentance and effect rehabilitation to a stronger bond of love and a richer life. Through an ordered sequence of historical eras or "steps", of patriarchs, Law and Prophets, Incarnation... God's saving action builds and consolidates. Again, the key to this process is the Incarnate Word, Jesus. His total fidelity and sacrificial death wins freedom from Satan and effects a New Creation by recapitulating the old. Man sees in the sacrifice of the Incarnate Word, therefore, the ultimate expression of God's love and the fullness of gnosis.

Jesus is thereby established forever as the Teacher of

true Gnosis by His historical existence, i.e. in His life and death. It was only by seeing, hearing and observing Him in the flesh "face-to-face" that man could acquire true gnosis:

For in no other way could we have learned the things of God, unless our Master, existing as the Word, had become man. For no other being had the power of revealing to us the things of the Father, except His own proper Word. For what other person "knew the mind of the Lord" or who else "has become His counsellor?" (Rom 11:34). Again, we could have learned in no other way than by seeing our Teacher and hearing His voice with our own ears; that, having become imitators of His works as well as doers of His words, we may have communion with Him, receiving increase from the Perfect One, and from Him who is prior to all creation...247

It is again clear from this text that true gnosis is acquired not only in recognizing the extent of God's love but in responding to it in an adequate fashion. This means being "imitators of His works as doers of His words". It is the theme of Abraham "following God" in complete fidelity as in a "pilgrimage" that Irenaeus refers to over and over again in varying forms because it is such a fundamental principle of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In view of the face-to-face" presence of the Word of God in history via the Incarnation, "follow God" translates into "follow the Word" especially since, in Christ, the Word showed Himself to be totally obedient to the Father. He thereby establishes it as the common and historically universal principle of gnosis:

...that He might call man forth into His own likeness, assigning him as [His own] imitator to God; and imposing on him His Father's law, in order that he may see God, and granting him power to receive the Father; [being] ...the Word of God who dwelt in man, and became the Son of man, that He might accustom man to receive God, and God to dwell in man, according to the good pleasure of the Father.248

Since the passion and death of Christ is the supreme

expression of this principle of true gnosis, martyrdom is also its most perfect expression in the faithful. It is what constitutes the life of the Church and the light of the world. (cf above, p. 235-236). It has also been a sign for the faithful throughout history from the "blood of Abel".²⁴⁹ The supreme wisdom of the Cross as the focal point of Christ's tutorship must extend through all of history from the beginning. Irenaeus sees even in the Tree of Knowledge of the Garden of Eden a symbol of the Cross of Christ. This same cross reaches out in a cosmic embrace of reconciling love to gather in all the universe of space and time.²⁵⁰ It is the supreme expression of the antecedent absolute love of God for man which unrelentingly pursues man all through history in spite of man's unfaithfulness and intransigence.²⁵¹ Gnosis is, therefore, in realizing that divine love is the one constant and permanent reality we can always know about God and to which we can always respond.

True gnosis, according to the mind of Irenaeus, may be summed up this way: to see God as He loves man in Christ and to respond in the way that Christ, as man, responds to the Father's love. Without a divinely guided history where both God and man are effectively involved this would be neither knowable nor possible.

CHAPTER V SUMMARY

1. Man's destiny is to see God. This destiny can be realized only by the power of God and is limited by man's creatureliness. Seeing God is a gradual process of development which effects life in man and effects his salvation.
2. The process by which man gradually "sees" God involves a "pedagogy" in which man is God's "disciple". This pedagogy is carried out within the context of a developing history.
3. God is invisible to man by nature but He makes Himself "visible" to man gradually by manifestations of His love both in creation and in history.
4. In this life the Father is known through the Son. This process occurs not only by way of history but also throughout all of history.
5. "Seeing" God requires both the eyes (and the senses) and the mind. Although in the Old Testament the Son was not visible directly with bodily eyes, He possessed a certain "visibility" to the "inner" (spiritual) man. It is the visibility to bodily eyes that characterizes God's revelation as historical.
6. It is the working of the Spirit in the depths of man's spirit that enables him to see God.
7. The involvement of the Father, Son and Spirit in history is simultaneous and universal and it is never an "intrusion" into history.
8. Time and history are as suitably useful to God in revealing as they are helpful to man in "seeing".
9. The "pedagogy" in man's learning of God occurs in and through history by way of steps or stages. This is in

opposition to the Gnostic view wherein the "steps" are spacial and a-historical. They are not pedagogical in the true sense. Irenaeus is not so concerned with the number of steps as with the principle involved.

10. The first historical step in man's pedagogy is the period of the patriarchs. In this stage man is related to God through creation and the "natural law". One must include the unfortunate influence of sin...During this time God speaks to the patriarchs. Their response, especially that of Abraham, may be described as "ideal". Abraham functions as an historical "archtype" of the "just man of faith". The same theme is continued in the following patriarchs.
11. The period or stage of the prophets is in the context of the Jewish "people of God" and the Law. The prophets prophesied of the future not only in word but also through their own personal histories. A prophet's personal history could be a type of the new relationship that the future dispensations of God would bring. An example is Hosea who typified the relationship between Christ and His Church. The prophets "see" God in a veiled manner by which they are able to know something of God's plan of salvation. Through their "seeing" they help all people to "see".
12. From patriarchs to prophets there is a development by way of history in the object of revelation. Together they form a more or less complete picture of the coming of Christ. This went hand in hand with a moral development as well as a development in spirituality, e.g., a deeper realization of God's mercy to sinners as indicated in the prophecy of Jonah. In this prophecy, the mercy of God, shown in the future Passion of Christ, is also indicated. Prophets even realized to a degree the deeper meaning of God's design such as the recapitulation of all creation. The

prophets never saw God by way of direct vision but rather by way of a likeness. Their visions had a certain obscurity - even ambiguity - about them.

13. The prophets used words, actions and historical types of the past to convey the ultimate events surrounding the future coming of the Son of Man.
14. Historical types of the past which signify saving events of a later time in history refer to the same divine realities above. In this way history is a pedagogical forum in which God calls upwards. Seeing history in this light is clearly anti-Gnostic.
15. The historical period of the Law represents the outward expression of an inner "law of the heart" which is adapted to the human condition of the time. Thus the formation of the law and its development is an integral part of God's pedagogical plan in history. The law as coercive is a part of man's early development. This development is recapitulated by the life of every individual who strives to advance towards God.
16. The period of the law had also a prophetic role to play in that it contained "signs" of future and spiritual realities.
17. Christ, as He "works out" the economy in history effectively fulfills the Law. This gives to recapitulation a double meaning.
18. Man's stages of development in history are progressive and unique. They cannot be reversed. This fact is illustrated by the passing forever of the period of the Law.
19. In keeping with the "law of growth", the new coming of Christ in the Incarnation is not sudden but gradual.
20. The purpose of the Incarnation is that man might see God directly through the flesh of man. In this way he could

communicate freely with God in love. This way of communication with God is shown to be clearly contrary to the Gnostic view. This coming in the flesh was according to a divinely-guided history where man is taught gradually to "see" God.

21. The power to see God is given gradually throughout history in stepwise fashion. It begins with indirect seeing through creation. This is followed by seeing indirectly by way of theophany and type. Next comes direct vision of the Son in the Incarnation wherein the Father is seen indirectly. Finally comes the face-to-face vision of the Father in which man's perfection and goal are realized and this constitutes the end of history. Yet all of these steps are possible only insofar as man willingly cooperates with God.
22. Imperfections and even moral infirmity due to creatureliness can be an advantage in man's gradual advance to God. Of course, this refers to the experience of sin and not the sin itself.
23. Knowledge of good and evil by way of juxtaposition and contrast in man's historical condition is essential to man's "growing up" process. This rule applied to the history of the race as a whole as well as to the personal history of every individual. This good-versus-evil experience in the overall conflict provides important insights into the nature of God and His designs, e.g., His patience and long-suffering vis-a-vis man's sinfulness. In these insights one can better visualize the purpose of history and the triumph of God's goodness. In all of this salvation itself may be seen as pedagogical. Even man's sin can be considered as indirectly giving glory to God. These things are part of the mystery which is revealed as the Divine Plan of salvation comes to realization in history.

24. To be saved after having sinned causes man to "cling" to God more securely. This means that greater freedom is involved.
25. The good-versus-evil conflict throughout history reaches its maturation point in a "polarization" which has the effect of purifying the good through suffering.
26. As opposed to the purposelessness of man's historical condition in the Gnostic's view, Irenaeus' sweeping historical vistas facilitate a deeper penetration into the meaning of the various facets of every individual's life.
27. Man is responsible at all times for his own destiny. God cannot help man if he refuses God's grace.
28. "Seeing" God through history involves an active and gradual "grasping" of God through time. Corresponding to this is a correlative "receiving and containing" of what is grasped. There is a continuity of increase throughout time but also a discontinuity in that the ultimate possessing of the Father ends the "grasping" and marks the end of history. God is "grasped" by love and not by Law. The rejection of God's love results in "blindness". Universality of God's grace is a correlative to freedom.
29. History is the drama of man's ongoing free encounter with God wherein lies the mystery of God's sovereignty and man's freedom.
30. True gnosis is to see God lovingly as He gradually reveals Himself in history. An attitude of genuine love must precede any ability to see but it also indicates all the ways that God shows His love for man throughout history. It is in the Incarnate Word that both of these are realized.

THE LAST DAYS

In its historical development the Judaeo-Christian tradition moves toward eschatological awareness. This is essentially an awareness of a divine initiative to bring history to a close. Already by the time of the birth of Christ this awareness was giving to the Jewish faith and outlook a clearly eschatological orientation. It is not surprising that it formed the background in which Jesus' life and teachings were interpreted and recorded.

In apostolic times, Christians already realized that the life of Christ contained a revelation of God's purpose in history and that His resurrection in some way manifested man's destiny and the end of history. This eschatological understanding of the resurrection implied that in Jesus the last days had already begun. The Church saw itself as the eschatological community of the last days awaiting the glorious return ($\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of the Messiah. This perspective was reflected of course in the New Testament Scriptures and other Church traditions so that, in spite of the apparent delay in the Saviour's return, it remained a predominant influence in the Church for the next two centuries.

In Irenaeus we can study this same Judaeo-Christian eschatology after it has undergone a century and a half of reflection and development. Here also Jesus is the key to the resolution, consummation and termination of history. Irenaeus, too, lives in the "last days" which his Lord has initiated. It is the special contribution of Irenaeus, however, to demonstrate how and in what ways Jesus holds this position from the viewpoint of the whole of creation in its total historical range. In this way he facilitates the understanding of the various facets of Christian theology as they point to and find their unity in these eschatological realities.

1. The Coming of the Son of God at the End

For Irenaeus, the coming of the Son of God into history or the "Christ event" is the essence of what constitutes the divine initiative to bring history to a close. This coming of the Son, however, has two dimensions: a coming in the flesh in a fully historical way and a coming in glory from the realm of the Father above.

Irenaeus attempts to demonstrate how these two comings form a consistent unity which spans an "end time" having its own unique characteristics. The events of the "end time", moreover, form a unity with all previous history in that they give to this history a divine purpose and fulfillment.

i. The "Parousia" of Jesus

Irenaeus reflects the Judaean-Christian view when he indicates a definitive end to history. Just as history has a specific beginning so does it have a determined course and definitive end.

History, moreover, does not come to an end of itself nor does it end at man's initiative. In Chapter II we considered that history is the expression of the divine "economy" or "plan" of God. The termination of this history is also determined by the plan of God. In Chapter III we indicated in some detail how a termination of history coincides with the victory of Christ over the forces of evil. In Chapter IV we saw how history is finalized in the salvation of man through the Incarnation. In Chapter V it is indicated that history terminates when man realizes his vocation to see God. In all cases, however, it is clear that it is God who takes the initiative to end history. This also necessarily implies that the future is supremely under His almighty control.

How does God bring history to a close? What events characterize the "last days" or "end times"? While the answers to such questions remain, to a degree, shrouded in mystery, Irenaeus can see in Church tradition several dimensions that involve a coming ($\pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$) of God into history in some extraordinary way.¹ Since this "parousia" may be considered as already occurring in the Christ-event, the question is partly answered. Yet also for Irenaeus, this "coming" when viewed overall contains something of the apocalyptic suggested in Daniel and certain New Testament writings. This is where Jesus is seen as the "Son of Man" who comes with dramatic power to sweep away everything in a sudden and unprecedented manner. With all-embracing judgement and justice He inaugurates the utterly and ineffably new. Here man has neither option nor power nor recourse in the action. The ending is utterly and completely God's. This is in dramatic contrast to the freedom and power that God gives man to affect the course of history while it is in the process of development. Irenaeus quotes Daniel:

...At another time [He is represented as] "a stone cut out of the mountain without hands," (Dan 7:13,14) and as smiting all temporal kingdoms, and as blowing them away (ventilans ea), and as Himself filling all the earth. Then, too, is this same individual beheld as the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, and drawing near to the Ancient of Days, and receiving from Him all power and glory, and a kingdom...²

Certainly in this context Irenaeus wishes to indicate that the termination of history is coincident with the coming of Christ in a dramatic apocalyptic fashion.

Yet Irenaeus is also able to use another stream of revelation which indicates that the "end of this age" realized in the coming of Christ does not appear so suddenly and dramatically. It would seem that the process of ending history may be

viewed from another dimension, i.e., from the process of history. This aspect of the ending of history by way of a long historical process is illustrated by the following:

Hither were sent by God the prophets, through the Holy Spirit; they admonished the people and brought it back to the God of the patriarchs, the Almighty, and were the heralds of the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, announcing that His flesh would blossom forth from the seed of David, that He would be according to the flesh a son of David, who was the son of Abraham through a long line of succession; but according to the Spirit, Son of God, preexistent with the Father, born before all the building of the world, and appearing to the whole world in the end of this age as man, the Word of God, resuming anew in Himself all things in heaven and on earth.

In this context Irenaeus is saying that God sent the prophets to the Israelites after their establishment in the "Promised Land" to tell of the future coming of Christ. In this case His coming is announced to be by way of a "long line of succession" from David. In this respect He comes as a man "according to the flesh". By this Irenaeus means to say that His entrance into history is in this respect like that of any other man, i.e., by way of birth according to a certain genealogy. This historic, almost unobtrusive dimension of His coming contrasts with the apocalyptic dimension suggested by the employment of Daniel in other texts like the one above. In this context, Irenaeus immediately adds, "but according to the Spirit, Son of God..." not only to indicate the divine aspect of His being which is concealed within His humanity, but also to describe the other apocalyptic dimension of His coming which was prophesied in Daniel: "appearing to the whole world at the end of the age as man." Here He comes in power to make all things new by recapitulating the old: "resuming anew in Himself all things in heaven and on earth."

Irenaeus explains why the coming of the Word of God in the flesh constitutes an end to history. Jesus as the Word is the Image of God in which man, in the beginning, was created. This image, then, is fully realized in Jesus constituting thereby the fullness of God's revelation to man. It is this revelation that brings in "the last days" because in Him the whole process of man's development is fully realized:

...But who else is superior to, and more eminent than, that man who was formed after the likeness of God, except the Son of God, after whose image man was created? And for this reason He did in these last days...exhibit the similitude; [for] the Son of God was made man, assuming the ancient production [of His hands] into His own nature...⁴

In other words, when the disciples beheld the Lord, especially in His resurrection, they beheld a man who even in the flesh exhibited manhood in its most superior and eminent form. They were beholding the archetype man according to which all men were created in Adam in the beginning. Now this man is also the Son of God, the perfect Image and Likeness of the Father. The visible created aspect of Christ which the disciples beheld is one with the divine aspect and in this sense, perfectly in the Image and Likeness of the Father. This "similitude" between the created aspect of Christ the man and His uncreated divine aspect as Image and Likeness of the Father is therefore now exhibited. And although Adam (and through him all other men) was created in this Image, the "similitude" was not manifest until the Son of God "assumed the ancient production [of His hands] into His own nature...", i.e., became incarnate in the flesh of Adam. This perfect similitude, then, represents the end of human development and, in this sense, the end of the historical process.

To be sure, Irenaeus considered the coming of Christ as one event overall occurring within a "time" that constitutes a unity in itself; a period of the "last days". It is also

clear that he sees within this unity in the end of history a double dimension according to which one may speak of two advents or "comings" of Christ. The first advent is, so to speak, from within history in the usual way according to human generation with all the limitations that it implies. The second must be visualized as a sudden all-eclipsing dramatic return from the realm of the Father above bearing all-encompassing power and judgement

...but they (the heretics)...do not recognize the advent of Christ, which He accomplished for the salvation of men, nor are willing to understand that all the prophets announced His two advents: the one, indeed, in which He became a man subject to stripes, and knowing what it is to bear infirmity, (Isa 53:3) ...while He gathered from the ends of the earth into His Father's fold the children who were scattered abroad (Isa 11:12)...but the second in which He will come on the clouds, (see III,20,4) bringing on the day which burns as a furnace (Mal 4:1) and smiting the earth with the word of His mouth (Isa 11:4) and slaying the impious with the breath of His lips...5

ii. Preparations for the Parousia in Prophecy

Although the Parousia may be described, in certain respects, as "sudden" it does not come unannounced. God prepares the way for His coming by prophetic revelations from within the Judaic past. Irenaeus is very emphatic about this point because an entirely new Parousia would support the gnostic contention that Jesus descends from a different god than the Demiurge indicated in the Old Testament

But whence could the prophets have had power to predict the advent of the King and to preach beforehand that liberty which was bestowed by Him, and previously to announce all things which were done by Christ...Neither are ye in a position to say that these things came to pass by a certain kind of chance, as if they were spoken by the prophets in regard to some other person...6

It is not only the Parousia itself that is announced by the prophets but also its various characteristics. Included among these is the "double dimension" of His coming: apocalyptically as the "Son of Man" as well as historically through the Judaic line of David

For some of them, beholding Him in glory, saw His glorious life (conversationem) at the Father's right hand; (Isa 6:1) others beheld Him as coming on the clouds as the Son of man; (Dan 7:13) and those who declared regarding Him, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced," (Zech 12:10) indicated His second advent, concerning which He Himself says, "Thinkest thou that when the Son of man cometh, He shall find faith on the earth?" (Lk 18:8)...Others again, speaking of Him as a judge...were accustomed to threaten those who were unbelieving...And there are also some of them who say, "The Lord hath spoken in Zion, and uttered His voice from Jerusalem;" (Joel 3:16) and, "In Judah is God known;" (Ps 76:1) - these indicated His advent which took place in Judea...⁷

This integration by Irenaeus of the two advents of Christ must be seen in the background of a broader Judaeo-Christian theological development which, in turn, involves developments in the theology of the nature of the Messiah Himself. With some risk of oversimplification it may be said that these two "advents" suggested here by Irenaeus were originally represented in the Old Testament as two separate traditions.⁸

In the New Testament and in the Early Church these two Judaic traditions undergo an integration as it is gradually realized that they can both relate to the one person, Jesus Christ. For example, it could be seen that these prophecies relate both to the events of His historical life before the Resurrection as well as to events which come and are yet to come after it.⁹ Again, as regards the latter, what was first conceived as an immanent return was later conceived as a

"Second Coming" at an indeterminate eschatological horizon. Associated with these eschatological developments are christological developments of theology concerning the manner in which the divine and the human are present in Christ. These developments reach a culmination at the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁰ As indicated here and also above (p 117-136), Irenaeus is a principal agent in the mainstream of this theological development.

iii. The "Last Days" in Continuity with Time

Although the "last days" have their own special character, they do not constitute a "separate" time. The "last days" are not disjoint from all previous time as the Gnostics claim. Irenaeus insists on the basic unity and continuity of all time even though the "last days" have a unique character. For Irenaeus this must be true if for no other reason than that all time has the same Author. Time is radially united in its root cause:

...and to point out the folly of their mad opinions; and to demonstrate from that same Paul, from whose writings they press questions upon us, that they are indeed utterers of falsehood, but that the Apostle was a preacher of the truth...[to the effect that] it was one God the Father who spake with Abraham, who gave the law, who sent the prophets beforehand, who in the last times sent His Son, and conferred salvation upon His own handiwork - that is, the substance of flesh...¹¹

Time's unity derives not only from unique authorship but also from the fact that the one Author plans and executes an ongoing process of fulfillment by way of this "end time". Irenaeus is careful to avoid a conception of sudden and absolute fulfillment occurring all at once. Even the fulfillment must itself be an ongoing process in continuity with all previous time:

...For by His advent He Himself fulfilled all things, and does still fulfill in the Church the new covenant foretold by the law, onwards to the consummation [of all things]...¹²

Irenaeus employs typical New Testament expressions which apply to time such as "fullness of time". Such an expression as used by Paul suggests that by divine intention time before the advent of Christ held a purpose within it and moved, so to speak, toward that purpose. In this way continuity is built and strengthened as in the following example:

...And again, in his Epistle to the Galatians, he says, "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that we might receive the adoption;" (Gal 4:4,5)¹³

It is Irenaeus' ability to grasp at one and the same time God's transcendence from and His immanence within His own creation that enables him to see the unity of all time at a glance. He can visualize God's immanence in creation by way of the "two hands" of God, the Word and the Spirit working to a fulfillment throughout all time. At the same time he can assert their transcendence in that they are antecedent to time, i.e., "anterior to all creation".¹⁴

2. The Resurrection and the Second Coming

The key event of the coming in the last days is the Resurrection. Like the Parousia itself it subtends a double dimension: the resurrection of Christ and the general resurrection of all the faithful at the Second Coming.

Resurrection means both a newness and a fullness of life. It applies to the whole man, body soul and spirit. Since the most visible aspect of this newness is its bodily effect, resurrection takes its point of departure and its understanding from the resurrection of the flesh.

Since the Gnostics could not admit matter or the flesh of man to any kind of unity with the spiritual or divine, they were most opposed to the central Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. Understandably, Irenaeus places special emphasis on the resurrection of the flesh as essential to traditional Christian doctrine.

i. The Resurrection of Jesus

a. Jesus is Predestined the Son of God by the Resurrection

The two-dimensional aspect of the Parousia mentioned above becomes more understandable in view of the Resurrection. Irenaeus seems to consider the Resurrection as the focal point from which to understand the meaning of the Second Coming of Christ and the "last days". For Irenaeus, the Resurrection, by its very nature, constitutes the "end" of things.

Following Paul, Irenaeus seems to consider the Resurrection of Jesus as the ultimate realization of His predestination. He is "predestined" by the Resurrection. It is in witnessing to this fact that man "sees" that Jesus is

the Son of God as He always was from the beginning:

Paul, when writing to the Romans, has explained this very point: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, predestined unto the Gospel of God, which He had promised by His prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made to Him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined the Son of God with power through the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Rom 1:1-4)...and that Jesus Christ was appointed the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead, as being the first-begotten in all creation. (Rom 8:11)...¹⁵

It is in the Resurrection, therefore, that Jesus begins to come in power in a way that God can and will affect history. The role of the Spirit is also evident in the employment of this power. This power was already evident and effective to some degree in His first historical coming (cf p 208-246). Irenaeus sees the coming of Christ with power and sovereignty ranging all the way from the Incarnation to the Resurrection. His power and sovereignty extends to all things by virtue of this all-encompassing range. In commenting on the words of Jesus: "All things are delivered to Me by My Father" (Mtt 11:27) Irenaeus explains:

...But in all things [it is implied that] nothing has been kept back [from Him] and for this reason the same person is the Judge of the living and the dead; "having the key of David..." (Rev 3:7)...For no one was able either in heaven or in earth, or under the earth, to open the book of the Father, or to behold Him, with the exception of the Lamb who was slain, and who redeemed us with His own blood, receiving power over all things from the same God who made all things by the Word, and adorned them by [His] Wisdom, when "the Word was made flesh;" that even as the Word of God had the sovereignty in the heavens, so also might He have the sovereignty in the earth...¹⁶

b. The Resurrection of Jesus as the Cause of the Resurrection of Man

By virtue of the fact that Jesus is "head" of mankind it necessarily follows that His resurrection must "spread" to the rest of the "body". He is thereby in His resurrection the cause of man's resurrection. This also means that He is the "first fruits" of the resurrection of man as such

...and that what was thus born should be "God with us", and descend to those things which are of the earth beneath, seeking the sheep which had perished, which was indeed His own peculiar handiwork, and ascend to the height above, offering and commending to His Father that human nature (hominem) which had been found, making in His own person the first fruits of the resurrection of man: that, as the head rose from the dead, so also the remaining part of the body - [namely, the body] of every man who is found in life - when the time is fulfilled of that condemnation which existed by reason of disobedience, may arise...17

The Resurrection even extends, as it were, back into time in order to raise up all the just ones who had gone before. Irenaeus holds this doctrine on the basis of Jesus' words to the Jews that Abraham and the other patriarchs are alive (Mtt 22:29, etc.) and that Jesus said this in the context of the meaning of resurrection

He, then, who was adored by the prophets as the living God, He is the God of the living; and His Word is He who also spake to Moses, who also put the Sadducees to silence, who also bestowed the gift of resurrection, thus revealing [both] truths to those who are blind, that is, the resurrection and God [in His true character]. For if He be not the God of the dead, but of the living, yet was called the God of the Fathers who were sleeping, they do indubitably live to God, and have not passed out of existence, since they are children of the resurrection. But our Lord is Himself the resurrection, as He does Himself declare...18

ii. The Resurrection of Man

a. Jesus Causes the Resurrection of Man

Irenaeus holds to the final resurrection of all men at the end of these "last days" as prophesied by John. This sudden final event will be initiated by the Lord. He will call them to life and they will rise from the dead bodily

...so also at the end, when the Lord utters His voice "by the last trumpet" (1 Cor 15:52) the dead shall be raised, as He Himself declares: "The hour shall come, in which all the dead which are in the tombs shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and shall come forth; those that have done good to the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil to the resurrection of judgement." (Jn 5:28)19

The physical or bodily resurrection of the faithful to life must nevertheless be seen only as the final phase of unification between man and God effected by the Incarnate Word (cf p 129f). Although the mediatorial role of the Incarnate Word is principally moral in character, it presupposes an ontological basis. Since Jesus is both divine and human He is most aptly equipped for such a role. His perfect sacrifice breaks the bond of sin and allows man unity with God in friendship. Houssiau brings out a principle in Irenaeus to the effect that this intimate personal familiarity (*οἰκὸς ὁ τῆς*) established between man and God presupposes a communion of nature which includes incorruptibility.²⁰ In this transformation there is a restoration of the Image and Likeness in which man was created and whereby man becomes like the Son and precious in the eyes of the Father.²¹

It is clear that the resurrection of man should not be conceived as a single event but rather as a whole process extended through history in which man becomes pleasing to the Father and shares His life of incorruptibility. All this is

made possible by the nature and work of the Incarnate Word. This "work" is also therefore extended through time and marked by a sequence of specific historical events which range from the Incarnation through the Passion and Death and culminate in the Second Coming. The bodily resurrection of man is therefore only the final phase of a "resurrecting" process involving the whole man: body, soul and spirit.

One must also keep in mind that the resurrection is the culmination and final effect of God's increasing visibility to man throughout history which also centers in the Incarnate Word (cf p 333). For it is in "seeing" God that man is assimilated to Him even as to incorruptibility:

So He united man with God and brought about a communion of God and man, we being unable in any other wise to have part in incorruptibility, had it not been for His coming to us...For incorruptibility, while invisible and imperceptible, would not help us; so He became visible, that we might be taken into full communion with incorruptibility²²

Thus Christ causes the resurrection of men not only as to the flesh but as to the inner man as well. In fact, the resurrection of the inner "spiritual" man is prior and first in His work. This might be better expressed as a resurrection to "life". For example, Baptism is a sign which signifies and effects our solidarity with the whole historical range and pattern of Christ's life. To illustrate Irenaeus quotes Paul:

...But that the Apostle did know Him as one, both who was born and who suffered, namely Christ Jesus, he again says in the same epistle: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized in Christ Jesus were baptized in His death? That like as Christ rose from the dead, so should we also walk in newness of life." (Rom 6:3,4)²³

As also indicated above (p 226-233), the principal and ultimate causal agent employed by Christ and the Father for the resurrection of men is the Holy Spirit. He is the principle

of spiritual and divine life in man:

...But where the Spirit of the Father is, there is a living man; [there is] the rational blood preserved by God for the avenging [of those that shed it]; [there is] the flesh possessed by the Spirit, forgetful indeed of what belongs to it, and adopting the quality of the Spirit, being made conformable to the Word of God...²⁴

The Spirit also works, through the flesh instrumentally. The same Spirit that "worked" the resurrection of Christ's own body also effects the resurrection of the bodies of His faithful:

In the same manner, therefore, as Christ did rise in the substance of flesh, and pointed out to His disciples the mark of the nails and the opening in His side (Jn 20:20,25,27) (now these are the tokens of that flesh which rose from the dead), so "shall He also," it is said, "raise us up by His own power." (1 Cor 6:14) And again to the Romans he says, "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies." (Rom 8:11)²⁵

b. The Nature of the "Resurrected" Man

We must say at the outset that the resurrected man in his full and final state is a perfect man. From this it follows that to the extent that we participate resurrection, to that extent we attain perfection. We have already noted above (p 333) that ultimate perfection consists in the vision of the Father. Irenaeus, wishing to establish a continuity between this ultimate perfection and man's present state, insists that, contrary to the Gnostic's view, He is that same Father whom we now desire to see

...As therefore, when that which is perfect is come, we shall not see another Father, but Him whom we now desire to see (for "blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God" (Mtt 5:8))...²⁶

The resurrected man is a "transfigured" man. Jesus transfigures us according to His own resurrection. This transfiguration involves incorruptibility and immortality of the whole man including the body composed of flesh. Moreover, it is the very same flesh that was "humbled" in death:

...And again, to the Philippians he says: "But our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, who shall transfigure the body of our humiliation conformable to the body of His glory, even as He is able (ita ut possit) according to the working of His own power." (Phil 3:20) What, then, is this "body of humiliation" which the Lord shall transfigure...? Plainly it is this body composed of flesh, which is indeed humbled when it falls into the earth. Now its transformation takes place thus, that while it is mortal and corruptible, it becomes immortal and incorruptible not after its own proper substance, but after the mighty working of the Lord...²⁷

There is clearly a difference between the man of this life and the resurrected man. This difference follows from the resurrected Christ who differed in that He had become transformed after He had resurrected. This is not a difference in the sense that one becomes a new being entirely. A transformation does not necessarily imply a loss of identity. This transformation, although definitive and radical, nevertheless exhibits a personal continuity. Irenaeus is very insistent on the point that this continuity maintains even to the body of flesh because this was a most effective way of refuting the Gnostic system. They interpreted Paul's words, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" as support for their contention that matter or flesh can have no part in the divine life. Irenaeus, by employing other texts from Paul, shows that such an interpretation could never have been Paul's intention.²⁸ By "flesh" in this context Paul meant actions or habits inspired by the "world".

This overcoming of evil as principle of death which is accomplished by the Spirit is, again, a component of history in that it builds as man, through time, grows and matures. As Wingren has stated it, the Spirit is something which grows together with man until the resurrection when man becomes fully man.²⁹

Why is the resurrection of the body a "last" thing? It is so because it is the resurrection which overcomes bodily death and bodily death is the "last" enemy of man to be destroyed. Consequently, resurrection is the last in the life of Christ, last in the life of every man, and last in the series of historical events when history is viewed overall.

The resurrection which overcomes physical death is the ultimate witness to the conquest of Satan. Once again, we must view this in the background of the dramatic struggle between man and Satan beginning with Adam. The first Adam lost but in the final conflict it is the New Adam who carries the ultimate victory against Satan.

...Now Adam had been conquered, all life having been taken away from him; wherefore, when the foe was conquered in his turn Adam received new life; and the last enemy death is destroyed, (1 Cor 15: 26) which at the first had taken possession of man. Therefore, when man has been liberated, "what is written shall come to pass, Death is swallowed up in victory...When therefore the Lord vivifies man, that is, Adam, death is at the same time destroyed."³⁰

c. Resurrection is Salvation

Taking a point of departure from Paul (Rom 5:6-10), Irenaeus holds that the causal action which Christ's resurrection effects on the faithful is a saving action.³¹ Were it not for this action, man would not only cease to advance but would perish spiritually and physically. This view of things might appear strange in that one would tend to assume that the effects of resurrection could not enter a person until that person was purified from sin. On this basis one would presume a certain order in the instrumental effects of the life of Christ. One might assume that Christ's resurrection effects divine life only after His Passion and Death have effected purification and salvation. This is not Irenaeus' view. As he sees it, it is the Resurrection that drives out corruption. This operates in some way through the sacrificial death of Christ. It is the incorruption of the resurrected life that drives out corruption. This involves the whole man, bodily corruption included:

For as the flesh is capable of corruption, so is it also of incorruption; and as it is of death, so is it also of life. These two do mutually give way to each other; and both cannot remain in the same place, but one is driven out by the other, and the presence of the one destroys that of the other. If, then, when death takes possession of a man, it drives life away from him, and proves him to be dead, much more does life, when it has obtained power over the man, drive out death and restore him as living unto God...Thus that former life is expelled, because it was not given by the Spirit, but by the breath.³²

Insofar as salvation means a freeing from the power of Satan and victory over evil, it is the body's participation in this resurrection which signals salvation. Irenaeus would see death as the "enemy" of man's spiritual life. Thus death in the physical sense is the "last" enemy to be destroyed and is therefore the final fulfillment of the victory and glory of

the resurrection. This is another instance of how Irenaeus sees the physical and spiritual in man as correlative and inseparable:

...Now Adam had been conquered, all life having been taken away from him; wherefore, when the foe was conquered in his turn, Adam received new life; and the last enemy death, is destroyed, (1 Cor 15:26)³³ which at the first had taken possession of man...

Speaking historically, therefore, the "last days" considered as the time of the present struggle with the forces of evil, ends finally with the resurrection of the body. This, in turn, signals the completion of the work of Christ's resurrection.

Irenaeus is not explicit about the state of the faithful who die before the resurrection. Certainly, for Irenaeus, the soul continues to exist, to remember, to think and "... each class of souls receives a habitation such as it has deserved, even before the judgement."³⁴ What is the nature of this state and how does it relate to the Second Coming and the general resurrection? It would seem that Irenaeus does not wish to speculate on such matters. Perhaps he feared that speculation in this area might weaken his emphasis on the fundamental unity of man and leave an opening for the hellenistic and gnostic view that man's progress to God requires an "escape" of an "immortal" soul from a transient and perishing body. Wingren has noted Irenaeus' strong emphasis on God's Spirit as the life-giving source in man both as to body and soul. This could be another reason for Irenaeus' apparent reluctance to speculate on such things as the immortality of the disembodied soul.³⁵

3. Christ's Coming as a New Creation

The coming of the Word of God into history by way of the Incarnation effects a new creation. This gives a "newness" to man, to the world and to history. This is not a newness that destroys the old creation but rather is of a kind that purifies, elevates and transforms. In this kind of newness history attains to its unity and purpose.

The newness of divine creative action reaches a fulfillment by way of a process in time which respects the freedom of man. It first comes to a fulfillment in the person of Christ as He attains to His glorious resurrection. The resurrected Christ sends His Spirit into the Church in order that this Church may be the historical environment in which the New Creation through time may develop to its fulfillment in all mankind.

i. The Incarnation Inaugurates a New Creation

From the initial act of creating God is always present to His creation. He is constantly sustaining and guiding it. He becomes present to His creation in a new and highly personal way by the coming in the flesh of His Word. The main lines of this concept have been covered in Chapter IV. From that study we present here a brief resumé. The Incarnate Word, by taking up anew the old creation from Adam effects a "new" creation in such a way that there exists a type of discontinuity within a creative continuity. There exists continuity by the fact that the old creation from Adam together with the whole created Cosmos is not destroyed but rather taken up again and renewed, elevated and transformed. There is a continuity also by virtue of the fact that one and the same Creator operates within the same overall divine economy. This continuity is effected and

expressed by way of a recapitulation (cf p 123-128).

By way of the Incarnation, however, there exists also a kind of discontinuity in that something new begins to exist which never existed before. This is realized by way of a process of recapitulation. By a "retaking up" and restoring of the old creation into the new context of the Incarnation, many new creative and redemptive effects ensue (cf p 123-128; 194-195). This newness represents an historical advance in the divine economy both from the point of view of "new generation" and of victory in the conflict with the forces of evil (cf p 195-6). Christ as man is a new creation also from the viewpoint that He receives the "fullness" of the Spirit thereby becoming a new source of life for all men. In Him is realized the perfection of man as a creation (cf p 208-210; 219-220) by reason of which time itself comes to a fullness (cf p 22; 212-214).

The Incarnation inaugurates a newness also by effecting an incorporation of man into divine "sonship" with the eternal Son of God. This "adoption" creates a "divinization" of man from which flows certain characteristics. One of these is the capacity to see God wherein lies the essence of divine life in man (cf p 11; 329-334). From seeing God flows immortality and incorruptibility (cf p 287). All these characteristics, in effect, assimilate man to the Image and Likeness of God in whom man was originally created.

We must realize, however, that Jesus, as the Incarnation, must Himself undergo a pattern of development so that even in Him this newness does not come to full realization until He is resurrected from the dead. It is only then that He is, humanly speaking, complete, perfect, and fully endowed by the Spirit with power.

From His invisible position at the right hand of the

Father He is immeasurably ahead of man in development and represents an end-point toward which all mankind must move.. It is from this lofty position that He brings His newness to man.

Although not explicitly stated as such, there is implied in Irenaeus' theology what Daniélou has observed in the later New Testament and early Fathers. Christ in His resurrection represents the end of history in the sense that as Resurrected Lord and perfect man no development of history can be forthcoming which can surpass him. Thus as Jesus from the invisible realm of the Father gives of His life-giving Spirit to man, He can do nothing else but draw man on to that end of history which is already realized in Himself. Herein lies the characteristic paradox of Christianity.³⁶

ii. How the New Creation is Brought to Man

From the point of view of understanding the "new time", it would be helpful to consider how the "new" creation comes to realization in man. There seem to be four interrelated concepts involved here: "engrafting", "transformation", "putting on" and "presence of God". All of this involves the action of the Spirit of God who is sent from the Resurrected Christ and the Father.

Irenaeus likes to use the analogy of the "engrafted olive" to describe the coming of the "new" in respect to the "old". He is thereby able to establish that just as in grafting there is a continuity of existence in the substance of the wood so also is there a continuity in the substance of the flesh of the old man in respect to the new. At the same time, however, a radical change occurs which can be expressed analogically as a change in the "quality of the fruit" when the man of flesh and blood becomes a "spiritual" man:

But as the engrafted wild olive does not certainly lose the substance of its wood, but changes the quality of its fruit, and receives another name, being now not a wild olive but a fruit bearing olive, and is called so; so also, when man is grafted in by faith and receives the Spirit of God, he certainly does not lose the substance of the flesh, but changes the quality of the fruit [brought forth, i.e.] of his works, and receives another name, (Rev. 2:17) showing that he has become changed for the better, being now not [mere] flesh and blood, but a spiritual man, and is called such...³⁷

This engrafting is also a "putting on" of immortality. It therefore requires some kind of initiative, i.e., faith and good works. In the "putting on" there is no question of replacing the person involved. There is a continuity of existence even though the mortality aspect of this existence gives way to immortality and sin gives way to the life of the Spirit:

...And for this reason he says, "this mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible must put on incorruption." (Cor. 15:53) And again he declares, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." (Rom. 8:9)...³⁸

Irenaeus opposes those Gnostics who say that the body can have no share in the life of the Resurrected Christ. He argues that the very fact of our living now proves that the body can partake of life.³⁹ All flesh is capable of life. Moreover, our flesh does not limit life since life does not have its origin from the flesh but from God. Thus the flesh which at present can live within the limits of time, can also live eternally in the never-ending life granted by God:

...But if the present temporal life, which is of such an inferior nature to eternal life, can nevertheless effect so much as to quicken our mortal members, why should not eternal life, being much more powerful than this, vivify the flesh, which has already held converse with, and been accustomed to sustain life...⁴⁰

As indicated above, the gnostic objection to the elevation of the flesh to divine life flows from their exaggerated conception of the transcendence of the invisible Father. Irenaeus, together with the divine transcendence from Creation, sees also a divine immanence in a creation freely willed. Irenaeus' conception of a history in process through time facilitates the employment of the idea of a mutual accustoming between God and man in such a way that the flesh can be involved in divine life.

Evieux has shown how Irenaeus conceives of the flesh as "becoming accustomed" to participate eternal life. He shows how this follows the many facets of the concept of "accustoming": difference and inequality; reciprocity; reversability; movement to finality; and abasement for the purpose of upraising.⁴¹ In this way, what might otherwise be conceived as inaccessible to man by virtue of divine transcendence is seen to be possible by way of "accustoming" through time. Here God takes the initiative to abase Himself to incarnation in the flesh and submission to all the limitations of man's historicity in order to grasp human nature and raise it up to divine life.

Actually, the accustoming process began at the beginning with the creation of Adam and continues on to the end.⁴² Even the discontinuity caused by sin could not disrupt this process. This accustoming by way of "hands" that intimately mould and adapt (to His own image and likeness) is also the supreme expression of His love.⁴³ God's very moulding of the clay from which man was formed was itself the beginning of God's self-abasement and "accustoming" the flesh to life.

...For in Adam the hands of God had become accustomed to set in order, to rule, and to sustain His own workmanship, and to bring it and place it where they pleased...⁴⁴

From this initial point on the accustoming never actually ceases throughout the whole course of history until it reaches a new point in the Incarnation. But the ultimate act of accustoming is to the resurrection of the flesh for eternal life. At this point the Spirit renders man perfect even to the flesh for it becomes the members of Christ and the temple of God.⁴⁵

.iii. Continuity Between Old and New Creation

We have thus far considered two historical continuities in Irenaeus, one superimposed upon and integrated with the other. The special continuity of divine presence in the flesh from the Incarnation to the Parousia is superimposed upon and integrated with the continuity of immanent creative action throughout both Testaments from beginning to end.

There has been throughout the Christian tradition, however, an acknowledgement of the fact in one way or another of an inner tension within the historical continuity of the Lord's advent in the flesh. This tension has been doctrinally "crystallized", as mentioned above, in the "two advents"; the first historical in Christ's birth from Mary; the second apocalyptic in glory from the Father. This tension is further extended by contradistinction of characteristics; the first emphasizes historicity, grace and mercy, the second transcendence, judgement and glory.

Wingren, following Nygren sees this tension related to two "ages" presently existing concurrently. Christ already established His kingdom by His Resurrection, although He has not yet appeared in power as will be manifested most of all in His resurrecting the faithful at the end of time. Thus those who are united to Christ in the "new age" of the kingdom still must also live in the "old age" in which man's enemies

are not wholly destroyed. Moreover, sin and death, although vanquished by Christ, can still ensnare men. It is only when Christ's Kingdom can encompass man completely and Christ will come in glory that the "old age" will be wiped away forever.

For since there are real men, so must there also be a real establishment (plantationem), that they vanish not away among non-existent things, but progress among those which have an actual existence. For neither is the substance nor the essence of the creation annihilated (For faithful and true is He who has established it), but "the fashion of the world passeth away;" (Cor. 7:31) that is, those things among which transgression has occurred, since man has grown old in them. And therefore this present fashion has been formed temporary...as I have pointed out in the preceding book (IV, 5,6), and have also shown, as far as was possible, the cause of the creation of this world of temporal things. But when this present fashion of things passes away, and man has been renewed, and flourishes in an incorruptible state...then there shall be the new heaven and the new earth...⁴⁶

In this connection we must always keep in mind Irenaeus' polemic motivation. By the exposition of this doctrine from Christian tradition he intends to refute the Gnostic notion that the "old age" and the "new age" are totally irreconcilable and opposed to each other. They, in effect, see the continuity of history as essentially "broken" on the grounds that each "age" (aeon) has a different Author and these are opposed to each other, viz., the Demiurge as opposed to the eternal unknown Father. Irenaeus stresses that the difference is one of degree, not of opposites.⁴⁷ We must remember also that this "difference" of old as opposed to "new" is constituted within an ascending series of progress toward the divine.

iv. Resurrection as "Earnest"

The point from which men of the "new age" view the Kingdom of Christ and understand it is the Resurrection. This is because the Resurrection is the principle from which Christ gives the faithful power to share it, viz., by the way of the Spirit. Although we do not possess the Resurrection wholly, completely and manifestly, we do hold it as an "earnest" of the Spirit. In addition to realizing the Resurrection as an event coming out of the historic past, the faithful also see the possession of its fullness as a future reality in which the virtue of hope finds its object. It is the grasp of this historic range in past, present and future that provides the breadth and depth of the Christian vision. The Christian lives not in and for the present only but in the whole range of divinely guided history, the end of which gives to the whole its ultimate meaning. Since the Resurrection of Christ is present to the Christian, he can view himself from the anticipated future point of his own resurrection of which that present resurrection of Christ is the principle

...Now these words shall appropriately be said at the time when this mortal and corruptible flesh, which is subject to death...rising up into life, shall put on incorruption and immortality. For then, indeed, shall death be truly vanquished, when that flesh which is held down by it shall go forth from under its dominion. And again, to the Philippians he says: "But our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, who shall transfigure the body of our humiliation conformable to the body of His glory, even as He is able according to the working of His own power." (Phil 3:29 etc.) What, then, is this "body of humiliation" which the Lord shall transfigure, [so as to be conformed] to "the body of His glory?" Plainly it is this body composed of flesh...Now its transformation [takes place thus], that while it is mortal and corruptible, it becomes immortal and incorruptible, not after its own proper substance, but after the mighty working of the Lord...48

We can say that according to the way Irenaeus interprets the scriptural references to the doctrine of the resurrection, the resurrection of man marks the end of history as we know and experience it. Since the resurrection of Christ is already achieved, we truly live "in the last days". History must, nevertheless, still advance toward that final end when all men will share the fullness of that Resurrection. Thus even for those who now possess the life-giving Spirit of Christ, this Resurrection is possessed only in an incomplete and inchoate manner. This is in evidence most of all by the fact of bodily mortality. But our possession of the Spirit is an "earnest" of the completeness of the resurrection toward which we tend and in that sense certain spiritual effects are already apparent.

But we do now receive a certain portion of His Spirit, tending towards perfection, and preparing us for incorruption, being little by little accustomed to receive and bear God; which also the apostle terms "an earnest", that is, a part of the honour which has been promised us by God, where he says in the Epistle to the Ephesians, "In which ye also, having heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation, believing in which ye have been sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance" (Eph 1:13 etc.). This earnest, therefore, thus dwelling in us, renders us spiritual even now, and the mortal is swallowed up by immortality. (2 Cor 5:4)⁴⁹

This "newness of the Resurrected Christ already possessed by the faithful effects an inner transformation of the "heart" which sets man in a new relationship to God. This is an effect which bears with it a social dimension wherein a "new covenant" is established and a "new people" formed. This was foretold in the "old covenant" by way of messianic prophecy as in this example:

So our calling is in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter, ... as Jeremias

prophesied: Behold days come, saith the Lord, and I will perfect for the house of Israel and for the house of Juda a new covenant, not according to the covenant...which I covenanted with their fathers, in the day that I took their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for they did not remain firm in the covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant...giving my law in their minds I will write it also in their heart; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people...50

This "living of the Resurrection" as though living from a future vantage point in the present must never be considered as an "escape" from present reality. The Christian must drink to full measure the suffering of living within the "old aeon" as well. This is not a detriment to the soul's "upbringing", however, since it allows the Christian to share, during his earthly life, the full gamut of Christ-like experience even as to the flesh:

That he uses these words with respect to the body of flesh, and to none other, he declares to the Corinthians manifestly, indubitably, and free from all ambiguity: "Always bearing about in our body the dying of Jesus...that also the life of Jesus Christ might be manifested in our body. For if we who live are delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, it is that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our mortal flesh." (2Cor. 4:10 etc.)⁵¹

Clearly, then, Irenaeus understands that the Spirit of the Resurrected Lord takes hold even of the flesh. The evident inevitability of mortality of the flesh in this life is not a contradiction of that fact. It simply means that the Spirit of resurrection does not give resurrection of the body priority over the opportunity to live, once and for all in a fully historical way, the Passion of Christ.

But even in this present limited historical dimension, the resurrection is, to a degree at least, also present in the flesh by the action of the Spirit:

...And that the Spirit lays hold on the flesh he says in the same Epistle, "That ye are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, inscribed not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart." "2Cor. 3:3) If, therefore, in the present time, fleshly hearts are made partakers of the Spirit, what is there astonishing if, in the resurrection, they receive that life which is granted by the Spirit?...52

Wonderful as the presence of the Spirit may be now with his resurrecting power working in all human dimensions it is still nothing to compare to the final working of this same resurrection at the end. It will be as a bursting out from behind a veil to the full brilliance of face to face vision and where the fullness of becoming after the image and likeness of God becomes evident:

...If therefore, at the present time, having the earnest we do cry, "Abba, Father" what shall it be when, on rising again, we behold Him face to face; when all the members shall burst out into a continuous hymn of triumph, glorifying Him who raised them from the dead, and gave the gift of eternal life? For if the earnest, gathering man into itself, does even now cause him to cry, "Abba, Father," what shall the complete grace of the Spirit effect, which shall be given to men by God? It will render us like unto Him, and accomplish the will of the Father; for it shall make man after the image and likeness of God.53

v. Church and Liturgy: Efficacious Signs of Resurrection

We must now consider certain significant eschatological components of Irenaeus' doctrine on the Church (cf p 233-246).

The resurrected body of the Lord was a sign of the divine presence in man just as, in an analogous way, the Temple of Jerusalem was the visible sign of God's presence

among His people. Irenaeus makes reference to this doctrine in John. Alongside this text Irenaeus places one from 1Cor. which refers to the bodies of the faithful as together constituting an extension of that same "Temple":

...As also the Lord speaks in reference to Himself, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. He spake this, however," it is said, "of the temple of His body." (Jn. 2: 19-21) And not only does he (the apostle) acknowledge our bodies to be a temple, but even the temple of Christ, saying thus to the Corinthians, "Know ye not that your bodies are members of Christ?...⁵⁵

When we view this in the light of another text in which Irenaeus clearly states that the visible church is the dispenser of the life of the Spirit as though from the body of Christ,⁵⁵ one is inclined to agree with Wingren that the Church as the "body of Christ" lies in the background of Irenaeus' mind.

In any event, it seems clear from these and other texts that the Church as visible bodily is an eschatological sign of the resurrection. Moreover, the Church is seen clearly as the means by which the Lord brings His life to man and draws him on to the Parousia. When we consider this in the context of Irenaeus' historical overview, it means that the history of the Church in the world is the history of the continuing action of Christ from His Resurrection (and from Pentecost) to the Parousia. This is a work of saving, recreating and refashioning man after Jesus who is the Image and Likeness of God.⁵⁶

At the same time, when one enters the protection of the Church he mingles his own personal history with that of the Church. When he is baptized, he enters at the beginning, i.e., as a child receiving new life. Then he suffers a process of growth. He "walks with the Lord "as though on a

pilgrimage. He learns as though from a Teacher. He struggles against sin and moves from death to life. In short, he becomes as one who gradually, through time, works out a history of personal salvation. This is essentially the meaning that one draws from:

...For this gift of God has been entrusted to the Church, as breath was to the first created man... for this purpose, that all the members receiving it may be vivified; and the means of communion with Christ has been distributed throughout it, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God. "For in the Church," it is said, "God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers," (1 Cor 12:28) and all the other means through which the Spirit works...⁵⁷

This function of the Church as the historical environment in which the "child of God" can grow is typified throughout history from the beginning. As the original "garden" was the environment for the children, Adam and Eve, so is the Church the "planted garden" of this world into which the "new children" can enter and grow

...It behooves us, therefore, to avoid their doctrines, and to take careful heed lest we suffer any injury from them; but to flee to the Church, and be brought up in her bosom, and be nourished with the Lord's scriptures. For the Church has been planted as a garden (paradisus) in this world...Into this paradise the Lord has introduced those who obey His call, "summing up in Himself all things which are in heaven, and which are on earth..." (Eph 1:10)⁵⁸

and the "new children" are nourished by the "trees" (scriptures) of the new paradise:

...therefore says the Spirit of God, "Thou mayest freely eat from every tree of the garden," (Gen 2:16) that is, Eat ye from every Scripture of the Lord; but ye shall not eat with an uplifted mind, nor touch any heretical discord...⁵⁹

Israel is also seen as an historical type of the Church with the same kind of "upbringing" role for the children of God.⁶⁰

The sacraments of the Church reflect this "upbringing" role of the Church. This is especially true of the Eucharist which, under the sign of common bread, nourishes the flesh of the faithful unto resurrection. The Eucharist is a witness to our belief that flesh and blood are not only to be saved but are the very instruments of salvation.⁶¹

4. Recapitulation as an Eschatological Reality

We have dealt with Irenaeus' conception of recapitulation from the viewpoint of creation and salvation (cf p 182-196). In these observations the eschatological aspects of the concept have been indicated.

We may now proceed with further elaboration on how recapitulation reaches fulfillment in the eschatological realities of the Resurrection of Christ, the Parousia and the general resurrection of the faithful. Finally, we shall consider the extent to which such recapitulation is already anticipated or realized in the Church.

i. Recapitulation by the Resurrected Christ

In spite of an apparant long "delay" in the expected return of Christ, the doctrine of the Second Coming (Parousia) held firm in the creed of the Christian Church during the Second Century. This period was also a time when the idea of a divine intervention to end and set right the affairs of men was generally popular. In this eschatological atmosphere it may not be too surprising that Irenaeus would be considering eschatological dimensions of his various theological themes. This was certainly the case for his central theme of recapitulation.

That these considerations were also motivated to a degree by a desire to refute gnostic "eschatological" views of the Marcionites and the Ptolemeans has been indicated by Houssiau. The Marcionites saw Christ as descending from the divine realm of the Father to snatch away the pneuma (spiritual man) from the creator god. The Ptolemeans saw Christ Himself as the "recapitulation" of the aeons of the Pleroma.⁶²

We have already indicated that for Irenaeus the time of the "parousia" extends over the whole range of the advent of the Word from the birth of Jesus to His Second Coming in glory (This is true even though we generally reserve the word, "Parousia" to refer to the Second Coming). All of this time may be thought of as a unity or "end time" and, in this sense, as the end of history. We have also shown that recapitulation follows from the fact of the Incarnation itself with its attendant ethical or moral dimensions which span the same "end time". Clearly, then, the act of recapitulating is in essence eschatological. We shall see below how Irenaeus strengthens and dramatizes this eschatological view by contrasting it with a parallel apocalyptic theme of the recapitulation of perversity by Antichrist.

One can readily realize how the Gnostic conception of eschatology runs directly counter to the orthodox Christian view as basically reflected in Irenaeus' theology. In both the Marcionite and Ptolemean view there is no recapitulation involving human history as such, i.e., history is in no way recapitulated in the eschatological action nor is the eschatological act historical in any sense.

In Irenaeus, however, the eschatological event itself in its total range from Incarnation to Parousia recapitulates all of history in a fully historical manner. Moreover, as we have shown above, it is in virtue of the historicity of this recapitulation that the saving action of the Word Incarnate reaches to every man from the beginning of time to its end (cf p 189-197). When the "new creation" emerges out of the "realm of death" to resurrection, it reaches its consummation in the final resurrection of the just at the Parousia by way of recapitulation:

The Church...believes in...His future manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father "to gather all things in one," (Eph 1:10) and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, "every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth... (Phil 2:10,11)⁶³

Wingren sums up his study of recapitulation in Irenaeus by showing that the whole of Irenaeus' doctrine of recapitulation in all its phases is oriented toward the Parousia. It is at the Parousia that the fulfillment and consummation inherent in the Resurrection is brought by Christ to all the just. Moreover, this consummation follows through historically in an orderly time-sequence.⁶⁴

ii. Recapitulation is Realized in the Resurrection of the Faithful

In Chapter IV we saw how the meaning of history is integrated and focussed by comparing historical types. The classic example in Irenaeus is in the way that the role of Christ vis-a-vis all mankind is explained and clarified by comparing Him to the "historical" Adam (cf p 188-196). In this comparison, the fact that Adam comes at the beginning of history and Christ at the "end-time" gives to the recapitulation concept an all-embracing scope. Moreover, the advent of the Second Adam at the end of history emphasizes the eschatological dimension of His recapitulating role.

Progress throughout the historical scope from Adam to Christ is signaled by the ensuing change wrought by the Spirit in the quality of life in each case:

...For there had been a necessity that, in the first place, a human being should be fashioned, and that what was fashioned should receive the soul; afterwards

that it should thus receive the communion of the Spirit. Wherefore also "the first Adam was made" by the Lord "a living soul, the second Adam a quickening spirit." (1 Cor 15:45)⁶⁵

It realizes the divinely-planned development of man's inner structure, i.e., as made in the image and likeness of God.

This eschatological realization of man's inner structure comes about in spite of man's moral defect and death at the beginning and throughout the course of history. In this sense, the eschatological restructuring of the complete man to life of the Spirit is also a victory

...And therefore does the Lord profess Himself to be the Son of Man, comprising in Himself that original man out of whom the woman was fashioned (ex quo ea quae secundum mulierem est plasmatio facta est), in order that, as our species went down to death through a vanquished man, so we may ascend to life again through a victorious one; and as through a man death received the palm [of victory] against us, so again by a man we may receive the palm against death...⁶⁶

...God recapitulated in Himself the ancient formation of man, that He might kill sin, deprive death of its power and vivify man...⁶⁷

While the eschatological effect of recapitulation involves the re-creation of something new, it is also, at the same time, a restructuring and healing of what was already created. This idea is indicated in the healing of the blind man in the Gospel of John.⁶⁸ That this restructuring and healing extends even to the body of sinful flesh is highly emphasized in Irenaeus.⁶⁹ This lends further support to the doctrine that the resurrection of the bodies of the faithful must be the final consummation of Christ's recapitulative work at the Parousia.

This conquering of physical death at the Parousia is viewed as the final triumph of the Spirit over the forces of evil. Wingren considers this event to be something of a "new"

recapitulation in itself in that it constitutes the end of the recapitulative process in the last phase of history. Here, Christ's lordship over all creation is fully manifested:

While at the same time there is continuity between Christ's work in the resurrection of the dead and the works which He performed previously in His life on earth, in His Resurrection, and in the Church, there is also something new which takes place in the last time. This eschatological event is also recapitulatio and therein lies its connexion with the past, but it is the end of recapitulatio, and therein lies its newness and its uniqueness for this phase. In the Church the Spirit has contended against the flesh, but in the Consummation it will have triumphed over the last remnants of resistance...⁷⁰

Although eschatologically recapitulation in the sense of universal lordship is realized only at the Parousia, the initial processes of recapitulation such as reconciliation and unification between God and man have already begun in an anticipatory fashion in the Church and throughout the Cosmos.⁷¹ This cosmic recapitulation is signified by the four points of the Cross ⁷² wherein Christ is universal King over all things.⁷³ It is only at the Parousia, however, that this universal effect of recapitulation will become fully manifest.⁷⁴

iii. Recapitulation Through the Church

That the recapitulative and eschatological work of Christ has already begun in the inauguration of the Church at Pentecost was indicated in Chapter IV. The special outpouring of the Spirit that characterized Pentecost was unique in that it must be distinguished from the general descent of the Spirit upon man that took place throughout history from the beginning:

...acknowledging also at all times the same Spirit of God, although He has been poured out knowing that He descends/ even from the creation of the world to its end upon the human race simply as such...⁷⁵

Consequently, the working of the Spirit in individuals and in the Church now must be eschatological and recapitulative in character. Yet this does not prevent it from being a dynamic ongoing process. Although the recapitulative process is complete in the Resurrected Christ, it must grow and spread also into all men through the Church. In this sense, the Church is a "paradise" in that it is the place of the Lord's ongoing recapitulative action.

Into this paradise the Lord has introduced those who obey His call, "summing up in Himself all things which are in heaven, and which are on earth;" (Eph 1:10) but the things in heaven are spiritual, while those on earth constitute the dispensation in human nature (secundum hominem est dispositio). These things, therefore, He recapitulated in Himself; by uniting man to the Spirit, and causing the Spirit to dwell in man, He is Himself made the head of the Spirit, and gives the Spirit to be the head of man; for through Him (the Spirit) we see, and hear, and speak.⁷⁶

Here the growth and renewal aspects of recapitulation are evident and most significant.

A key aspect of the recapitulation concept is that it is the process whereby mankind recovers its true head, Christ. The Church has a recapitulative function because in it man becomes one with Christ as a body to its head.⁷⁷ In the expansion of the Church through time we witness the gathering of all nations and all peoples until the whole human race is represented under the banner of Christ. Concurrently, the "kingdom" of Satan and Antichrist is crushed. The Church follows Christ its head into the adversity and distress that this struggle necessarily brings.⁷⁸ The fulfillment of this recapitulating headship is realized at the Parousia when the "body" follows the Head into Resurrection.⁷⁹ The awareness of this struggle and of this hope in Christians creates among them a fraternal bond with Christ and with each other which in itself is an expression of recapitulation.⁸⁰

5. The Antichrist

Man lives in a world where good and evil are in conflict. This conflict constitutes the drama of history. As God by way of incarnation and recapitulation effectively gathers the forces of good under one head, Christ, so also Satan, as the conflict nears its close, gathers the forces of evil under Antichrist.

The time of Antichrist is that time when evil will reach its greatest manifestation and impact so that all evil will be recapitulated in the Antichrist. Nevertheless, Antichrist and all evil on the earth will be destroyed by Christ at His Second Coming. This effectively means that the Second Coming will end history as we now know and experience it. The appearance of Antichrist, then, will be the sign of history's imminent end.

i. Sin Versus Grace

Insofar as sin is a willful turning away from or opposition to God's will, it disrupts God's plan for man through history and is the fundamental cause of evil. God opposes man's sin with grace. Grace is God's gift to his free creatures. As far as sinful man is concerned, grace is forgiveness, redemption, reconciliation and ongoing creative healing. Throughout history grace clearly operates in opposition to sin, just as sin opposes grace. As history records it in the Scriptures, this conflict is polarized and dramatized by centering it in a personal conflict between God and Satan. This has the effect of accentuating the cosmic and historical dimensions of the conflict.

Cosmically or historically this conflict is often expressed in a certain time sequence in which creation is followed by sin which, in turn, is followed by grace. When creation itself is seen as a grace, the sequence is also expressed as: grace $\rightarrow$ sin $\rightarrow$ grace. The earlier Christian tradition seems to have approached the question within the context of personal moral instruction. Here the emphasis was placed on how grace counteracts sin at the personal level. Texts from Scripture involving an historic or cosmic dimension would then be introduced in support of this instruction. For example, many texts from the Old Testament illustrated how the People of God suffered periods of sinfulness followed by periods of God's favour or grace. In such a context, when Christ's coming is seen as the embodiment of God's ultimate grace to man, He was also seen as inaugurating an age of grace and terminating an overall age of sin. Thus history from beginning to end is seen as divided basically into two "ages", an age of sin and an age of grace. The brief period of God's favour before the Fall was only a beginning - a prelude and sign of the latter age.

We have a case in point in St. Paul who wishes to emphasize the efficacy of Christ's grace to overcome sin. He therefore opposes Christ, the embodiment of divine grace, to Adam, the embodiment of sin: "In Adam we all die; in Christ we are all made to live." (1 Cor 15:22)

Irenaeus takes up Paul's theme. An age of grace in Christ follows the age of sin in Adam. However, the "ages" in question may not be said to divide sin and grace absolutely so that, in the cosmic scale, there are two "histories" as Tatian would imply. One cannot treat so simply what is essentially a divine mystery. Any human approaches to the mystery involved carry within themselves their own limitations of expression.

Irenaeus can point to other quotations from Paul which indicate that, although it may be true to say that sin had a certain "reign" over man because of Adam's sin, it could never at any time eclipse the working of God's grace. Irenaeus would insist that if sin and grace are always in conflict it is precisely because grace is always working to overcome sin. This must be true even from the beginning in the person of Adam himself.

We can now understand why Irenaeus opposes so vehemently the view of Tatian that Adam went to perdition. Herein lies a denial of the continuing operation of divine grace from the beginning and our solidarity with Adam as recipients of that grace. Irenaeus argues against Tatian's "dogma":

...This dogma, however, has been invented by himself, in order that, by introducing something new, independently of the rest...he might acquire for himself hearers...affecting to be esteemed a teacher, and endeavouring from time to time to employ sayings of this kind often made use of by Paul: "In Adam we all die;" (1 Cor 15:22) ignorant, however, that "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." (Rom 5:20) Since this, then, has been clearly shown, let all his disciples be put to shame...even as the serpent also did not profit...But he did not know God's power. 81

We see this kind of opposition between sin and grace reflected again in the placing of the "animal" man over against the "spiritual" man. Again, this is reflected onto the "cosmic-historical" view wherein Adam is the historical type of the future Christ (cf p 188-190). Adam and Christ constitute the two "poles" of this opposition; yet not in a way that the historical continuity between them is lost. For only in the continuity maintained by recapitulation can the "logic" of God's saving plan be realized

...connecting the end with the beginning, and implying that it is He who has summed up in Himself all nations dispersed from Adam...together with Adam himself. Hence also was Adam himself termed by Paul "the

figure of Him that was to come," (Rom 5:14) because the Word, the Maker of all things, had formed beforehand for Himself the future dispensation of the human race, connected with the Son of God; God having predestined that the first man should be of an animal nature, with this view, that he might be saved by the spiritual One. For inasmuch as He had a pre-existence as a saving Being, it was necessary that what might be saved should also be called into existence, in order that the Being who saves should not exist in vain.⁸²

This opposition between sin and grace continues on within the Church itself. The forces of evil, although defeated by the Cross, seem to retain the appearance of effective opposition to grace. This culminates in apparent success just as the Parousia is imminent.

ii. Antichrist: Satan's Final Agent

Satan is the original cause of evil. (cf p 97-101). He had worked the cause of evil not only at the beginning but also throughout history. His work is an incessant calculated and organized system of opposition to divine grace. Those who cooperate with him in this work are his "sons" by analogy:

Since, therefore, all things were made by God, and since the devil has become the cause of apostasy to himself and others, justly does the scripture always term those who remain in a state of apostasy "sons of the devil" and "angels of the wicked one" (maligini). For [the word] "son", as one before me has observed, has a twofold meaning: one [is a son] in the order of nature, because he was born a son; the other, in that he was made so, is reputed a son, although there is a difference being born so and being made so...⁸³

As his name signifies, Satan is the apostate, the artisan of deceit and death. He is the unjust oppressor and the insatiable thief.⁸⁴ In working toward the ultimate lie - the ultimate apostasy, i.e., to set himself up as "God" before men, Satan employs men and human agencies. The ultimate agent

to this end is the Antichrist who acts to incarnate and center the endeavour of the ultimate apostasy. The Antichrist is, in effect, a living personal "idol" by which and through which Satan may be worshipped

...For he (Antichrist) being imbued with all the power of the devil, shall come as...an impious, unjust and lawless one; as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself all satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols to persuade man that he himself is God, raising up himself as the only idol, having in himself the multifarious errors of the other idols. This he does in order that they who do now worship the devil by means of many abominations, may serve himself by this one idol, of whom the apostle thus speaks in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: "Unless there shall come a falling away first, and the man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God"...85

4 This is also how Irenaeus interprets the symbolic passages in John's Apocalypse. The "dragon" is Satan and the "beast" is Antichrist. When the dragon is worshipped by way of the beast, it means that Satan is worshipped by way of Antichrist. The beast becomes the "mouthpiece" of Satan to utter blasphemies against God

...and they worshipped the dragon because he gave power to the beast; and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto this beast, and who is able to make war with him? And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemy and power was given to him during forty and two months. And he opened his mouth for blasphemy against God...(Rev 13:2 etc.)86

Who is the Antichrist? According to Irenaeus, he is not a mere symbol but an actual person. He is one who willfully is what he is. By his own choice he concentrates within his own person the apostasy of Satan...i.e., by his own free choice he does Satan's work on earth of deceiving and drawing

men under his own power

...For when he (Antichrist) is come, and of his own accord concentrates in his own person the apostasy, and accomplishes whatever he shall do according to his own will and choice, sitting also in the temple of God, so that his dupes may adore him as the Christ; wherefore also shall he deservedly "be cast into the lake of fire;" (Rev. 19:20)...⁸⁷

Irenaeus seems to draw a certain parallel of opposition between the recapitulation achieved through the Word by way of the Incarnation and a "recapitulation" achieved by Satan through the Antichrist. In each case there is a spiritual power operating by way of a human agency to affect the course of history in some kind of final, profound and all-embracing way.

D'Alès has observed that Satan's "recapitulation" of evil, while not conceived as a restoration or integration, does nevertheless carry the attributes of resumé and synthesis as in Paul's epistle to the Romans.⁸⁸ Satan "recapitulates" ...i.e., sums up in himself as a cause all apostasy.⁸⁹ This recapitulation is realized historically as a kind of fulfillment in the Antichrist who sums up all the evils which have tried the faith of the just from the beginning. The fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel is a type of this final abomination

...And [Antichrist] also sums up every error of devised idols since the flood, together with the slaying of the prophets and the cutting off of the just. For that image which was set up by Nebuchadnezzar had indeed a height of sixty cubits, while a breadth was six cubits; on account of which Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, when they did not worship it, were cast into a furnace of fire, pointing out prophetically, by what happened to them, the wrath against the righteous which shall arise towards the [time of the] end. For that image, taken as a whole,

was a prefiguring of this man's coming, decreeing that he should undoubtedly himself alone be worshipped by all men...⁹⁰

The number "six thousand" corresponds to the six days of creation and is symbolic of the total time of history from its beginning to its termination. The Antichrist sums up all the evil of the total time

...Thus then, the six hundred years of Noah, in whose time the deluge occurred because of the apostasy, and the number of the cubits of the image for which these just men were sent into the fiery furnace do indicate the number of the name of that man in whom is concentrated the whole apostasy of six thousand years, and unrighteousness, and wickedness, and false prophecy, and deception; for which things' sake a cataclysm of fire shall also come upon the earth.⁹¹

A significant biblical personage is often given a name to indicate the special role he plays in the divine economy. This is also true of the name, six hundred and sixty-six, given to the Antichrist. Here, again, a certain "recapitulation" is inherent in the meaning. Although the Antichrist himself has a defined personal history, his work insofar as it is the work of Satan, has nevertheless an all-embracing historical scope. As his name indicates, He recapitulates all satanic apostasy from the beginning in that his work manifests the ultimate realization and expression of that apostasy

...while reason also leads us to conclude that the number of the name of the beast, [if reckoned] according to the Greek mode of calculation by the value of the letters contained in it, will amount to six hundred and sixty and six; that is, the number of tens shall be equal to that of the hundreds, and the number of hundreds equal to that of the units (for that number which [expresses] the digit six being adhered to throughout, indicates

the recapitulation of that apostasy, taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which shall take place at the end...92

By recapitulating all evil into himself, the Antichrist unwittingly aids the process of man's "upbringing" by polarizing, so to speak, the evil as opposed to the good. This aids God's work of perfecting man by refining the good and separating them from the bad. The moulding and forming work of God's "hands" terminates, therefore, in this action of refining and separating

And therefore throughout all time, man, having been moulded at the beginning by the hands of God, that is, of the Son and of the Spirit, is made after the image and likeness of God; the chaff, indeed, which is the apostasy, being cast away; but the wheat, that is, those who bring forth fruit to God in faith, being gathered into the barn. And for this cause tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on fire ~~for~~ purification they may be fitted for the royal banquet...93

Perhaps this does not fully explain Irenaeus' insistence on the several ways that the number six is symbolically applied to Antichrist and to his work. It might be important to recall that for Irenaeus God's "time-conditioning" of creation is symbolized by the number six. God's initial creation was completed in six days; yet His work of perfecting that creation must continue for six thousand years. The period of six days was a symbol and a prophecy of the six thousand years. Likewise, the seventh day of rest prophesies the Millenium. Since a recapitulation in Christ was a necessary means of completing the work of perfecting creation and winning the victory over Satan within this period of six thousand years, a recapitulation of evil was also necessary

in order that evil be consummated and destroyed within the same defined period. In this way, the destruction of evil is total and victory complete at the right time, i.e., the time for the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom of perfect peace and happiness in the seventh millenium.

...For this is the last contest of the righteous, in which, when they overcome, they are crowned with incorruption.

And there is therefore in this beast, when he comes, a recapitulation made of all sorts of iniquity and of every deceit, in order that all apostate power, flowing into and being shut up in him, may be sent into the furnace of fire. Fittingly, therefore shall his name possess the number six hundred and sixty-six...⁹⁴

The name "six hundred and sixty-six is symbolic of the real name which must remain a secret until the end of time. This name is so malicious as to be unworthy of utterance by the Holy Spirit.⁹⁵

iii. Characteristics of the Time of Antichrist

The time of Antichrist is characterized by suffering and woe which surpasses that of all previous history. In contrast to the freedom of the reign of Christ, the reign of Antichrist is by way of total coercion. Men will be forced under pain of death to adore him. Those who comply will be marked with the sign of the "beast" who will then exercise complete control over their affairs.⁹⁶ The great power of Antichrist which comes from Satan will extend over all peoples.⁹⁷

As a parallel to the prophets who herald the coming of Christ, false prophets will herald the Antichrist. Like the prophets of old, they will use "miracles" and "wonders" to lead men astray.⁹⁸ The Antichrist will resort to any measure to deceive. He will even pretend to vindicate the

oppressed:99

In the last days, the Antichrist will form a kind of "world federation" of kings in order to more easily bring them under his sway.¹⁰⁰ This is only a deception. After he has set these kings up to rule, he will visit upon them and the world "sudden destruction" and take all power to himself. This is how Irenaeus understands the reference to "abomination of desolation" in the Scriptures as a sign of the end.¹⁰¹

iv. Christ Destroys Antichrist at the End

Although Antichrist as a person appears only at the end, the Christ-Antichrist struggle may be seen from the very beginning. Irenaeus must view Antichrist within his overall historical vision just as Christ must be seen in this way. He interprets the Fall as described in Genesis in that light. God's curse on the serpent seems to include the Antichrist by implication. A passage from Psalm 41 provides a clue to this reasoning. Christ's destruction of Antichrist is prophesied from the beginning

For this end did He put enmity between the serpent and the woman and her seed they keeping it up mutually; He, the sole of whose foot should be bitten, having power also to tread upon the enemy's head; but the other biting, killing, and impeding the steps of man, until the seed did come appointed to tread down his head, — which was born of Mary, of whom the prophet speaks; "Thou shalt tread upon the asp and the basilisk; thou shalt trample down the lion and the dragon;" (Ps. 41:13) — indicating that sin which was set up and spread out against man, and which rendered him subject to death, should be deprived of its power, along with death, which rules over men; and that the lion, that is, antichrist, rampant against mankind in the latter days, should be trampled down by Him; and that He should bind "the dragon, that old serpent" (Rev. 20:2), and subject him to the power of man, who had

been conquered, (Lk. 10:19) so that all his might should be trodden down...102

The victory of Christ over Antichrist will be the final and definitive expression of Christ's victory over Satan. This is what gives the struggle between God and evil its total historical scope.

Antichrist's rule which culminates in the great "abomination of desolation" is short and ends quickly when the Lord comes from heaven to destroy him and cast him and all the evil ones into the "lake of fire". This "going quickly" shows forth his unworthiness and impotence in the face of the power of Christ

...But now as "he was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss, and goes into perdition," (Rev. 17:8) as one who has no existence; so neither has his name been declared, for the name of that which does not exist is not proclaimed. But when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will reign for three years and six months, and sit in the temple at Jerusalem;...and then the Lord will come from heaven in the clouds, in the glory of the Father, sending this man and those who follow him into the lake of fire...103

This closing event ends history as we know it. It represents the end of the six-thousandth year and the beginning of the Millenium which corresponds to the "seventh day" when the Lord "rested" after creation. Now in this seventh millenium, the promises to the "Fathers" is to be fulfilled on the earth

...but bringing in for the righteous the times of the kingdom, that is, the rest, the hallowed seventh day; and restoring to Abraham the promised inheritance, in which kingdom the Lord declared, that "many coming from the east and from the west should sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"...104

This coming of Christ to destroy the Antichrist and

his evil kingdom is by way of His resurrected body. He comes "in the same flesh" in which He suffered thereby revealing the Father's glory.¹⁰⁵ Now that all evil has been destroyed and removed from the earth it is time for the last "conquest", viz., the conquest over physical death. This conquest perfects man according to the image of the Resurrected Christ finally and completely. All the faithful who had been waiting in paradise are now raised bodily so that they may share in the glory of the risen Christ on a newly rejuvenated earth.¹⁰⁶ This inaugurates the Messianic Kingdom of the Millenium.

6. The Millenium

Millenarianism was the general form in which the earliest generations of Christians expressed the doctrine of the Parousia. Jean Daniélou has gathered considerable evidence to support this view. That the basic and essential ingredients of such a form were present at the time of the writing of the New Testament scriptures is demonstrated by this sketch

...Christ's Parousia involves first the victory over Antichrist (cf. Rev. 19:19), when Beliar is cast into the lake of fire (cf. Rev. 19:20; 20:10; II Thes. 1:18f.), the resurrection of the saints who are already dead (cf. Rev. 20:4; I Cor. 15:23; I Thes. 4:16). Next the saints who are still living are transfigured (cf. I Cor. 15:51f.; I Thes. 4:17), and all reign on the earth with Christ (cf. Rev. 20:4). This is called the Time of Rest (II Thes. 1:7) or the millenium (cf. Rev. 20:4), and after it comes the Last Judgement, the resurrection of the wicked for punishment, and the transfiguration of the righteous, which is a second resurrection and an entry into incorruptible life (cf. I Cor. 15:25ff., 53ff.; I Thes. 4:17; Rev. 20:11-15).¹⁰⁷

A primitive synthesis of these essential elements is found in a prophecy of the Parousia given in the Ascension of Isaiah. This constitutes an early witness to the first formulations of a Judaeo-Christian millenarianism.

This belief in an earthly reign of Christ after the Parousia and resurrection of the just seems to have persisted throughout the Second Century in Asian Jewish-Christian communities but not in orthodox Jewish Christianity as a whole. The Judaeo-Christian community in Rome, for example, tended to understand traditional references to a millenium as referring to the time of the Church, i.e., from the Incarnation to the Parousia (II Peter 3:8).¹⁰⁸

Characteristic of Asiatic millenarianism is the application of Old Testament prophecies concerning the New Creation to the New Testament doctrine of the first resurrection. The principal Old Testament text used in this way is the LXX version of Isaiah 65:17-25.¹⁰⁹ This introduces key Judaic themes associated with the Adamic paradise, i.e., longevity as from the Tree of Life, fruitfulness of the earth, peace among the animals...as well as those associated with the restoration of Jerusalem, i.e., glory, peace and joyful feasting.

Irenaeus and Melito of Sardis testify to the persistence of the Asiatic Judaeo-Christian doctrine of the millenium in the universal Church at least to as late as the end of the Second Century.¹¹⁰ However, there existed also heterodox millenaristic movements in Asia during this same period. For example, Montanism through Papias and Cerinthus had its roots in the same Asiatic sources as that of the orthodox variety. It therefore betrays similar basic features.¹¹¹

In view of his persistent insistence on orthodoxy, it might appear somewhat surprising that Irenaeus would hold to a post-Parousia terrestrial millenium at a time when the Church generally was inclined to apply the millennial tradition allegorically to the time of the Church. Moreover, the strong endorsement of millenarianism by the heretical Montanist movement would tend to discourage a literal interpretation of the millenarianism traditional to orthodoxy.

There are nevertheless important reasons that Irenaeus, while not refusing the Church's allegorical interpretation, would stand firm on a literal interpretation as well. One reason is that from earliest times a literal interpretation of the millennial hope was an important incentive and encouragement to a persecuted Church. Christ would come quickly to

bring judgement upon the persecutors and reward the persecuted and the martyrs with a glorious terrestrial kingdom. As we have shown repeatedly in this work, Irenaeus' life experience kept him close to the realities of this persecution. Martyrdom as an ideal was an integral part of his spiritual life and of his theology.

A more important reason, however, has been suggested by Daniélou. Irenaeus holds to the literal interpretation to refute the anti-historical allegorical interpretation of the Gnostics. They remove the millenium from history altogether and transfer it to the timeless Pleroma

...And the Apostle, too, writing to the Galatians, says in like manner, "But the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." (Gal 4:26) He does not say this with any thought of an erratic Aeon, or of any other power which departed from the Pleroma...but of the Jerusalem which has been delineated on God's hands...ll2

For Irenaeus, the millenium was a necessary and integral part of his orthodox theological synthesis especially when viewed from its historical dimension. All the lines of his theology: creation, "upbringing" of man, vision of God, Redemption... converge and move to conclusion in the millennial kingdom of the Son. All of this must occur within one and the same history. Therefore, the Gnostic attack on the terrestrial or historical character of the millenium was, for Irenaeus, an integral part of their attack on orthodox doctrine generally and had to be refuted as such.

Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle has built a strong case for an anti-Gnostic motivation in Irenaeus' incorporation of the terrestrial millenium into his theological system. She concludes:

The fervent millennial hope of Irenaeus, then, was no pious fantasy appended to his synthesis of Christian belief written adversus haereses. It was

an integral support in his refutation of subversive doctrines regarding the integrity of matter, the unity of God in salvation history, and the knowledge of God as mediated in and through Christ...113

For Irenaeus, the millenium is only the first phase of the "last things". In general terms it may be described as an earthly kingdom where Christ together with His faithful will reign for a long but definite period of time. After this will come the Last Judgement followed by a new heaven and a new earth. This latter aspect of the last things will end the interim millennial period and inaugurate the ineffably new. For Irenaeus the millenium is the advanced and more glorious phase of the "Kingdom of the Son" already begun as the Church. In this sense it is not something purely future as it is in Revelation. Wingren sees in this use of the word "Kingdom" (regnum) a "terminological irregularity".¹¹⁴ In any event, this way of viewing Church and millenium merging, so to speak, into one another gives to the various aspects of Irenaeus' conception of "development" through history a certain facile continuity.

The application of Old Testament prophecies and Judaic themes so characteristic of Asiatic millenarianism would seem particularly suitable for Irenaeus who always wished to stress the unity of the Old and New Testaments as integral parts of the unique revelation of the one God. For example, Irenaeus' insistence that the just men of the Old Testament must be saved and rewarded along with the Christian faithful in the millennial Kingdom of the Son was a key issue at the time.¹¹⁵

The idea of the millenium as a "Seventh Day" following a 6,000 year history was not, however, derived from Asiatic Judaeo-Christian sources. Daniélou has shown how Irenaeus obtained this aspect of the concept through the author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Barnabas related the hellenist notion of a total history of seven millenia, the Judaic seventh day

of Creation, and the Christian eighth day of the Resurrection. Irenaeus apparently had combined the speculation of Barnabas with Asiatic millenarianism. In this way the Judaic paradisiac millenium concurs with the seventh millenium of rest of the Barnabas tradition.¹¹⁶

i. The Nature of the Millenium

How is life in the millenium to compare with life as it is now? Time continues but history takes on a different aspect. The quality of human life is much superior and continues at a perfected level.

The principle cause of this change is the Parousia. The Kingdom of the Son is now present in all its splendour as the divine glory of Christ shines forth visibly in His resurrected body. The power of the glorified Christ raises up bodily all the faithful who have died since Adam and together with the faithful still alive, they reign with Christ on a rejuvenated earth. The life of the Spirit dominates man completely and penetrates to all areas of the Cosmos. There is unity and harmony everywhere. The Kingdom of the Son (regnum) which began with the Incarnation has now reached its state of earthly fulfillment. It may be compared to the original paradise or to a "...Jerusalem rebuilt after the pattern of the Jerusalem above..."

Now all these things being such as they are, cannot be understood in reference to super-celestial matters; "for God", it is said, "will show to the whole earth that is under heaven thy glory." But in the times of the kingdom, the earth has been called again by Christ to its pristine condition, and Jerusalem rebuilt after the pattern of the Jerusalem above...¹¹⁷

Since all evil has been eliminated from the earth with the destruction of Antichrist, the evil influence of sin has disappeared and man can live in a morally perfect state at all times:

For, behold, says Isaiah, "the day of the Lord cometh past remedy, full of fury and wrath, to lay waste the city of the earth and to root sinners out of it." (Isa 13:9)...118

As a result of moral perfection there will be no struggles or upheavals in life. Again, Irenaeus appeals to the traditional texts of Isaiah to support this view:

The mild and peaceful repose of His kingdom was indicated likewise. For, after the wind which rends the mountains, and after the earthquake, and after the fire, come the tranquil and peaceful times of His kingdom, in which the Spirit of God does, in the most gentle manner, vivify and increase mankind. 119

The earth of the millenium may therefore be considered as an earth turned "right side up" after evil had turned it "upside down". Whereas before the unrighteous had held visible dominion over the earth, now, in a restored creation, the righteous have dominion. This is as it was with Adam and Eve in the beginning:

...It is fitting, therefore, that the creation itself, being restored to its primeval condition, should, without restraint, be under the dominion of the righteous...120

The setting right of man's earthly existence penetrates even to the inner life of man where all his basic parts: spirit, soul and body, regain their original integrity. This is where "salvation" attains a certain completeness:

...what was his object in praying that these three - that is, body, soul, and spirit - might be preserved to the coming of the Lord, unless he was aware of the [future] reintegration and union of the three, and [that they should be heirs of] one and the same salvation?...121

Nevertheless, the millenium in itself does not achieve man's ultimate perfection. It is yet an intermediate "time" between the historical earth as we know it and the celestial eternity. As Evieux expressed it, it is as a figure which takes form in history in order that it may be consummated in eternity.¹²² The millenium, therefore, is the time when man completes his growth to his ultimate destiny. The source and principle of this growth is the direct vision and companionship of the resurrected Christ wherein man becomes fully accustomed to grasp the glory of the Father

...in [the times of] which [resurrection] the righteous shall reign in the earth, waxing stronger by the sight of the Lord; and through Him they shall become accustomed to partake in the glory of God the Father, and shall enjoy in the kingdom intercourse and communion with the holy angels, and union with spiritual beings...¹²³

In this millenial state man becomes the harbinger of the Spirit and the possessor of Life. In this sense, man also forms a social and spiritual unity, a Church in glory under the headship of the Son. Yet this is not the end of man's "becoming accustomed" to God since it is not yet the direct vision of and union with the Father. It is not the time nor the place of the "capere Deum".¹²⁴

Since it is by the vision of the Father that man partakes of divine nature and incorruptibility in the strict sense, the Kingdom of the Son provides only an inauguration into incorruptibility. Here, one only "becomes accustomed" by way of a final preparation to partake of incorruption of the flesh:

Inasmuch, therefore, as the opinions of certain [orthodox persons] are derived from heretical discourses, they are both ignorant of God's dispensations, and of the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and of the [earthly] kingdom which is the commencement of incorruption, by means of which

kingdom those who shall be worthy are accustomed gradually to partake of the divine nature (capere Deum)...125

The millenium as a time for renewing the earth and returning it to its pristine goodness is also a pattern for the heavenly Jerusalem above. The earth, then, is called to prepare itself for and rebuild itself according to this heavenly Jerusalem. Irenaeus is careful to distinguish the two Jerusalems. The first is of the millenium, the Kingdom of the Son. The second comes after the Millenium and is the supercelestial Kingdom of the Father. The former is the image of the latter. This is fully within the Asiatic tradition.¹²⁶

The transitional character of the millenium allows the central Irenaeian concept of "growth" to extend into the future to the ultimate end of history. It allows our present state of being and life to merge gradually into its final perfection without a radical cut or break. This also facilitates understanding of how participation in one's final glory may begin in an inchoate fashion now in the Church. The fact that man will still have to "grow" after the Parousia and resurrection of the just makes man's "growth" now in the Spirit of God more comprehensible and commensurate with our nature as creatures.

Growth implies activity. The metaphor of "rest" traditionally associated with the millenium means for Irenaeus an end to the "struggle" against the forces of evil that is a necessary aspect of "growth" in this world under our present condition.

This "rest" implies also reward for faithfulness in the struggle. Part of the function of the millenium is to provide an opportunity for God to reward His faithful. This reward should be commensurate with the suffering that the faithful endured. They should be rewarded in the same earth -

the same creation - in which they suffered:

...For it is just that in that very creation in which they toiled or were afflicted, being proved in every way of suffering, they should receive the reward of their sufferings; and that in the creation in which they were slain because of their love to God, in that they should be revived again; and that in the creation in which they endured servitude, in that they should reign...127

We are witnessing again here as throughout Irenaeus' work, the anti-Gnostic position of the value of the flesh and of matter in the divine economy. Moreover, this carries over into an affirmation regarding the salvation of the whole man: body, soul and spirit. The body or "flesh" is part of man's "goods" or "inheritance". In the sense that the faithful are "in the Spirit" as well, the body as it dies is the inheritance of the Spirit:

...What, therefore, is it that lives? The Spirit of God, doubtless. What, again, are the possessions of the deceased? The various parts of the man, surely, which rot in the earth. But these are inherited by the Spirit when they are translated into the kingdom of heaven. For this cause, too, did Christ die, that the Gospel covenant being manifested and known to the whole world, might in the first place set free His slaves; and then afterwards as I have already shown, might constitute them heirs of His property, when the Spirit possesses them by inheritance...128

How long will the millenium endure? Although Irenaeus does not insist on a specific number of years, there is every indication that he follows the Asiatic tradition on this question. He mentions a key supporting text derived apparently from Jubilees (IV,29-30) that was used by this tradition in speculations on this question

...And there are some, again, who relegate the death of Adam to the thousandth year; for since "a day of the Lord is a thousand years," (2 Peter 3:8) he did not overstep the thousand years, but died within them, thus bearing out the sentence of his sin...129

In any event, for Irenaeus as for the Asiatic tradition generally, what is of primary importance here is not the actual number of years of the millenium but rather the principle that an interim earthly paradise similar to the Adamic paradise will be reestablished at the Parousia.¹³⁰

ii. Physical Characteristics of the Millenium

Along with the characteristics of moral integrity and longevity, the millenium also includes physical characteristics which bear on the life of man. These are also reminiscent of the situation in the Adamic paradise before the Fall. There will be no kind of physical evil causing pain or distress as indicated by the application of this text from Isaiah:

...And yet again does he say the same thing: "Behold I make Jerusalem a rejoicing, and my people a joy; for the ~~voice of weeping~~ shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying...(Isa 65:18)¹³¹

This change is due to the fact that the earth itself is affected by the millennial presence of the Son. Sin had brought a curse upon the earth. It yielded its fruits only by man's painful labor. Now that curse is lifted and man's dominion over nature reestablished. The earth yields its fruits in abundance. All is easy and a joy to do. Even celestial bodies will be perfected in order that earth's productivity may be increased. Note again the reference to Isaiah

...That the whole creation shall, according to God's will, obtain a vast increase, that it may bring forth and sustain fruits such as we have mentioned, Isaiah declares: "And there shall be upon every high mountain, ...water running everywhere in that day...And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, seven times that of the day, when He shall heal the anguish of His people, and do away with the pain of the stroke." (Isa 30:25,26)¹³²

We realize the extent to which Irenaeus holds to the idea of physical well-being in the millennial period in this literal interpretation of a passage from Papias (which he believes was handed down from John the Apostle):

...they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times, and say: The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs...and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretres of wine...and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions...133

All animal life will live in mutual peace and be perfectly subservient to man as in the Adamic paradise:

...and that all animals feeding only on the productions of the earth, should in those days become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man.134

...And it is right that when the creation is restored all the animals should obey and be in subjection to man, and revert to the food originally given by God (for they had been originally subjected in obedience to Adam), that is, the productions of the earth...135

This association of docility of the animals with the fecundity of the earth with supporting texts from Isaiah and other prophets is a traditional feature of the Asiatic school of millenarianism with which Irenaeus is associated.136 Irenaeus, however, does also include a metaphorical application of this idea. The paradisiac "peace of the animals" may also apply metaphorically to the converted nations in the Church.137

Another text of Isaiah which applies literally to the millennial kingdom is that which refers to the alteration of the landscape so that it will be pleasantly hilled and treed:

...For God has decreed that every high mountain shall be brought low, and the eternal hills, and that the valleys be filled, so that the surface of the earth be

rendered smooth, that Israel, the glory of God, may walk in safety. The woods, too, shall make shady places, itself by the command of God.¹³⁸

Isaiah is interpreted literally even in the matter of the propagation of the human race which will continue during the millenium under idyllic conditions

...And when these things are done, he says, "God will remove men far away, and those that are left shall multiply in the earth. "(Isa 6:12). "And they shall build houses, and shall inhabit them themselves: the plant vineyards, and eat of them themselves." (Isa 70:21) For all these and other words were unquestionably spoken in reference to the resurrection of the just...¹³⁹

In all of these references to Isaiah we can observe in Irenaeus the characteristic feature of Asiatic millenarianism observed by Daniélou wherein is applied literally to the reign of the Messiah prophecies of the Old Testament which properly relate to the world to come. Such application is not found in the Revelation of John.¹⁴⁰

Yet Irenaeus' purpose is not to support a specific millenaristic tradition but rather to gain support where he may for the central theme of his theological synthesis...and at the same time refute the gnostic viewpoint. In this renewal of the physical characteristics of the millennial world, man regains his central position in the cosmos even as to its material and physical dimensions. Man then "rules" the cosmos according to God's decree from the beginning.¹⁴¹

iii. Jesus in the Millennial Kingdom

Since Christ is to be the key to the new millennial world, the question must be asked: What will He be doing during the millennial period? We must recall that Christ will then have a visible physical presence. His role must therefore

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bear a relationship to his original presence with His disciples as well as to His role in the Church. The central point of contact seems to be the Last Supper.

Jesus will "drink the cup" of the inheritance (millenium) with His disciples. Jesus' rejoicing with His disciples at the Supper was a foreshadowing of what the millenium is to be. It is the time when the Lord shares in full measure with His disciples earthly as well as spiritual enjoyment. It is also a remembrance that the joy of this inheritance was purchased with His blood.

For this reason, when about to undergo His sufferings, that He might declare to Abraham and those with Him the glad tidings of the inheritance being thrown open, [Christ], after He had given thanks while holding the cup, and had drunk of it, and given it to the disciples, said to them: "Drink ye of it: this is My blood of the new covenant, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of this vine, until that day when I will drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom" (Matt. 26:27) Thus, then, He will Himself renew the inheritance of the earth, and will reorganize the mystery of the glory of [His] sons; as David says, "He who hath renewed the face of the earth." (Ps. 104:30)...142

Irenaeus demonstrates how the resurrection in the flesh is bound up with this earthly inheritance purchased with the blood of the Lord. In the millennial kingdom He celebrates in the "new cup" this same flesh and blood which was given in sacrifice. His flesh and blood must rejoice in the inheritance it has won and the same must hold true for the flesh and blood of all the faithful

...He promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples, thus indicating both these points: the inheritance of the earth in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and the resurrection of His disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which rises again is the same which also

received the new cup. And He cannot by any means be understood as drinking of the fruit of the vine when settled down with his /disciples/ above in a super-celestial place; nor, again, are they who drink it devoid of flesh, for to drink of that which flows from the vine pertains to flesh, and not spirit...143

The banquet is clearly, for Irenaeus, a communion in the flesh and in matter as well as a communion in the brotherhood of the Spirit. The banquet is the central pivot about which life in the millenium must revolve.

There is doubtless here also an appeal to the earthly, almost sensual manner in which the eschatological hope of Irenaeus' day was expressed. His intention is to exploit this aspect of the hope in order to increase the weight of his argument against the Gnostic dualism and disparagement of the flesh and of matter.144

We must also see in the millenium Christ exercising His role as recapitulator of all things both visible and invisible. This is ultimately shown by His headship over all when during the millenium He reigns visibly upon the earth

...He took up man into Himself, the invisible becoming visible, the incomprehensible being made comprehensible, the impassible becoming capable of suffering, and the Word being made man, thus summing up all things in Himself: so that as in super-celestial, spiritual and invisible things, the Word of God is supreme, so also in things visible and corporeal He might possess the supremacy, and taking to Himself the pre-eminence, as well as constituting Himself Head of the Church, He might draw all things to Himself at the proper time.145

The gathering in and summing up of all in the millenium includes the faithful of the Old and the New Testaments. This position overthrows Marcion and his followers inasmuch as they could not accept the salvation of those faithful who had died under the Old Testament.146

Again, it is the vision of the Father that constitutes the essence of man's divine calling (cf p 331-3). Since Jesus is the visibility of the Father, His role in the millennial kingdom is to lead man into the final stages of preparation for that vision. Here Irenaeus is countering the false gnosis of the Gnostic systems by presenting the perennial true divine source of gnosis in its total range.



7. The New Heaven and the New Earth

The millenium is not the New Heaven (New Jerusalem) but rather a type or "pattern" of it. The function of the millennial kingdom of the Son is to prepare the faithful for the New Heaven (also called "Kingdom of the Father"). The millennial experience eases the transition from life in this world to life in the bosom of the Father in the New Heaven.

How is the millennial period actually terminated? According to the tradition from Revelation it would appear that the initiative for change comes from the Father above. He causes the New Heaven (New Jerusalem) to descend upon the earth now made new:

...And in the Apocalypse John saw this new Jerusalem descending upon the new earth. (Rev 21:2) For after the times of the kingdom, he says, "I saw a great white throne, and Him who sat upon it; from whose face the earth fled away, and the heavens; and there was no more place for them" (Rev 20:11)...147

The coming of the New Jerusalem coincides with the Last Judgement. This judgement had already begun at the Parousia when Antichrist as recapitulation of all evil was cast into the "lake of fire". This was followed by a "first resurrection" (i.e., of the faithful). Now the universal and final assessment and separation according to moral goodness or malice is brought to completion. The "dead" are raised bodily and judged according to their deeds (according to the "book of life"). They are separated from the good forever and condemned to Gehenna

...And he sets forth, too, the things connected with the general resurrection and the judgement, mentioning "the dead, great and small". "The sea," he says, "gave up the dead which it had in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that they contained; and the books were opened. "Moreover,"

he says, "the book of life was opened, and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and hell were sent into the lake of fire, the second death." (Rev 20:12-14) Now this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord styled eternal fire. (Mtt 20:41) "And if any one," it is said, "was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire." (Rev 20:15)...148

After the Last Judgement, all the faithful are transformed and made new so that they may receive the glory of the Father. Herein they are rendered incorruptible and remain forever in their resurrected and glorified bodies:

...And as he rises actually, so also shall he be actually disciplined beforehand for incorruption, and shall go forwards and flourish in the times of the kingdom, in order that he may be capable of receiving the glory of the Father. Then, when all things are made new, he shall truly dwell in the city of God...149

The cataclysmic effects of the coming of the Heavenly Jerusalem cause the first (millennial) Jerusalem to "pass away".150

Of this New Jerusalem the former was a type. Irenaeus means this in the sense of a true typology. That is to say, the millennial type was an historical type like any other (e.g., Moses' tabernacle in the mount) that refers to and shares in the heavenly reality above (cf p 188-196):

...Of this Jerusalem the former one is an image - that Jerusalem of the former earth in which the righteous are disciplined beforehand for incorruption and prepared for salvation. And of this tabernacle Moses received the pattern in the mount; (Ex 25:40) and nothing is capable of being allegorized, but all things are steadfast, and true, and substantial, having been made by God for righteous men's enjoyment...151

This historical type (Millennium) is as real as the resurrected body itself, and its effects (accustoming for incorruption) are equally real:

...For as it is God who truly raises up man, so also does man truly rise from the dead, and not allegorically, as I have shown repeatedly. And as he rises actually, so also shall he be actually disciplined beforehand for incorruption, and shall go forwards and flourish in the times of the kingdom, in order that he may be capable of receiving the glory of the Father...152

Man's historical life is real. It is a reality of progress of which the millennial period forms a part. While the stages of man's development (which at some point includes involvement with the evil or "fashion" of this world) may pass into history his substance or essence as a creature does not. Ultimately, these stages of development are completed and man passes to his final destiny: eternal converse with God and incorruptibility:

For since there are real men, so must there also be a real establishment (plantatiōnem), that they vanish not away among the non-existent things, but progress among those which have an actual existence. For neither is the substance nor the essence of the creation annihilated (for faithful and true is He who has established it), but "the fashion of the world passeth away"; (1 Cor 7:31) that is, those things among which transgression has occurred, since man has grown old in them. And therefore this [present] fashion has been formed temporary, God foreknowing all things...But when this [present] fashion [of things] passes away, and man has been renewed, and flourishes in an incorruptible state, so as to preclude the possibility of becoming old, [then] there shall be the new heaven and the new earth, in which the new man shall remain [continually], always holding fresh converse with God...153

But since, in view of the Resurrection, the Incarnation is forever inseparably connected with this world, along with the New Heaven there must also be a New Earth. Moreover, since men are always at different stages of development, this New Heaven and New Earth will maintain three abodes each suitable to the level that one is capable of attaining at any particular time.

...And since (or that) these things shall ever continue without end, Isaiah declares, "For as the new heavens and the new earth which I do make, continue in my sight, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain." (Isa 66:22) And as the presbyters say, Then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city; for everywhere the Saviour (or, God) shall be seen according as they who see Him shall be worthy.¹⁵⁴

It would appear that, in Irenaeus' view, there could be unlimited and perpetual progress even at man's final destiny in the vision of the Father as this text might indicate:

...and to whomsoever He shall say, "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you for eternity," (Mtt 25:34) these do receive the kingdom for ever, and make constant advance in it...¹⁵⁵

This would be consistent with how Irenaeus understands man as a creature.¹⁵⁶ The lack of discussion on this matter, however, reflects his refusal to speculate on realms beyond the scope of history.

CHAPTER VI SUMMARY

1. Irenaeus sees in the Parousia of the Son of God the divine initiative to bring history to a close. Within this Parousia are two dimensions, one historical, the other transcending history. The coming of the Word in the flesh inaugurates the end of history because in Him man's destiny as image of God is realized.
2. Each dimension of the Parousia is foretold by the prophets separately. Together they form a complete picture of eschatological realities. Each dimension of the Parousia may be spoken of as a separate "advent" (coming). Each of the two represents separate traditions in the Old Testament and each contributes to the development of the doctrine concerning the nature of the Messiah.
3. Irenaeus avoids the notion of a "sudden" end to history by considering an "end-time" during which there must be a process of fulfillment according to the law of growth. In this way the continuity of salvation history is maintained and the integrity of the Divine Plan assured.
4. Irenaeus considers the Resurrection of Christ as the focal point from which to view the Parousia as "end". Nevertheless, he envisages this Parousia extending from the Incarnation to the Resurrection in its whole range and total recapitulating effect.
5. Jesus in His resurrection is the cause of man's resurrection. This effect extends back into time to all the "just" of history from the beginning.
6. At the end of the period of the "last days" the Resurrected Lord will cause the bodily resurrection of men. This will inaugurate the final phase of His mediatorial role culminating in incorruptibility. This process which culminates in

resurrection and incorruptibility is not an isolated event but the coming to term of a complete historical process. In this process the Word and the Spirit work in man to effect "resurrection" to life by way of "seeing" God. Again, the Word and the Spirit also work through the flesh instrumentally.

7. The resurrected man is perfect. He is transfigured and possesses incorruptibility and immortality in his total being. Yet he does not lose personal continuity with his former self or his previous historical existence. This continuity applies even in respect to the flesh.
8. Bodily resurrection is the means by which the "last" enemy of man, physical death, is conquered. The resurrection of the body is last in the personal development of Christ, last in the life of every man, and last in the series of historical events that constitute history.
9. The resurrection of Christ must be seen as a saving power in view of the fact that resurrection drives out both physical and moral corruption. Since bodily death is the last enemy caused by Satan to be conquered, resurrection is the last victory over Satan and hence the last aspect of "salvation".
10. As Jesus, from the invisible realm of the Father, gives of His Spirit, He draws man on to that end of history which is already realized in Himself.
11. The "New Creation" is brought to man via "engrafting" and "putting on immortality" while maintaining a personal continuity. It involves a process of mutual "accustoming" between God and man. God "becomes accustomed" to man by becoming involved in his historical condition. This begins at the beginning when God creates man from "clay" with His "hands" and terminates in His own "coming in the flesh" at

the Incarnation. Man becomes "accustomed" to God by way of a growth and development throughout history in which a gradual and progressive "seeing" of God effects divine life. This leads eventually to the flesh becoming "accustomed" to incorruption and immortality.

12. Irenaeus seems to be aware of the superimposition upon each other of two historical continuities in the present time of the Church. These have been described as two "ages". The "new age" refers to the time of the divine presence in the flesh from the Incarnation to the Parousia. This is superimposed upon and temporarily concurrent with an "old age" which may be described as the continuity of immanent creative action from the beginning to the end (embracing both Testaments). Christ has already established His Kingdom by virtue of His Resurrection ("new age"). Yet the "old age" still exists in that man's enemies are not yet wholly destroyed. Man now lives as in a tension between these two "ages".
13. In the age of the Church, the Christian already possesses an "earnest" of the Resurrection to which he can project himself and from which he may view the whole panorama of salvation history. The effects of this Resurrection are already apparent in the transformation of the heart and the formation of a "new people". This "projection" is never an escape from the present reality since one must yet live in the "old age" for a time wherein the "suffering of Christ" may yet be experienced.
14. The history of the Church indicates the continuing action of Christ in men from the Resurrection to the Parousia. The Church is the historical milieu in which the "child of God" grows to maturity. This is typified historically by the Garden of Eden and the Israel of the Old Testament.

15. For Irenaeus, the eschatological events of the Parousia recapitulate all of history for which reason salvation can reach to every man from beginning to end. This view is directly in opposition to Marcionite and Ptolemean views wherein there can be no recapitulation of history as such. The emergence of the "new creation" that is fully realized in the resurrection of the faithful is the final effect of recapitulation. This is indicated in the Adam-Christ dialectic. In view of sin, the "new man" of the resurrection is the result of a recapitulation of healing and restructuring of what was already created. Moreover, the recapitulation of the whole Cosmos is fully manifested in this resurrection of the faithful.
16. The working of the Spirit in the Church is now already in a sense eschatological and recapitulative in character. Here we can envisage a dynamic ongoing process wherein mankind recovers its true headship and wherein concurrently the kingdom of Satan is terminated.
17. Irenaeus sees the opposition of sin to grace in its total cosmic and historical scope. From this perspective the Antichrist is the final historical agent of Satan. The Antichrist willfully concentrates and recapitulates in his own person the apostasy of Satan. The recapitulation of evil in Antichrist is placed in parallel with the recapitulation of all things in Christ. The recapitulation of evil in Antichrist is a resumé and a synthesis of all evil perpetuated by Satan in history from the beginning. However, by this recapitulation the Antichrist unwittingly aids the process of man's perfection by virtue of a "polarization" which aids in the purification of the just.
18. The "time" of Antichrist parallels by way of contrast the "time" of Christ. The name "six hundred and sixty-six" given to the Antichrist has a significant historical

application for Irenaeus.

19. The victory of Christ over Antichrist is a final and definitive expression of God's victory over Satan. This was prophesied from the beginning when God "cursed" the Serpent after the Fall of Adam and Eve.
20. Irenaeus held to a literal interpretation of Asiatic millenarianism because it reinforced his refutation of the anti-historical and allegorical interpretation of the Gnostics and also because it seemed to present no obstacles as an integrated part of an orthodox theological synthesis.
21. While the millenium was for Irenaeus the "first phase", so to speak, of the last things, it was also at the same time the glorious phase of the reign of Christ in the Church. This served to give to Irenaeus' concept of progressive development through history a facile continuity. It also helped to integrate Old and New Testament themes.
22. In the Millenium, time continues but history takes on a different aspect. Evil and its effects are eliminated, Christ visibly reigns, and a newness of the Spirit prevades the entire Cosmos.
23. In the millenium man does not yet achieve ultimate perfection but rather completes his historical growth by way of the direct vision of the resurrected Christ. Here Christ "accustoms" man to the vision of the Father. In the milieu of the glorified community of the faithful, man becomes accustomed to incorruptibility.
24. In the millenium (the Kingdom of the Son), the "renewing of the earth" according to its pristine goodness constitutes a pattern for the "heavenly Jerusalem" (the Kingdom of the Father above).

25. The Millenium allows our present state of "growth" in the Church to merge gradually into its final perfection in the Kingdom of the Father. The achieving of such a transition without a radical "break" seems to be more in keeping with our nature as creature. The traditional concept of "rest" associated with the millennial period could be understood as the end of the "struggle" against evil as well as the enjoyment of earthly pleasures which is a fitting reward in view of previous sufferings on the same earth. Such conceptions of the involvement of matter and the flesh are clearly anti-Gnostic.
26. The physical well-being characteristic of Asiatic millenarianism provides anti-Gnostic support for the value of matter and for Irenaeus' view on man's central position in a material Cosmos. Man "rules" the Cosmos according to God's decree from the beginning.
27. In the millenium, Jesus shares earthly as well as spiritual joys with His disciples. His resurrection in the flesh represents an integral part of the "inheritance" purchased with His blood. Therefore, "flesh and blood" must rejoice in the inheritance won.
28. In the Millenium, the "Banquet" is a communion in the flesh as well as in the Spirit and it is the central pivot about which the new life of the millenium revolves. This also constitutes the visible aspect of Christ's recapitulating headship. All of this adds further weight to the argument against the anti-matter doctrine of the Gnostics.
29. The millennial period ends with the descent of the New Heaven (Kingdom of the Father). This is followed by the Last Judgement and the transformation of all the faithful into the glory of the Father and into incorruptibility. The Millenium, which is a real historical type of this

New Heaven, now "passes away" and with it "history" as we can know it.

CONCLUSION

The first objective of our purpose was to establish Irenaeus' theological position on the principal areas of theology from the viewpoint of his understanding of the historicity of the Christian faith which he expresses in his anti-Gnostic argumentation. This was achieved by investigations carried out according to our systematic plan. The results of these investigations and the conclusions drawn from them are laid out in Chapters II through VI.

These investigations have produced significant contributions to the study of Irenaeus. First of all, they have shown that Irenaeus considers every major area of theology from his "historical" point of view. While many authors have already suggested the existence of an historical viewpoint in Irenaeus on the strength of one or more specific areas of study, no one author had demonstrated its existence for all areas. For example, Widmann approaches Irenaeus' historical viewpoint from the perspective of the "economy" concept, Markus from the Pleroma concept, Mambrino from the concept of the Word and Spirit as the "hands" of God, and so forth. The approach in each of these cases, moreover, has been primarily analytical. This investigation, on the other hand, is able to establish beyond doubt the universality of Irenaeus' application of "history" to every major area of his theology because its approach was primarily systematic rather than analytical.

Secondly, such a comprehensive investigation provides sufficient information about each area of Irenaeus' theology vis-a-vis salvation-history to make it possible to systematically rearrange the various aspects of his theology according to his view of salvation-history. This brings us to the second objective of our purpose: to reconstruct a precise and comprehensive description of Irenaeus' overall view of salvation-

history from the information uncovered by the investigations. This systematic reconstruction may now be summarized as follows:

1. History has its beginning entirely by God's free initiative. The first event was God's initial act of creating ex nihilo. History also ends by God's initiative in the Parousia of the Incarnate Son of God and in the subsequent descent of "the Kingdom of the Father". All intervening events are entirely subject to God's sovereign power since He governs history's course according to His Divine Plan by action of His Word and His Spirit. From beginning to end God is supremely Lord of History.
2. By virtue of the fact that God is supremely Lord of history, history is a unique and meaningful sequence of events.
3. Since man is at the centre of the created universe (Cosmos) and all was created for man, history centers in man. In that sense history derives its significance from man and human events.
4. Since man is created free he can to certain measure determine the course of events. He can, so to speak, be lord of his own destiny. The same may be said of angelic beings. The course of history must therefore be determined by way of a free encounter with and cooperation between God on the one hand and angels and men on the other. This cooperation involves a history of growth and development for man whereby he moves from "infancy" to "adulthood": from imperfection to perfection: from being created in the image and likeness of God to a full participation in that Image and Likeness. This development comes by way of a gradual increase in "gnosis" through "seeing" God as He reveals Himself in history. God's self-disclosure in history is in stepwise fashion according

as the level of historical development determines human capacity and need.

5. If history includes a sequence of events involving a free cooperation between God and His free creatures it can and does also include the possibility of failure to cooperate. This introduces into history the event of sin and the consequent powerful force of evil. These are the forces which would work to destroy man, halt his progress in creation and consequently thwart God's purpose in history. History then becomes the forum for the dramatic conflict between the forces of good and evil. Since the fallen angel, Satan, is the prime mover in the rebellion against God, the conflict between "just" and "unjust" focusses on the opposition between God and Satan. Adam and Eve as progenitors of the race represent all mankind. Since Adam, by virtue of his childlike naïveté during the Fall and his subsequent repentance is ranged on the side of the "just", mankind, taken as a whole, is also ranged on the side of God in the struggle against evil. Nevertheless, mankind in Adam receives this role and this power not from the First Adam but rather from the future New Adam, Christ, of which the First Adam is an historical type.

6. In His ineffable Divine Plan God has already taken the failure of free creatures into account. According to His infinite mercy He wills to forgive man and introduce into that same history the requisite events that will provide the conditions to redeem and save man. In this sense God's Plan is a "plan of salvation" and history is a "saving economy".

7. The coming of the Word in the flesh is the key to God's plan of salvation because: a. in the Incarnation thus realized, the image of God in man comes to full perfection. and b. in this process man is redeemed from the power of

evil, i.e., the historical conflict between good and evil is resolved in victory for God and man. The Incarnation, therefore, inaugurates the "last days" or the end of history. In order that God's plan of salvation in history (οἰκονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ) effectively center in the Christ-event, it is necessary that this event be fully historical.

8. The historicity of the Christ-event can be established from several points of view: a. from the nature of the event itself b. from the event being seen as the term and raison d'être of the meaningful sequence of historical saving events (οἰκονομίες), c. from the all-embracing extension of its effects to past, present and future by way of the Word and the Spirit. The Christ-event extends its effects to all men of all time by way of recapitulation.

9. Since the Incarnate Word is fully historical He can effectively recapitulate mankind in its total historical scope: past, present and future. He not only takes unto Himself "the ancient formation of Adam" corporeally, but all of history including the personal histories of every individual as well. He literally goes back again over the ground of human decision that formed history and conquers where man has failed. In this way He saves and redeems all who are willing. In the present era, through the work of the Spirit in the Church and Sacraments His redeeming recapitulating action continues to affect the personal lives of each individual in the totality of his historical condition. In such a manner He draws all men on to that future resurrection and incorruptibility that is already His in His own person. In this way the Incarnate Word with the Spirit "fulfills" now as He will continue to fulfil the "economy" of God's plan of salvation in history through the "Parousia", the millenium, and the Final Judgement to its consummation in the Kingdom of the Father.

One may say with reasonable certainty that this system represents more or less the synthesis or *ὑπόθεσις* that lay in the back of Irenaeus' mind and which guided him in his argumentations against the Gnostics. It formed the principle of unity for his theological thinking and explains why he always approached every theological question from the historical viewpoint.

While several authors have suggested the existence of such a "system" or synthesis in the mind of Irenaeus, e.g., Daniélou, Cullmann, Hefner... they had not attempted to draw out fully its total scope by way of indicating the integration of all its parts. By some method of analysis they were content to delineate its contours from one point of view or another. Again, by the comprehensive and systematic approach, we were able to achieve our third objective: to indicate the role that Irenaeus' conception of salvation-history plays in his theological synthesis. A closer examination of the outline given above reveals that "history" (as Irenaeus understands it) functions as the principle of unification for all major theological themes: God, Creation, Christian anthropology, sin, Revelation, Incarnation, Redemption, Church and Sacraments, Spirituality, Escatology... When viewed in such a pattern of development through time from beginning to end, every theme falls naturally into place in a way that is coherent and consistent. For Irenaeus, this is the normal and natural way to set one's thoughts in order when contemplating the mysteries of the Faith. After all, according to him we are by nature "historical" beings having a beginning, a course of development through time and a destiny to arrive at. We must live and think within the limitations of space and time. This is what distinguishes the creature from the Creator.

While the "historical" aspect of the Christian Faith

had always been expressed in Christian tradition at least by implication in view of the acceptance of Jesus as a fully historical phenomenon, it was the attack on the historicity of the saving events wrought by Jesus that drew from Irenaeus this explicit and all-embracing expression of the historicity of God's saving action for man in Christ. As Irenaeus realizes the a-historical nature of the Gnostic doctrine to be the Clef de voûte of its disunity, inconsistency and its internal contradictions so also does he make the historical dimension of the Faith the principle of its unity and coherence.

Our twentieth century world is characterized by rapid changes in virtually all areas of human life and experience. This has created a climate of uncertainty, confusion and malaise. It has been a time of reassessing the meaning and purpose of human existence. Theology's task of reinterpreting and reexpressing the Gospel in the light of the contemporary world is now more urgent than ever. Theologians have realized that this urgent task has necessitated a return to the "roots", i.e., the historical beginnings of the Faith. This has given rise to much interest and unprecedented advances not only in Biblical Theology but in Patrology as well. The many works of research and commentary on Irenaeus in this century indicate his importance in this matter. It is also significant that in the references to the Fathers of the documents of the Second Vatican Council only St. Augustine is quoted more often than Irenaeus.

Irenaeus' vision of reality; the all-encompassing sweep of his salvation-history bears within it an interpretation of the Gospel that seems to correspond well to the special characteristics and legitimate aspirations of modern man. The Christian of today can see in Irenaeus a sort of pattern or model from which a new Christian synthesis might

be constructed. From this point of view, the detailed and relatively complete presentation of the Irenaeian synthesis given in this dissertation should prove of significant value. The lines of unity between exegesis, dogma and spirituality as well as between the theology of God and creation, Christian anthropology and revelation can now be seen more clearly. Of course, this is not to say that the Irenaeian synthesis is by itself sufficient but only that it possesses many of the elements that a modern synthesis requires. Much more research is necessary. It might be instructive to compare the Irenaeian synthesis to that implied in other great Christian writers such as St. Augustine or St. Thomas Aquinas. This would provide a better basis on which to assess its strengths and its weaknesses. Another area that could be explored to much profit would be an investigation into how Irenaeus integrates the contemporary conception of the Cosmos into his view of Salvation-history. This should provide some basis from which could be made a corresponding integration of our modern conception of an evolving Cosmos into an enlightened Christian conception of Salvation-history. Without such an integration of the Cosmos into a new Christian synthesis appropriate to our times, it will become increasingly difficult for a Christian to "feel at home" in our modern world.

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION

1. This is only an introductory summary covering the main points that are well known by authors of the subject. More detailed treatment from various points of view is taken up below: as to mythological expression, p. 22-26; "time", p. 27-31; "evil", p. 80-83; "salvation", p. 151-154 and from other points of view as they apply to other matters covered in the course of the dissertation.
2. Cf. p. 11, 72-74, 254-5.
3. Irenaeus' philosophy sources are primarily doxographical. H. Diels has shown that in listing philosophers' opinions (AH.II,14,1-6, p. 376-8) Irenaeus uses the doxographical material of Ps. Plutarch. Doxographi Graeci, Berlin, 1879, p. 171f. R.M. Grant finds several examples from Irenaeus' writings that indicate knowledge and use of classical rhetoric. "Irenaeus and Hellenistic Culture", Harvard Theological Review 42(1949), p. 41-51. E.P. Meijering elaborates on various arguments that Irenaeus took over and adapted from various contemporary philosophical systems. "Irenaeus' Polemics Against the Gnostics" in God Being History, Amsterdam, N. Holland Pub. Co., 1975, p. 26-33 [31-38]. Cf. also p. 221-7 of same work.
4. AH.I, Pref. 3, p. 316.
5. E.g., he speaks of philosophers as "those who were ignorant of God." (AH.II,14,2, p. 376) and he criticizes Plato's ideas on the soul (AH.II,33,1-4, p. 409-411).
6. AH.II,26,1, p. 397; II,28,3, p. 399-400.
7. E.P. Meijering, God Being History, Amsterdam, N. Holland Pub. Co., 1975, p. 225-6.
8. André Benoit, Saint Irénée, Introduction à l'étude de sa théologie, Paris, PUF, 1960, p. 254-5.
9. op. cit., p. 270.
10. Cf. below, p. 257-9, 332-3.
11. This is implied by the task he sets for himself: "...But in this, the Third Book, I shall adduce proofs from the Scriptures, so that I may come behind in nothing of what thou hast enjoined; yea, that over and above what thou didst reckon upon..." (AH.III, Pref., p. 414. He means to demonstrate the true $\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$. He sees himself as a "spiritual disciple" working in harmony with the Spirit in the Church to effect growth in the truth. Cf. p. 348f.

12. Henri Lassiat, Promotion de l'homme en Jesus-Christ d'après Irénée de Lyon, [Tours/ Mame, 1974, p. 457f.
13. H.I. Marrou, The Meaning of History, Montréal, Palm, 1966, p. 25.
14. This is because historical knowledge by its very nature is such that "when it bears fully upon its object, in all the richness of human reality, it still cannot accumulate all the probability which, theoretically, could lead to a quasi-certainty". Marrou, op. cit., p. 143. And again, "our knowledge of the past is what we believe to be true from what we have understood of what the documents have preserved for us." Idem, p. 143.
15. Idem, p. 161.
16. This makes all-embracing vistas and great hypotheses very difficult. One realizes that an event such as the fall of the Roman Empire is due to so many causes and interconnections that even the most elaborate hypothesis could never adequately explain it. Such hypotheses are nevertheless useful as an aid to understanding. Cf. Marrou, op. cit., p. 196-201.
17. There are dangers here. The historical quest should be a labour of "friendship". It is an engagement to understand the "Other". Consequently, in the search for historical truth, one must put personal existential considerations temporarily aside as much as possible. Idem, p. 255-269.
18. Idem, p. 237.
19. Idem, p. 30.
20. L.G. Patterson, God and History in Early Christian Thought, New York, Seabury, 1967, p. 3.
21. Cf. John Dillon, The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism 80 BC to AD 220, London, G. Duckworth & Co., 1977, p 43-51. He writes, "We shall see throughout our period the philosophers of Middle Platonism oscillating between two poles of attraction constituted by Peripateticism and Stoicism, but adding to the mixture of these influences a strong commitment (after Antiochus, at least) to a transcendent supreme principle, and a non-material intelligible world above and beyond this one, which stands as a paradigm for it. The influence of Pythagoras...was also dominant...Nevertheless, despite all the variations in doctrine that emerge, we can observe in this period the growth of a consistent body of thought, constituting a Platonic heritage that could be handed on... p. 51.

22. Patterson shows how this phenomenon was due to a desire to elevate courses of events as related by historia to matters of rational concern. Op. cit., p. 33-43.
23. Cf. Hugo Preller, Geschichte der Historiographie, Band I, Aalen, Scientia, 1967. He writes: "...Nur durch Allegoresse konnte die Rezeption des AT und der stoischen Logoslehre erfolgen, nur so konnten Sätze der hellenisch-hellenistischen Philosophie zu Plagiaten angeblich viel älterer alttestamentlicher Stellen gestempelt werden; die Allegorese verwischte damals wie immer die strengen Konturen des geschichtlich Einmaligen..." p. 312.
24. Herodotus² writes his "inquiries" (*ἱστορίαι*) not only to celebrate events of the past concerning Greeks and Barbarians but also to indicate "what were the grounds of feud." (Hist. I, Pref.) Francis R.B. Godolphin, The Greek Historians, Vol. I, New York, Random House, p. 3. Cf. also Patterson, op. cit., p. 17-18.
25. op. cit., p. 18.
26. Idem, p. 19-20.
27. Idem, p. 20-21.
28. Idem, p. 21-22.
29. Idem, p. 23-24.
30. Idem, p. 26-27.
31. Idem, p. 28.
32. "...it was an effort to come to terms with the implications of the unfolding course of events itself which governed their often problematical isolation of "testimonies" and their imperious acceptance and rejection of contemporary expectations of the future." Patterson, op. cit., p. 13-14. Cf. also McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, New York, Macmillan, 1965, p. 38-42.
33. Rom. 9:1-11:36. Cf. Patterson, op. cit., p. 14.
34. "...Die ursprünglich jüdische, von der Christusreligion rezipierte Geschichtsauffassung aber ging nicht nur von einem supra et extra naturam stehenden Gotte aus, sondern machte diesen selbst zum alleinigen Träger aller Geschichte überhaupt...Sie behauptete und behauptet noch zu wissen wie etwa ein Geschichtsschreiber der Römer über die consulta senatus vel consilia imperatoris cuiusdam. Das war das Neue in dieser "Geschicht"-schreibung und macht auf dem Gebiet der Geistesgeschichte den Kern unseres westeuropäischen Mittelalters aus." Preller, op. cit., p. 313.

35. Rev. 17:1-18:24. Cf. Patterson, op. cit., p. 15.
36. Patterson, op. cit., p. 15.
37. Ignatius of Antioch, Smyrn. I-IV; SC 10, p. 137. Cf. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, Vol. I, London, Mowbrays, [1975- /], p. 86-7.
38. Grillmeier, op. cit., p. 89-90.
39. Justin, First Apol., 30; Thomas B. Falls, St. Justin Martyr, New York, Christian Heritage Inc., 1948, p. 66.
40. Justin, First Apol., 52, Idem, p. 88-9.
41. Grillmeier, op. cit., p. 90.
42. E.g., much of Irénaeus' thought on the later chapters of Genesis is taken over directly from Justin. Cf. G.T. Armstrong, Die Genesis in der alten Kirche, Tübingen, Mohr, 1962, p. 89.
43. Ad Autolicum, II, 25-27; Jean Sender, G. Bardy, Trois livres à Autolicus, SC, Paris, Cerf, 1948, p. 108-111.
44. Grillmeier, op. cit., p. 95.
45. Meijering, op. cit., p. 275; Patterson, op. cit., p. 43-5.
46. Patterson, op. cit., p. 42.
47. Preller, op. cit., p. 317. Cf. also McKenzie, op. cit., p. 448-449.
48. Preller, op. cit., p. 317-318
49. Idem, p. 318.
50. Cf. p. 188.
51. Doctoral Dissertation, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen, 1956.
52. VC 8(1954), p. 193-224.
53. Louvain, Pub, Univ. de Louvain, 1955.
54. NRT 72(1957), p. 355-370.
55. "Théologie de l'accoutumance dans Irénée, RSR 55(1967), p. 5-54.
56. Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire, Paris, Seuil, 1953. Théologie du judeo-christianisme, Tournai, Desclée, 1958. Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux II^e et III^e siècles, Tournai, Desclée, 1961.
57. In Orientalia Christiana Analecta 171, Rome, Pont. Univ. Greg. Typ., 1964.
58. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1959.

59. Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1968.
60. Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1969.
61. The Origin of Sin in Irenaeus and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature, Doctoral Thesis, Hamilton, McMaster University, 1973.

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. Eusebius, H.E., IV,14 & V,20; The Fathers of the Church 19, New York, Cima, [1947-], p. 230-1 & 329.
2. Ignatius, on his way to his martyrdom at Rome (c 107 AD), addressed one of his letters to Polycarp. Cf. J. Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I, Westminster, Md., Newman, 1950, p. 64.
3. Acts 13:3 - 15:35. According to Eusebius, H.E., III,36, Euodius became bishop of Antioch after St. Peter the Apostle. Ignatius appears to have become bishop of Antioch upon the death of Euodius in AD 69. R.J. Deferrari, Eusebius Pamphili, Ecclesiastical History, Books 1-5, New York, Fathers of the Church Inc., 1953, p. 195-6.
4. AH.III,3,4, p. 416.
5. Cf. Cyril C. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers 1, Philadelphia, Westminster, 1953, p. 347.
6. Richardson, idem, p. 347.
7. This opinion by Louis Doutreleau: "...Il a fallu un séjour prolongé (à Rome), une lente imprégnation de la vie pour que naisse et persiste chez un adolescent de Smyrne un tel intérêt pour les choses romaines. C'est pourquoi, il est vraisemblable de dire qu'Irénée reçut à Rome le complément de formation qui lui manquait..." He comments also on Irenaeus' acquaintance with the Gnostic systems: "Et ce n'est pas à Lyon, du moins selon la vraisemblance, qu'il put être au contact de la plupart de ces systèmes. Rome avait accueilli les Gnostiques de toute école, maîtres et disciples; c'est là qu'Irénée dut s'initier à la connaissance de leurs erreurs." DS 7(2), 1971, col. 1926.

William R. Schoedel has shown that Irenaeus had at some time received a fundamental education of sorts: "...This would suggest, then, that Irenaeus had at some time been exposed to the fundamentals of Hellenistic education, grammar and rhetoric, but that his acquaintance with the higher discipline of philosophy had remained somewhat elementary in character." "Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Adversus Haereses of Irenaeus", VC 13(1959), p. 31.
8. H.E., V,4, p. 291.
9. B. Altaner, Patrology, New York, Herder, 1961, p. 150.
10. H.E., V,24, p. 334-9.
11. Altaner, op. cit., p. 150.

12. Many quotations are found in Hippolytus, Eusebius and especially in Epiphanius. These are of the Greek original. Quasten, op. cit., p. 291.
13. H.E. V, 26, p. 340.
14. An exact translation into English is difficult. Altaner has "Unmasking and Refutation of False Gnosis" and Richardson has "Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge Falsely So-called".
15. Altaner, op. cit. *Ἐπιδείξις* is also translated "Demonstration" (J.A. Robinson) or "Proof" (J.P. Smith).
16. The other works of Irenaeus are represented only by small fragments or titles. These contain no additional information of consequence to the topic and therefore will not be used.
17. H.E. V, 20-21, p. 327-330. Cf. also R.A. Lipsius, Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts, Kiel, 1869, p. 263.
18. J. Quasten, Patrology, vol. I, Westminster, Md., Newman, p. 290-1.
19. A. Rousseau, Irénée de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies, IV, SC 100, Paris, Cerf, 1965, p. 15-18.
20. He collaborated with Dr. Edward Ter Minassiantz to edit and translate them into German in 1907. For details cf. Froideveau, SC 62, p. 8-10.
21. For an appraisal of the three traditions and a description of the procedure in reconstituting the Greek text see A. Rousseau, SC 100, p. 15-185 and SC 152, p. 11-191.
22. as reprinted in the American edition by A.C. Coxe. Cf. Bibliography.
23. Henri Rondet, Histoire du Dogme, Paris, Desclée, 1970, p. 41.
24. Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, lv. III, SC 34, Paris, Cerf, 1952, p. 17.
25. Adelin Rousseau, Irénée de Lyon, lv. III, SC 153, T. I, p. 168.
26. Cf. P. Sagnard, SC 34, p. 16-18: "...ainsi le plan d'Irénée est clair: il s'établit en fonction des doctrines gnostiques qu'il combat; ce qui suppose une connaissance approfondie de ces doctrines, si l'on veut saisir la véritable portée de l'exposée d'Irénée (et non pas établir un catalogue artificiel répondant à des cadres modernes)..." p. 18.

27. This kind of disclaimer was a common rhetorical device used to convince the reader that the author is not so much concerned with a fine composition as with stating the truth. E.g., Plato's Apology, 17b; Lysias XIX and Isaeus X,1. Cf. William R. Schoedel, op. cit., p. 27.
28. The Adversus Haereses is mentioned in Dem. 99, p. 108.
29. Quasten, op. cit., p. 292.
30. Altaner, op. cit., p. 152; cf. also Richardson, op. cit., p. 349.
31. Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, Ancient Christian Writers 16, Westminster, Md., Newman, 1952.
32. Démonstration de la prédication apostolique, SC 62.
33. Cf. p. xv-xvii of Int. regarding Irenaeus' erudition.
34. Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, Boston, Beacon, 1963, p. 21 & 22.
35. Idem, p. 25.
36. John Dillon, The Middle Platonists, London, Duckworth, 1977, p. 51.
37. Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, Göttingen, 1934 & 1954 (see Vol. I, Int. and Vol. II, I, ch. 4.)
38. Cf. Marguerite Harl, Origène et la fonction révélatrice du Verbe Incarnée, Patristic Sorbonensia, vol. II, Paris, 1958, especially p. 88, note 71.
39. Cf. Karl Bihlmeyer & Hermann Tüchle, Church History, Westminster Md., Newman, 1958-66, p. 175-6.
40. Idem, p. 176-7. Cf. also R.M. Grant, Augustus to Constantine..., New York, Harper & Row, 1970, p. 85.
41. Bihlmeyer & Tüchle, op. cit., p. 177.
42. Grant, Augustus to Constantine, p. 91. Cf. also O. Perler, Méliton de Sardes, Sur la Pâque, SC 123, p. 7-10 & 41-2 and also Hans von Campenhausen, "Die Entstehung der Heilsgeschichte...", Saeculum XXI, Heft 2-3(1970), p. 202-4. (Perler fixes the date of writing of the Pascal Homily between 160-170, idem, p. 24.)
43. Bihlmeyer & Tüchle, op. cit., p. 177.
44. Idem, p. 177-8.
45. Cf. J. Daniélou, Message Evangélique et culture Hellénistique aux IIe et IIIe siècles, Paris, Tournai, Desclée, 1961, p. 11-39.

46. Cf. Gérard Vallée, "Theological and Non-theological Motives in Irenaeus' Refutation of the Gnostics", Research Project on Normative Self-definition in Judaism and Christianity in the Greco-Roman Era, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1978.
47. Hans von Campenhausen, "Die Entstehung der Heilsgeschichte: Der Aufbau des christlichen Geschichtsbildes in der Theologie des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts", Saeculum XXI, Heft 2-3 (1970), Freiburg/München, p. 189-212.
48. Idem, p. 189-190.
49. Idem, p. 193-4.
50. Idem, p. 195-199.
51. Idem, p. 200-201.
52. O. Perler, op. cit., p. 32. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 203-4.
53. O. Perler, op. cit., p. 33.
54. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 205.
55. Cf. F. Loofs, Theophilus' von Antiochien Adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenäus, Texte und Untersuchungen 46,2, 1930; R.R. Montgomery Hitchcock, "Loofs' Theory of Theophilus of Antioch as a source of Irenaeus", The Journal of Theological Studies Vol. 38, Oxford, Clarendon Pr., 1937; M. Widmann, "Irenäus und seine theologischen Väter", Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 54(1957), 156-173.
56. AH.I,1,1, p. 316 - I,7,5, p. 326. Cf. H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, Boston, Beacon, 1963, p. 179-197.
57. I.e., the Syrian-Egyptian type in which the two original opposing principles are derived from one. This is as opposed to the Iranian type of Gnosticism wherein two opposing coeternal principles exist from the beginning. Cf. H. Jonas, op. cit., p. 105.
58. Cf. Jonas, op. cit., p. 191.
59. AH.I,5,1, p. 323; Hippol. VI,29, p. 88 (Roberts and Donaldson edition of Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. V).
60. Hippol. VI,28, idem, p. 88.
61. AH.I,5,3, p. 322-3 and Exc. Theod. 49,1; F. Sagnard, Extraits de Théodote, SC, Paris, Cerf, 1948, p. 162-3.
62. Cf. Jonas, op. cit., p. 191, note 24.
63. The body of Jesus by a special dispensation was not composed of material substance but only seemed to be .

- visible and tangible. From this point of view it was not truly historical. Cf. AH.I,6,1, p. 323-4 & I,7,1, p. 325.
64. Hippol. VI,30,1, idem, p. 80.
 65. Cf. Jonas, op. cit., p. 192-3.
 66. Cf. the classic expression of this view in Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, R.M. Grant, Gnosticism, New York, Harper, 1961, p. 189.
 67. AH.I,5,4, p. 323. Cf. Jonas, op. cit., p. 193.
 68. AH.I,17,2, p. 342-3.
 69. H-G. Puech, "La Gnose et le temps", Eranos Jahrbuch 20 (1951), p. 58.
 70. Idem, p. 58.
 71. Jonas, op. cit., p. 207.
 72. Idem, p. 147-173.
 73. "...D'une part, certains systèmes gnostiques dénoncés par les hérésiologues ne seraient, en fait, que christianisés en surface et dans leur couche la plus récente: le fond primitif en serait purement païen. D'autre part, toutes les gnoses de l'époque considérée, chrétiennes ou non, mettraient en oeuvre un même fonds de figures, d'images et de thèmes mythiques dont l'origine remonterait bien plus haut que le premier siècle de notre ère et serait à trouver du côté de l'Orient ancien, soit en Egypte, soit, plutôt, en Babylonie ou en Iran, soit même, selon les hypothèses les plus hardies, dans l'Inde." Puech, op. cit., p. 78.
 74. Puech, op. cit., p. 80-81.
 75. AH.I,5, p. 322-3. Cf. H. Jonas, op. cit., p. 190-194.
 76. "...En somme, l'image héllénique de l'univers n'est acceptée par la Gnose que pour être finalement, et dans les cas les plus typiques, méprisée, niée et transcendée: la révolte gnostique contre le monde de la science Grec, Grec, l'attitude du gnostique est - si l'on me passe ces expressions - "anticosmique" ou "acosmique"..." Puech, op. cit., p. 84-5.
 77. Puech, op. cit., p. 85.
 78. AH.I,7,3-4, p. 325-6. Ptolemy's Letter to Flora takes a somewhat more moderate view of the Law but this is by way of exception. Cf. H. Jonas, op. cit., p. 192-3.
 79. Puech concludes: "...Disons ici que, contrairement à la Weltanschauung chrétienne qui, primitivement, est avant tout fondée sur l'histoire, la pensée gnostique est, en

- outré, une pensée "anti-historique" ou "non-historique", indifférente ou hostile à l'histoire. Sous cet aspect, l'attitude du gnosticisme ne peut être, en son fond, qu'autre que celle du christianisme, et de fait, lorsqu'il y a eu rencontre de l'une et de l'autre, l'adaptation de la Gnose à les formes chrétiennes a abouti à une révolution, bientôt jugée inacceptable par l'Eglise...", op. cit., p. 87-8.
80. AH.I, pref. 1, p. 315.
 81. AH.II,27,1, p. 398.
 82. AH.II,28,2, p. 399.
 83. AH.I, Pref. 3, p. 316.
 84. Philip Hefner, "Theological Methodology and St. Irenaeus", Journal of Religion 44(1964), p. 295.
 85. Irenaeus draws the analogy between this "hypothesis" and the proper ordering of parts in an image. The Gnostics rearrange the parts so that the harmony and unity of the image is altered to represent something entirely different: "...In doing so however, they disregard the order and the connection of the Scriptures, and so far as in them lies, dismember and destroy the truth. By transferring passages, and dressing them up anew, and making one thing out of another, they succeed in deluding many through their wicked art in adapting the oracles of the Lord to their opinions. Their manner of acting is just as if one, when a beautiful image of a king has been constructed by some skillful artist out of precious jewels, should then take this likeness of the man all to pieces, should re-arrange the gems, and so fit them together as to make them into a form of a dog or of a fox...and should then maintain and declare that this was the beautiful image of the king..." AH.I,8,1, p. 326.
 86. Hefner, op. cit., p. 296. Reference is here made to Herbert Oppel's KANON, Zur bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes und seiner lateinischen Entsprechungen (Regula-Norma), Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937.
 87. "...The "hypothesis" of the Faith is ambiguous in that it is not coincident with any one of these mediate authorities taken by itself. But it is decisive in that each of these authorities receives its meaning from it." Hefner, op. cit., p. 297. Hefner refers here to Haegglund, "die Bedeutung der 'regula fidei'...", Studia Theologica XII (1958), p. 4, 16ff and C.B. Reynders, "La Polemique de Saint Irénée: Méthode et principes", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, VI (1935), p. 5-27.

"Their research supports this sort of description of the
"hypothesis" although they are not concerned to make the
same use of the evidence that I do." Idem.

1. p. xiii-xiv.
2. This is the general consensus of those who have researched this aspect of Irenaeus. Of special interest here is a work by William R. Schoedel, "Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Adversus Haereses...", VC 13 (1959), p. 22-32, in which he suggests that the structure of Adversus Haereses corresponds more or less to the four divisions of classic rhetorical speech: exordium, narratio-divisio, confirmatio-confutatio, and peroratio. Moreover, the confirmatio-confutatio (Books II to V) shows evidence of the influence of rhetorical principles. In addition, Irenaeus' method of argumentation throughout employs several standard rhetorical techniques: enthymema, epicheirema, argumentum ad hominem, and various topoi. As for acquaintance with philosophical works as such his knowledge is gleaned from doxographical material. He concludes: "...it would appear that Irenaeus had some acquaintance with rhetoric and less with the higher discipline of philosophy. His acquaintance with the latter was confined largely to doxographical material which gave him no real understanding of the subject. And this for the most part was employed in a sceptical fashion for the sole purpose of refuting the Gnostics. A Peripatetic source critical of Plato may also have been known to him. But beyond that there seems to have been little or no direct philosophical influence upon him. In any event Irenaeus was himself conscious of little interest in philosophy. He refuses to answer such questions as to what God was doing before He created the world... (AH.II,28,3, p. 400)." p.32. Robert M. Grant who had much the same appraisal of Irenaeus' knowledge of philosophy, takes a more positive view: "Too often we are content with a picture of Irenaeus as orthodox but rather stupid. The camera needs to be refocussed and the picture taken over again. Irenaeus is certainly devoted to Christian tradition. But he represents the confluence of Hellenism and Christianity no less distinctly than the apologists do. And he is choosing from the maelstrom of Greek thought what he thinks will be adaptable to the Christian religion..." "Irenaeus and Hellenistic Culture", Harvard Theological Review, 42 (1949), p. 51. We have already indicated some of Meijering's observations on this subject to which we should include: "...The question of what he knew of philosophy and where he obtained his knowledge from is quite easy to answer. In AH.2,18 he gives a survey of the various philosophical schools, a survey which is obviously based on a manual. We have already seen...that his representation of Plato's philosophy is quite a familiar one in Middle Platonism. Of the three εργα of Platonic philosophy he accepts

that God is the good Creator who does not begrudge the world its existence and that there is a model within the Divine Mind after which the world is modelled. Regarding the third $\alpha\lambda\eta$, matter, he strongly disagrees with the Platonic doctrine that the Creator created the world out of chaotic, eternal matter..." p. 225-6. And again, "...In our analysis of Irenaeus' concept of free will we have seen that he feels free to use philosophical arguments repeatedly in his attack on the Gnostics. This can only be explained by the fact that he must have been impressed by some of the statements made about God by Pagan philosophers..." p. 227. A. Benoit is somewhat more negative in his assessment of Irenaeus' philosophical knowledge but is nevertheless in basic agreement: "...s'il a fait des études, s'il a suivi quelques cours de rhétorique, s'il a lu certain nombre d'auteurs, tout cela ne va pas très loin. Du point de vue philosophique, sa culture est encore limitée: il ne connaît guère que quelque rudiments tombée dans le domaine public. Lorsqu'il veut faire étalage d'érudition - et c'est fort rare - il utilise un ouvrage doxographique. En somme, Irénée a été un élève honnête qui n'a pas poussé à fond ses études. De ce point de vue, il reste en deça d'un Justin, d'un Clément d'Alexandrie ou d'un Origène." Saint Irénée, introduction à l'étude de sa théologie, Paris, PUF, 1960, p. 252.

3. H. Dörrie lists several points of Platonic doctrine to which Christians could not agree: the divine hierarchy, the world without a beginning, the never-changing "Erfolffenbarung" of the Logos, the transmigration of souls, the return of the soul. Was ist "spätantiker Platonismus"?, Theologische Rundschau N.F. 36(1971), p. 300. We must agree with Meijering that Irenaeus clearly refutes all of these in the course of his writings and that he also clearly asserts the basic Christian doctrines to which the Platonist could not agree. Cf. Meijering, op. cit. p.226.
4. AH.II,13,4, p. 374.
5. AH.II,13,2-3, p. 373-4, 8-10, p. 375-6; 14,8, p. 378; 28, 5 & 7, p. 400-1; IV,19,2-3, p. 487.
6. This is clear from Irenaeus' overall argumentation against the Gnostics, especially in AH.II,1,1, p. 359-17,11, p. 383. Cf. Wingren, Man and the Incarnation, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1959, p. 3.
7. AH.IV,20,1, p. 487; On the role of love in true gnosis, cf. p. 343-353.
8. AH.II,1,1-3, p. 359-60; IV,19,3, p. 487.

9. AH.I,10,1, p. 330; cf. also Dem. 6, p. 51.
10. AH.II,28,6, p. 401. Cf. Houssiau, La Christologie de Saint Irénée, Louvain, Pub. u. de Louv., 1955, p. 164-5.
11. AH.III,6,1-5, p. 418-20; cf. A. d'Alès, "La doctrine de l'esprit en saint Irénée", RSR 14 (1924), p. 498.
12. Dem. 47-52, p. 78-81.
13. AH.II,17,7, p. 382.
14. J. Ochagavia, Visibile Patris Filius..., Orientalia christiana analecta 171, Typis Pont. Univ. Greg., Rome, 1964, p. 41-2.
15. AH.III,11,6, p. 427.
16. AH.III,11,7, p. 428; cf. III,11,1, p. 426.
17. AH.III,8,3, p. 421.
18. AH.II,1,1, p. 359; II,16,3, p. 380; III,1,2, p. 414-15; et alia "...Irénée semble même ne jamais affirmer l'unité de Dieu sans ajouter comme allant de soi qu'il est le Créateur, et cela avec une force si grande qu'il suggère irrésistiblement qu'il s'agit d'une création permanente, continuée...", J. Mambrino, "'Les deux mains de Dieu' chez St. Irénée", NRT 79 (1957), p. 359.
19. AH.III,8,3, p. 421-2.
20. AH.IV,11,2, p. 474.
21. AH.III,8,3, p. 421-2; cf. also IV,38,3, p. 521.
22. AH.IV,14,1, p. 478-9; cf. IV,20,1, p. 487.
23. AH.IV,38,4, p. 522.
24. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521; "...The matter from which everything in creation was to be formed must itself have been made from nothing, because it is only from God that Creation can originate...", Wingren, op. cit., p. 4; cf. p. 6.
25. AH.I,22,1, p. 347; II,2,3-5, p. 361-2; IV,20,1, p. 487-8.
26. AH.III,12,9, p. 433; cf. also IV,32,1, p. 506.
27. R.A. Markus, "Pleroma and Fulfilment", VC 8 (1954), p. 193-204.
28. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521.
29. AH.V,18,1, p. 546. Cf. H. Urs von Balthasar, La Gloire et la croix, Vol. 2, Paris, Aubier, 1965-, p. 51.
30. AH.V,6,1, p. 531-2.
31. AH.II,30,9, p. 406; cf. J. Mambrino, op. cit., p. 359.

32. Mambrino, op. cit., p. 360.
33. AH.IV,14,1, p. 478.
34. Dem. 11, p. 54.
35. AH.IV,5,1, p. 466.
36. AH.II,7,5, p. 367-8; IV,39,3, p. 523.
37. AH.II,16,1-4, p. 379-80; Balthasar, op. cit., p. 64.
38. AH.II,28,3, p. 399-400; III,22,1, p. 454; "...Ce qui est visé par là, ce n'est pas une oeuvre d'art littéraire faite d'écrits et de chapitres divers, c'est la symphonie de l'être et de l'histoire qui s'exprime par l'Écriture et possède sa loi essentielle dans la récapitulation de l'humanité par l'Homme-Dieu...", Balthasar, op. cit., p. 66.
39. AH.IV,39,1-3, p. 522-3.
40. AH.IV,38,1, p. 521; cf. III,8,3, p. 422.
41. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2.
42. AH.IV,39,2, p. 522-3.
43. AH.III,8,3, p. 422.
44. Cf. p. 29-30, also O. Cullmann, Christ & Time, Philadelphia Westminster Pr., 1964, p. 51-4; cf. also J. Daniélou, The Lord of History, Chicago, Longmans, Green, 1958, p. 1-3.
45. AH.V,28,4, p. 557.
46. AH.IV,38,1, p. 521.
47. AH.IV,33,1, p. 506; cf. D.B. Reynnders, "Optimisme et théocentrisme chez saint Irénée", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 8 (1936), p. 240.
48. AH.IV,11,1, p. 474.
49. AH.IV,39,2, p. 422-3.
50. "To have received the Spirit of adoption is to have been set free. But, this, in turn, is to have allowed oneself to be fashioned by the perfection-tending movement of the blending process. By means of the increments of time, the creature who is marked by beginning, middle, and end points (to which human exigencies the redemptive process has been adapted) is made fit for the description "deus". The creation is suited for man. Man was not made for the creation's sake, but creation for the sake of man. Thus Irenaeus can declare that the glory of God is a living man. (AH.IV,20,7, p. 490) Here is man's freedom.

But such glory is possible only through the preservation of the entire frame-work. (AH.IV,39,2, p. 522-3) Man, the workmanship of God, awaits the hand of his maker in due season, at the proper time, at the time of increase." Walter H. Capps, "Motif-research in Irenaeus, Thomas Aquinas and Luther", Studia Theologica: (Scandinavian Journal of Theology), Vol. 21 (1971) p. 142.

51. For a textual analysis of the meaning of these names and their application to Christ in Irenaeus see Houssiau, op. cit., p. 28-31.
52. AH.III,18,1, p. 446.
53. AH.IV,20,3-4, p. 488.
54. Dem. 43, p. 75-6; cf. also Dem. 6, p. 51.
55. AH.V,18,3, p. 546-7.
56. A. Orbe, Hacia la primera teologia de la procesion del Verbo...., Analecta Gregoriana 99, Rome, Greg., 1958, p. 116.
57. AH.IV,6,7, p. 469.
58. Op. cit., p. 99-100.
59. E.g., AH.II,28,6, p. 401.
60. Orbe, op. cit., p. 134-5; cf. J.P. Smith, Proof...., London, Longmans, 1952, p. 181.
61. Dem. 39, p. 72-3; cf. Ochagavia, op. cit., p. 102.
62. Ochagavia, op. cit., p. 109-10.
63. Idem, p. 110.
64. Idem, p. 110.
65. Idem, p. 112.
66. "Christ-event": the total of all that is involved with Jesus as historical; from His Conception and birth to His death on the Cross.
67. AH.IV, pref. 4, p. 462-3; IV,20,1, p. 487-8; V,1,3, p. 527; et alia.
68. Mambrino, op. cit., p. 370.
69. Dem. 5, p. 50.
70. Idem.
71. Idem.
72. Dem. 6, p. 51.
73. M. Aubineau, "Incorruptibilité et divinisation selon

- saint Irénée", RSR 44 (1956), p. 25-52.
74. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2.
 75. "La notion d'économie et ses richesses théologiques", NRT 92 (1970), p. 266-292.
 76. Duchatelez, idem, p. 272.
 77. Idem, p. 273.
 78. Leisegang, "Indices...", Berlin, 1963; cf Duchatelez, op. cit., p. 273.
 79. "...Elemente spätjüdisch-apokalyptischen (die Vorstellung von dem universalen Plan Gottes, der auf einen entscheidenden Tag hinzielt) und urchristlichen Denkens (der Glaube an das Gekommensein Christi als die Erfüllung der Geschichte) formen sich in diesem neuen Begriff unter dem Einfluss gnostischer Motive zu einem gnostisierenden Geschichtsbegriff.", Der Begriff οἰκονομία im Werk des Irenäus und seine Vorgeschichte, Doctoral Dissertation, Tübingen, 1956, p. 172.
 80. "...For the idea of an 'economy of the pleroma' is a characteristic notion of the cosmology of the Hermetica ...It describes the hierarchical arrangement of the cosmos, dependent on the Father, the one who is all and contains all, and 'fills' each component of the hierarchy according to the measure of its nature...", R.A. Markus, "Pleroma and Fulfilment", VC 8 (1954), p. 212-13.
 81. Ws 13:1-9; Cf. Duchatelez, op. cit. p. 274.
 82. Dial. 107, p. 252-3; 134, p. 267-8; 141, p. 269-270. Page references: Ante Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1.
 83. Address to the Greeks 12, Ante Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2, p. 70.
 84. Ad. Aut. II, 10, Ante Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2, p. 97-8; cf. also II,12, p. 99.
 85. Ch. VIII & IX, The Fathers of the Church (The Apostolic Fathers), New York, Cima, 1947, p. 362.
 86. Strom. (Miscellanies) IV,23, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XII, Edinburgh, 1869, p. 208.
 87. Strom. I,17, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. IV, p. 408.
 88. Op. cit., p. 274-5.
 89. "...Der Begriff ist verbunden mit einer gnostisierenden Erlösungslehre, die die Erlösung als Einverleibung in den Erlöser (Anakephalaiosis) fasst. In der Tradition der christlichen Gemeinde erscheint diese Erlösungslehre oft

in Formen der Adam-Christus-Dialektik. Diese Erlösungslehre variiert im einzelnen mannigfach, aber die Grundzüge sind die gleichen vom neutestamentlichen Epheserbrief an bis hin zur Gnosis einerseits und zu Irenäus andererseits" op. cit., p. 172.

90. Duchatelez, op. cit., p. 279-80. This trend was evident in parts of the New Testament, in St. Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria...
91. AH.I,10,3, p. 331; cf. III,1,1, p. 414; III,24,1, p. 458; IV,33,10, p. 509; V,2,2, p. 528 et alia. Cf. Widmann, op. cit., especially p. 80: "Charakteristisch ist sein Reden von einer umfassenden *οικονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Er meint damit den Plan, den Gott für die Menschheit entwarf. Dieser Plan kommt zur Durchführung in der menschlichen Geschichte...Die *οικονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ* ist ihrem Wesen nach Heilsplan, Heilsveranstaltung; denn diese Zuwendung Gottes an die Geschichte ist als solche für den Menschen Heil..."
92. Widmann, op. cit., p. 81.
93. AH.V,18,3, p. 546-7.
94. AH.IV,36,7, p. 517-8.
95. Widmann, op. cit., p. 81.
96. AH.III,12,13, p. 435; IV,28,2, p. 501; IV,33,7, p. 508; V,26,2, p. 555; et alia cf. Widmann, op. cit., p. 82.
97. AH.III,12,12, p. 434-5.
98. A. Benoit, Saint Iréné. Introduction à l'étude de sa théologie, Paris, P. U. F., 1960, p. 218.
99. AH.II,4,1, p. 362; I,9,2, p. 329.
100. AH.I,6,1, p. 323-4; I,15,3, p. 339; III,11,3, p. 427; et alia.
101. AH.III,25, 1-4; p. 459.
102. Markus, op. cit., p. 213.
103. AH.IV,14,2, p. 479; cf. IV,39,2, p. 522-3.
104. AH.IV,20,7, p. 489; cf. p. 291-2.
105. Markus, op. cit., p. 217.
106. AH.III,13,1, p. 436-7; cf. SC 211, p. 250-2.
107. AH.III,16,3, p. 441; cf. SC 211, p. 300-1.
108. AH.IV, pref. 4, p. 462-3; cf. SC 100, p. 390-1.
109. AH.III,16,7, p. 443.

110. AH.IV,32,& 33; p. 505-11.
111. This is Widmann's way of expressing it: "...Das 'adsistere humano generi' umgreift zwar von aussen die ganze Geschichte, aber nicht von innen. Von innen her ergasst nur die Menschwerdung des Gottessohns die Geschichte. In der Menschwerdung geschieht ja nicht nur Tangierung der Geschichte, sondern innerstes Eingehen in die Geschichte. Der Gottessohn holt die Geschichte ein und wird eins mit ihr. Dies ist der Punkt, wo im irenäischen Denken der Begriff 'R e k a p i t u l a t i o n' haftet..." op. cit. p. 82.
112. Cf. especially Dem. 11, p. 54.
113. This concept was well explained by W. Hunger, "Der Gedanke der Weltplanenheit und Adameinheit in der Theologie des heiligen Irenäus", Scholastik 17 (1942), p. 161-177.
114. AH.IV,34,2, p. 511.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. Van A. Harvey, A Handbook of Theological Terms, New York, Macmillan, 1964, p. 236.
2. Cf. p. 36-7
3. Cf. p. 9-11.
4. A. Hilary Armstrong presents the general characteristics of the revised Platonic philosophy of the Second Century as involving the recognition of a hierarchy of divine principles or beings which stress the transcendence of a supreme principle (sometimes called "the One"); the placing of the Platonic "Forms" in the divine mind; a human destiny requiring a "flight from the body" and an ascent of the soul to the divine and the eternal. Included here also is a tendency to speculate on the problem of evil; attributing it either to an evil world soul or to matter. An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy, London, Methuen, 1957, p. 149-156. Cf. also J. Dillon whose appraisal of the "Middle Platonists" involves these same points. op. cit., p. 43-51. It should be noted, however, that the view that evil is to be identified with matter is not shared by Plotinus. Cf. Reginald E. Witt, Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism, Cambridge U. Press, 1937, p. 114-144; especially p. 120-121.
5. Cf. Origen, C. Cels. IV, 62 and 69-70. H. Chadwick, Origen: Contra Celsum, Cambridge, Univ. Pr., 1953, p. 234, 238-9.
6. "...La pensée grecque aboutit ainsi à jeter dans un quasi-néant le monde de l'expérience sensible, du devenir, du changement et de la mort. Celui-ci ne peut plus être considéré que comme une illusion, dans la mesure où notre perception sensible ne nous permet pas d'en saisir tous les éléments dans leur rapport nécessaire avec le Tout, seul parfait et intelligible... R. Minnerath, Les Chrétiens et le Monde, Paris, Gabalda, 1973, p. 5-6.
7. Cf. A.J. Festugière, Personal Religion Among the Greeks, Berkeley, U. of Cal. Pr., 1954, p. 122-139.
8. Cf. Minnerath, op cit., p. 7-8.
9. Le Développement des idées dans l'ancien testament, in Pensée moderne et catholicisme, Aix-en-Provence / Editions provençales/, 1947, p. 61-84.
10. "How sin became the human condition is the point of Rom 5: 12:21. Paul traces the condition back to the sin narrated in Gn. 3. When the first man sinned he sundered harmonious

relations with God for the entire race. Paul argues this from the universality of death; it is OT belief that sin brings death, and Paul concludes from the fact that all men die that all men are sinners, even though they have not sinned personally. This is the Pauline doctrine of original sin, which, it must be noticed, goes beyond the beliefs implicit in Gn. 3..." John L. McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, New York, Macmillan, 1965, p. 520.

11. "The historical origin of sin is really the question of original sin, and this in turn resolves itself ultimately into the question of how sin can enter a universe governed by the saving power and will of God. To this mystery the OT offers no solution; indeed it is more accurate to say that it does not consider the mystery..." Idem, p. 818-819.
12. E.g., 2 Baruch 48:42-3; 56:5-6. This observation by J.T. Nielsen: "...Paul is speaking here from a late Jewish conception (Nielsen quotes 4 Ezra 3:7 and Syr Apoc. Baruch 17:3 and suggests other references), while it is also a late Jewish idea to have Adam represent all mankind..." Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1968, p. 68. Cf. also Walter Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, Philadelphia, Westminster, 1967, p. 411-412.
13. "The Origin of Sin in Irenaeus and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature" (Thesis for PhD), McMaster University, 1973, p. 173.
14. "The Doctrine of Evil in St. Gregory of Nyssa", Studia Patristica IX, Band 94, 1966, p. 251.
15. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
16. AH.III,23,3, p. 456.
17. Kirchmeyer indicates several examples: "L'antagonisme de la sainteté divine et de la malice humaine dont témoigne la vie terrestre de Jésus prend, en fait, la forme d'un affrontement personnel, dramatique et décisif, opposant l'Homme-Dieu et celui que les écrits du nouveau Testament appellent le "séducteur" (Apoc. 12:9), "l'adversaire" (1 Pierre 5:8), l'"Ennemi" (Mt 13:39), l'"homicide" (Jean 8:44), le "prince de ce monde" (12:31), le "dieu de ce siècle" (2 Cor 4:4), l'"anti-Christ" (1 Jean 4:3)..." DS 6, Col. 832.
18. AH.I,7,5, p. 326.
19. AH.I,5,4, p. 323.

20. "La Gnose et le temps", Eranos Jahrbuch 20(1951), p. 92.
21. The Gnostic Religion, Boston, Beacon, 1963, p. 44.
22. AH.I,2,2-3, p. 317-318.
23. AH.I,2,3, p. 317-318.
24. AH.IV,37,6, p. 520. Cf. also I,6,2, p. 324; IV,37,1, p. 518-519; IV,37,2, p. 519. See D.B. Reynders, "Optimisme et théocentrisme chez Saint Irénée", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 7(1935), p. 238-9.
25. "En second lieu, le progrès doit être positive. Il ne faut pas confondre l'indispensable ascèse qui lave, insère, dépouille, dépose le vieil homme avec une destruction de la réalité de la chair: substantia carnis, vetus plasmatio, conversio in carne. Sinon, nous n'aurions qu'à nous suicider au plus tôt pour en être quittes. Mais elle insère dans l'esprit, elle change la qualité des fruits, dépose les concupiscesces désordonnées et la conversatio vanitatis. Sans détruire, mais en confirmant, elle rétablit l'ordre..." Reynders, op. cit., p. 239. Cf. AH.V,11,2, p. 537; V,12,3-4, p. 538; V,14,4, p. 542.
26. E.g., AH.III,20,1, p. 449-450; III,23,1, p. 455-6; IV,37,7, p. 520-1. Cf. Adhémar d'Alès, "La doctrine de la récapitulation en saint Irénée", RSR 6(1916), p. 203-4.
27. "The Doctrine of Man in Irenaeus of Lyons", Boston, Univ. Graduate School, Doctoral Thesis, 1969, p. 128-9.
28. This is, in fact, the view of many authors including J. Aulen, Gustaf Wingren and J. Nielsen.
29. Cf. Kim, op. cit., p. 135; Wingren, op. cit., p. 12.
30. AH.II,28,7, p. 401.
31. Schultz, op. cit., p. 171-5.
32. Manual of Discipline, III,13-IV,26; T.H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures, New York, Doubleday, 1956, p. 43-46.
33. R. Minnerath, Les chrétiens et le monde, Paris, Gabalda, 1973, p. 103.
34. E.g., Mtt. 12:22-29; Eph. 6:10-17.
35. Dial. 78,9; Falls, op. cit., p. 271-5.
36. Justin, Dial. 124,3, idem, p. 340-5; Tatian, Oratio 7,
37. Kirchmeyer draws this meaning from Irenaeus: "...Or, s'il doit y avoir libération, ce ne sera qu'au coeur de la liberté captive, par une reconquête dont l'homme n'est pas encore capable, mais que l'Homme-Dieu entreprend le

premier et dans les conditions qu'a connues la défaite:
'Luctatus est enim et vicit, erat enim homo pro patribus
certans' (Irénée, Adversus Haereses III,18,6, PG 7,
936-937, et SC, 34, p. 325)... Kirchmeyer, DS 6, col.
833.

- 38.. Schultz, op. cit., p. 173.
39. Dem. 9, p. 53. Cf. also AH.IV,33,13, p. 510. The idea of a seven-tiered heaven was common in the ancient world and probably derives from Iranian mythology. This particular conception of "seven heavens" used by Irenaeus, however, has specific and unique characteristics which can only be found in later Jewish apocalyptic literature. J.P. Smith in his translation of Dem., p. 147-8, suggests the Testament of Levi 3 and the Ascension of Isaiah 10 as Irenaeus' probable source. D.R. Schultz demonstrates the high probability that it was taken directly from the Testament of Levi 3,1-8, since this passage is the only one outside of Irenaeus which associates the seven heavens with angels, archangels and other heavenly beings who are always praising God. The only one notable difference which is the apparent replacing of "thrones and dominions" in this text with "powers", can be attributed to Irenaeus' reading of Paul in Eph. 1:21. Schultz concludes: "Therefore, Irenaeus had both Paul's letters and the Testament of Levi before him when he wrote about 'seven heavens'..." Schultz, op. cit., p. 136.
40. Dem. 9, p. 53.
41. Dem. 10, p. 54.
42. Idem
43. Dem. 11, p. 54.
44. AH.IV,40,1, p. 523.
45. AH.I,10,1, p. 330-1.
46. AH.IV,40,3, p. 524.
47. AH.II,28,7, p. 401.
48. Cf. p. 22-26.
49. Dem. 12, p. 55. Cf. also AH.III,23,6, p. 457.
50. Dem. 13, p. 55-6.
51. Dem. 14, p. 56.
52. AH.III,22,4, p. 455.
53. Dem. 12, p. 55.
54. Cf. note 45 above. Louis Escoula describes this special

historical position of Adam in Irenaeus' system: "Ainsi le cas d'Adam est pour Irénée comme un cas historique privilégié, qui symbolise et exprime en raccourci toute l'histoire humaine. Créé à l'état d'enfance, il devra grandir et progresser. Le Verbe dès le début a assumé sa formation..." "Le Verbe Sauveur et Illuminateur chez Saint Irénée", NRT 66(1939), p. 397.

55. Dem. 15, p. 56-7.
56. Dem. 16, p. 57. Cf. also AH.III,22,4, p. 455.
57. AH.V,23,1, p. 551.
58. Dem. 16, p. 57.
59. Dem. 12, p. 55. Even the image of God was imperfect in him: "...Wherefore also he did easily lose the similitude." AH.V,16,2, p. 544. Although there are mitigating circumstances, the act must still be classed as "wicked"; "...but He took compassion on man, who, through want of care no doubt, but still wickedly [on the part of another], became involved in disobedience..." AH.IV,40,3, p. 524.
60. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
61. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
62. AH.III,23,3-6, p. 456-7.
63. Gustaf Wingren, Man and the Incarnation, Edinburg, Oliver and Boyd, 1959, p. 43.
64. Cf. J.T. Nielsen, Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1968, p. 75-91.
65. AH.III,23,3, p. 456.
66. Idem.
67. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
68. Dem. 16, p. 57; AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
69. Dem. 17, p. 57-8.
70. AH.III,22,4, p. 455.
71. AH.III,23,6, p. 457.
72. Dem. 17, p. 57-8.
73. AH.III,23,4, p. 456-7.
74. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
75. AH.V,12,1-6, p. 537-9. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 54-7.
76. AH.V,21,3, p. 550. "Christ-event" refers to the historical Jesus. This concept in Irenaeus is investigated in Chapter IV.

77. Or as Wingren describes it: "...Man as we know him is in actual fact determined both by God and by Satan, both by creation and sin...Two powers, in mutual conflict, have chosen men as the area of their struggle against one another, and it is by their conflict and not by any one or other of these powers alone that man's actual situation is defined..." op. cit., p. 62.
78. AH.III,23,7, p. 457.
79. Dem. 17, p. 57-8.
80. Idem.
81. AH.III,23,4, p. 456-7.
82. Dem. 18, p.58.
83. Dem. 18, p. 58. For a study on how Irenaeus drew from Jewish apocalyptic literature as well as the Scriptures to assist him in establishing this satanic chain of apostasy, cf. Schultz, op. cit., p. 137-155.
84. Dem. 19, p. 59.
85. Dem. 20, p. 59-60.
86. Dem. 21, p. 60.
87. AH.III,20,1, p. 449-450.
88. Dem. 19-31, p. 59-68.
89. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 99-100.
90. AH.V,16,3, p. 544. Cf. also V,21,1, p. 548-9.
91. AH.III,19,1, p. 547.
92. AH.III,16,5, p. 442. To the extent that the time from the birth to the Second Coming of Christ forms a unity we already live in the "last days" (Cf. p. 361-368).
93. AH.V,25,1, p. 553.
94. AH.III,16,5, p. 442; V,25,2, p. 553.
95. AH.V,26,2, p. 555-6.
96. AH.V,25,3, p. 553-4.
97. AH.IV,41,1, p. 524; V,28,2-3, p. 556-7; V,30,4, p. 560. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 39.
98. AH.V,28,4, p. 557. Cf. p. 337-340.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. "The flesh" as used in the New Testament has several connotations but generally means the bodily or physical aspect of man together with his relationships to the physical world. Sometimes when "flesh" is used in place of "body" it is to emphasize the realism of the physical aspect. See J. L. Mc Kenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, New York, Mc Millan, 1965, p. 280-282. Irenaeus employs the term "flesh" in this general biblical sense.
2. AH.III,16,8, p. 443.
3. "For in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son that fellowship which refers to Himself, unless His Word, having been made flesh, had entered into communion with us? Wherefore also He passed through every stage of life, restoring to all communion with God." AH.III,18,7, p.448; also 11,22,4, p. 391.
4. AH.III,16,2, p. 440.
5. AH.III,16,2, p. 440.
6. AH.III,23,7; p. 457.
7. Cf.p. 191.
8. AH.III,19,2, p. 449.
9. AH.III,19,2, p. 449.
10. For an analysis of the names and titles of Christ in Irenaeus: Housiau, A., La Christologie de St. Irénée, Louvain, Pub. Univ. de Louvain (1955), p. 25-38.
11. AH.V,1,2, p. 527.
12. AH.V,1,3, p. 527. Cf. also III,11,3, p. 426-7 where Irenaeus can say that all heresy may be reduced to this common denominator: the Word was not made flesh.
13. i.e., the total of all events constituted by the historical life of Jesus.
14. AH.III,20,4, p. 451.
15. AH.III,20,4, p. 451.
16. AH.IV,34,1, p. 511.
17. AH.III,10,2, p. 424.
18. AH.III,16,3, p.441.
19. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
20. Cf.p. 54-6.

21. Cf. p. 45.
22. This approach is developed by Dominique Unger, "Christ's Role in the Universe According to St. Irenaeus", Franciscan Studies, Vol. 26, (New Series, Vol. 5) (1945) p. 3-20, 114-137.
23. For an elaboration of this point see: Gustaf Wingren, Man and the Incarnation, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1950, p. 105-111.
24. "...In the humanity of the Incarnation, we are confronted with a humanity which surpasses that of Creation, but which is nevertheless the humanity of Creation... "Growth" links identity with change, progression, development... Wingren, op. cit., p. 100.
25. AH.IV,33,4, p. 507. We have already considered Irenaeus' viewpoint on the Word as the "Archetype image" in Chapter II, p. 45-46, 52-57. Also Cf. Wingren, op. cit. p. 32: "We have just seen that for Irenaeus man's growth is an immediate consequence of God's act of creation... A direct corollary of the concept of sonship is the concept of growth. It is a distinct characteristic of the child that he grows and becomes... man is created in the image and similitude of God. But he is not God's image and similitude — only the Eternal Son is that, and only He possesses the whole of God's fulness in Himself."
26. AH.III,21,10, p. 454.
27. Daniélou, J., Message Evangelique et culture hellénistique aux II^{ème} et III^{ème} siècles, Paris, Tournai, Desclée, 1961. p. 156 ff.
28. "on voit ici ce qui est souligné: c'est l'indépendance de l'humanité que le Verbe s'est unie et de celle d'Adam. Il ne s'agit pas d'une nouvelle création, mais de la reprise de l'ancienne..." Jean Daniélou, op. cit. p. 162.
29. AH.III,18,7, p. 448. See also V,1,2, p. 527, and V, 12, 4, p. 538.
30. AH.V,14,2, p. 541.
31. AH.V,14,1, p. 541.
32. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490. "Il rassemble en lui non seulement tous les sacrifices, mais aussi toutes les autres préfigurations qui, divisée dans les personnages du passé, sont unies en Lui..." Daniélou. op. cit. p. 163.
33. Luneau, A., L'Histoire du salut chez les pères de l'église, Paris, Beauchesne, 1964, p. 96-101.
34. AH.II,22,4, p. 391. See also III,18,7, p. 448.

35. Wingren, op. cit., p. 82. See fte. no. 9.
36. Cf. p. 66 and 67.
37. Cf. p. 61-68.
38. Wingren, op. cit. p. 82-83.
39. AH.III,16,8, p. 443.
40. AH.III,22,3, p. 455.
41. AH.III,18,1, p. 446.
42. AH.III,16,6, p. 442-443.
43. Cf. p. 422-5.
44. AH.V,10,2, p. 548.
45. AH.V,10,2, p. 548.
46. Dem. 34, p. 69-70. Cf. Daniélou, op. cit. p. 165.
47. Cf. p. 46-49.
48. Cf. Minnerath, r., Les Chrétiens et le monde, Paris, Gabalda, 1973, p. 49-92. The author traces the development of the Judaic-Christian Salvation-history concept culminating in Irenaeus; "Mais la vision christocentrique de l'économie divine est portée à son plus haut degré d'élaboration dans la doctrine de la récapitulation d'Irénée..." p. 88. See also Hans von Campenhausen, "Die Entstehung der Heilsegeschichte...", Saeculum XXI, Heft 2-3, (1970). p. 206-210.
49. For further elaboration on recapitulation, cf. below, p. 182f.
50. Cf. p. 51-54.
51. AH.I, pref. 2, p. 316.
52. Cf. p. 32-35.
53. For a detailed description of their system, cf. p. 22-27.
54. AH.I,6,1, p. 324, also I,7,2, p. 325 & 3,17,4, p. 445.
55. AH.I,7,2, p. 325. See also I,9,3, p. 330 and especially III, 11,3, p. 427.
56. AH.I,7,2, p. 325.
57. AH.I,7,3, p. 326.
58. AH.II,13,8, p. 375 and I,13, generally.
59. AH.III,16,6, p. 442.
60. AH.III,17,4, p. 445.
61. AH.III,10,3, p. 425; III,11,3, p. 426-7; III,16,6, p. 442; III,22,2, p. 454.

62. AH.3,22,3, p. 455.
63. AH.2,22,4, p. 391.
64. AH.3,22,2, p. 454.
65. AH.III,12,4, p. 431; III,12,8, p. 433; III,18,3, p. 446.
66. AH.I,9,3, p. 329-330.
67. AH.3,16,2, p. 440-1 and 3,16,2 to 9 generally.
68. AH.4, Pref.3, p. 462.
69. Houssiau suggests a limit here. Irenaeus is content to speak of Christ as the Word or Son of God without speculating on the nature of this generation; "Refutant la première assertion, Irénée s'attache en somme à exalter la grandeur du Christ. Celui qui est venu parmi nous est le Verbe, et ce Verbe est présent auprès de Dieu; par crainte de porter atteinte à sa transcendance, notre auteur refusera en général de spéculer sur l'idée de génération." La Christologie de Saint Irénée. Louvain, Pub. Univ. de Louvain, 1958, p. 252.
70. AH.3,20, p. 449-451.
71. AH.III,18,4,5 & 6, p. 446-448; III,12,13, p. 435.
72. Cf. below, p. 207-210.
73. AH.3,11,2, p. 426. See also 4, Pref. 3, p. 462.
74. AH.4,5,1, p. 466.
75. Wingren, G., Man and the Incarnation, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1959, p. 202 "In the Incarnate One God and man seemed to be so interrelated as to form a unity. On closer analysis, however, the Incarnation demonstrated the truth that God always creates and man is always created. When God gives and man receives or "grows" (which is the same thing), man is brought to perfection and sin is expelled from him. Christ is man in completely developed and sinless form, because He is God who creates and is victorious. God is one reality and man is another, even in Christ, but when God in the Incarnation gives and creates without limit, and man in the Incarnate One is receptive and created without resisting, God and man are united in the Saviour...."
76. One may not say that God's transcendence means that He is "wholly other" without some qualification e.g. Transcendental categories must apply to God at least analogically. See A. Harvey, A Handbook of Theological Terms, MacMillan, New York. 1964. p. 16-19.

77. Much of the Second Book of Adversus Haereses deals directly with problems centering around divine transcendence and forms the background for his later theological elaborations. See especially Chapter 27 and 28, p.398-402.
78. Some descriptions of Propator (Bythos) seem to be consistent with orthodox belief on transcendence (see AH.I,1,1, p. 316) but from that point on there is no real similarity with orthodoxy.
79. Irenaeus, in his initial descriptions of Gnostic systems, presents the Gnostics as giving the following transcendent attributes for Propator: perfect, preexistent, eternal, unbegotten, invisible, incomprehensible, serene, quiescent. (AH.I,1,1, p. 316)
80. i.e., in the last Aeon, Sophia.
81. AH.II,31, 1 & 2, p. 406-407.
82. AH.V,1,3,527. Cf. J. Mambrino, "Les deux mains de Dieu dans Irénée", NRT.Vol. 79, p. 355-370, 1957.
83. AH.IV,10,1, p. 473; IV,11,1, p. 474. In general the Gnostics claimed that the Scriptures were not meaningful and coherent unless read in the light of their special knowledge (gnosis) which divides the divine realm into many distinct persons. Irenaeus opposes this with the contrary view: all of Scripture is coherent precisely because of its ultimate origin in the one God. D. Farkasfalvy writes: "...If there is any basic concern that prevades all the books of the Adversus Haereses, then it is the affirmation: "unus et idem Deus". Elaborating on this fundamental idea, Irenaeus is often led to statements on Holy Scripture: there is but one God from whom all miracles, all divine interventions and all revelations come. This uniqueness of the source of all revelations establishes the unity of the two Testaments and unites all scriptural records of the revelation into one coherent collection of writings..." "Theology of Scripture in St. Irenaeus", Revue Bénédictine, 78 (1968), p. 321.
84. Chapter II contains many arguments in this vein. Especially notable is the argument against the Gnostic "Kenoma": AH.II,13,5, p. 374; II,4,3, p. 363-4; II,8,2, p. 368. Cf. also II,13,5, p. 374; III,11,1, p. 426; IV,3,1, p. 465; IV,6,6, p. 468; IV,19,3, p. 487; IV,20,1, p. 487. R.A. Markus summarizes: "Such are the lines of Irenaeus' argumentation. The upshot of it all may be summarized in saying that what he opposes to the Gnostics is a single world full of God's glory and one God who contains it all

and governs its history by his providence (AH.III,25). What he attacks unceasingly is the division which the gnostic myth imports into this cosmology between two worlds, one of which has its temporary outposts, eventually to be readmitted, in the other, which is alien to it. Cf. IV,19,2,3,). "Pleroma and Fulfillment", VC. Vol. 8 (1954), p. 212.

85. AH.I,16,2, p. 544.
86. Op. cit., p. 25. "...but our whole understanding of man and everything connected with him is itself bound up with our belief in Creation. If we find that we are conceiving of man instinctively as being an isolated individual among other isolated individuals, we are proceeding on the assumption that the ground of his existence is something other than God. In this kind of individualistic view there is a difficulty in making any reference to Christ as Saviour...The universal application of the work of Christ and its alteration of the status of the whole of humanity is a quite incomprehensible idea apart from the view of mankind as a unity..."
87. Cf. p. 118-120.
88. AH.I,2, 4&5, p. 318.
89. AH.I,2,3, p. 317-318. Cf. p. 23.
90. This can be realized from certain basic characteristics of the New Testament Scriptures, viz., a sharper awareness of man's personal responsibility for sin; the need for repentance and God's ever-present willingness to forgive. Moreover, these basic themes are emphasized and elaborated on in virtually all the early Christian writings.
91. Cf. p. 92f.
92. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
93. Dem. 6, p. 51.
94. Dem. 31, p. 67-68.
95. Cf. p. 190-1.
96. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 205.
97. Ah.V,1,3, p. 527. However, the "sonship" that the believer obtains by receiving the Spirit is still different from that of Jesus. Jesus is unique in that He is the only Son per se of the Father. Believers are called "sons" by virtue of sharing the same life as the Son i.e. the Spirit. Irenaeus often uses the biblical metaphor "sons by adoption" to express this relationship. AH.III,16,3, p. 441; III, 19,1, p. 448.

98. Cf.p. 134-5.
99. Cf.p. 210-211.
100. AH.IV,31,2,p. 505; V,20,2,p. 548.
101. Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire, Editions du Seuil, Paris (1953). p. 60.
102. Cf.p. 236-240.
103. Henri-Charles Puech, "La Gnose et le temps" Eranos Jahrbuch, Vol. 20 (1951), p. 88; "Le Gnostique se sent ici-bas écrasé par le poids du Destin, soumis aux limites et à la servitude du temps, du corps, de la nature..."cf. also: R.M. Grant, "Gnostic origins and the Basilidians of Irenaeus" VC. Vol. 13, (1959), p. 121-5.
104. R.M. Grant, "Gnostic origins and the Basilidians of Irenaeus", VC. Vol. 13 (1959), p. 121.
105. AH.I,7,5, p. 326.
106. AH.I,21,4, p. 346; II,19,3, p. 403. Cf. also "Les écrits du Codex Jung" by Puech & Quispel in Vigiliae Christianae VIII,; (1954) p. 34-5.
107. AH.I,7,5, p. 326.
108. AH.II,19,1-3, p. 385-6.
109. AH.IV, pref. 4, p. 462-3.
110. AH.I,21,5, p. 346-7.
111. Cf. R.A. Markus, "Pleroma and Fulfilment" VC, Vol. 8, (1954), p. 215 and H-C. Puech, "La gnose et le temps", Eranos Jahrbuch, Vol. 20 (1951), p. 99.
112. AH.I,6,2&3, p. 325; I,7,5, p. 326; IV,34,6, p. 520.
113. Cf. Markus, Op. cit., p. 211. Jonas, op. cit., p. 43-4.
114. AH.I,7,5, p. 326.
115. AH.I,6,2, p. 324.
116. There is a kind of relative salvation possible to the "psychics" subsequent upon "works" which are "just" according to the law of the Demiurge but it is of no concern to the divine realm and merits only the "heaven" of the Demiurge. Cf.AH.I,6,2; p. 324; I,7,1, p. 325; I,7,5, p. 326.
117. AH.III,18,2, p. 446; 18,7, p. 448; 20,3&4, p. 450.
118. AH.III,10,2, p. 424.
119. AH.III,20,2, p. 450; see also III,20,4, p. 451 & V,28,4, p. 557.

120. Dem. 33, p. 69.
121. AH.III,19,1, p. 448.
122. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488; cf. also Dem. 38, p. 71-2.
123. AH.IV,33,1, p. 506.
124. AH.I,6,2, p. 324.
125. Cf. S.Reynders, Lexique Comparé...de l'Adversus Haereses ..., Vol. 2, Louvain, Durbecq, 1954, p. 280-7; G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford, Clarendon, 1961, p. 1361 & 1369 gives "to save; preserve" for σωζω and "preservation (in sickness and health)" for σωτηρία; SC no. 210, T. I, p. 271.
126. AH.IV,16,2, p. 481. Cf. SC 100, p. 562-5.
127. AH.III,22,4, p. 455. Cf. SC 211, p. 441.
128. AH.I,6,1-2, p. 323-4; IV, pref. 4, p. 462-3 & 37,6, p.520; Harvey, op. cit. p. 52.
129. AH.V,6,1, p. 532.
130. AH.III,12,4, p. 431.
131. AH.III,10,2, p. 424. Cf. SC 211, p. 124-5. Houssiau suggests how Irenaeus probably arrived at this tripartite designation, op. cit., p. 67.
132. AH.III,18,7, p. 448. Cf. SC 211, p. 365. As suggested by J. Kirchmeyer, Irenaeus gives a significant contribution here to that tradition among the Fathers which, in view of the commonly held notion of ancient wisdom that "God does not mix with man" (Plato, Banquet, 203 a), sees Christ as the one and only to effect a personal meeting between divine transcendence and human finitude, DS Vol. 6 (1967), col. 835. Cf. also AH.V,17,1, p.544-5.
133. AH.V,17,1, p. 544-5.
134. On this point see Houssiau, op. cit. p. 209.
135. AH.III,18,6, p. 447-8.
136. Houssiau, op. cit. p. 214-5.
137. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
138. "La doctrine de St. Irénée", Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne, Vol. 1, (1911), p. 182.
139. DS Vol. 6 (1967), col. 838. "...car elle affecte et transforme non seulement le comportement religieux de l'homme, mais son être...".

140. AH.IV,8,2, p. 471. Cf. J. Kirchmeyer, op. cit. col. 836.
141. AH.III,12,7, p. 432-3.
142. Dem. 39, p. 72.
143. AH.III,16,5, p. 442.
144. AH.IV,33,12, p. 510.
145. AH.III,12,4, p. 431.
146. AH.V,21,2, p. 549.
147. AH.V,21,3, p. 550.
148. AH.V,14,1-4, p. 541-542.
149. AH.III,18,7, p. 448, cf. also III,23,7, p. 457.
150. Cf. citation, p. 164, note 142. In Christ's victory over death, death is almost a personified adversary. The oneness of the Saviour with fallen man extends to the realm of death itself. Wingren captures this conception of Irenaeus in: "...The oneness of the Saviour with fallen man extends to death itself and to the very depths of man's nothingness...The Verbum of the Creator who alone brings forth all life in the universe, the Word of the Creator which became man, was encompassed by His enemy, Death, in order that He might break forth from within the hold which death had over man, and free him for new life and growth." op. cit. p. 103.
151. AH.V,21,1, p. 549. Cf. also III,19,3, p. 449, and Rivière, op. cit. p. 198.
152. Rivière, op. cit. p. 198.
153. AH.III,16,1, p. 440; III,16,5, p. 442.
154. Dem. 68-70.
155. AH.V,1,1, p. 527.
156. AH.V,2,1, p. 528.
157. Rivière, op. cit. p. 186f.
158. AH.III,16,9, p. 443-4; IV,5,4, p. 467.
159. Cf. 85-86.
160. I.e., by His freely willed intervention, He sets the course of history. Without this, history could not be the same.
161. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
162. AH.III,20,3, p. 450, cf. also IV,27,2, p. 499.
163. AH.III,19,3, p. 449.

164. Dem. 38, p. 71.
165. AH.III,16,9, p. 443-4.
166. AH.V,17,1, p. 544-5.
167. Op. cit., p. 101.
168. A case in point here is Irenaeus' treatment of the question: why did the Word become flesh? He does not wish to treat the question speculatively or theoretically. It is sufficient to say that the Incarnation is a fact of history. What are the consequences? To what end is it leading man? The Scriptures record what God has done and said to man in history. Theology can rest only on these given truths that we believe. Rivière comments: "...Une fois posé le décret de notre Rédemption, comment le réaliser? Saint Irénée n'a pas traité la question sous cette forme théorique; mais raisonnant sur les données du fait que lui fournit la foi, il dégage les fins de l'Incarnation qui pour lui en sont également la raison d'être." op. cit., p. 175.
169. AH.III,12,9, p. 433-4.
170. AH.V,16,2, p. 544. "...so that by means of his resemblance to the Son, man might become precious to the Father. For in times long past it was said that man was created after the image of God, but it was not actually shown; for the Word was as yet invisible, after whose image man was created...When, however, the Word of God became flesh, He confirmed both these: for He both showed forth the image truly...and reestablished the similitude..." In respect to the great controversies in the Church over the question, cur Deus Homo?, Unger uses the above text to refute the position that God willed the Incarnation only after man had sinned as a means to salvation. He writes: "...The ultimate reason for Saint Irenaeus' position is that the Saviour was in the mind of the Creator before the saved were, and that these were modelled upon Him..." op. cit., p. 7.
171. AH.III,16,3, p. 441.
172. AH.III,16,9, p. 443-4.
173. AH.III,16,5, p. 442.
174. AH.IV,28,3, p. 501-2.
175. AH.IV,28,3, p. 501-2; cf. also Dem. 35, p. 70; 93, p. 104 where faith of Abraham is seen as a model.
176. AH.III,12,7, p. 432-3.
177. AH.III,18,4, p. 446-7.

178. AH.V,9,2, p. 535; V,10,2, p. 536.
179. "spirituality" in the sense of that which is required of man in his response to God.
180. AH.II,30f, p. 403f.
181. AH.V,9,2, p. 535.
182. As evidenced by his sources, L. Regnault: "Irénee est avant tout l'homme de la Bible et de la tradition... En plus de d'Ecriture...il ne cite explicitement que Clément de Rome, Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe, Papias, Justin, Hermas, Tatien et quelques presbytres anonymes... il en ressort du moins nettement qu'Irénee a bien connu et su recueillir avec soin l'héritage de ses devanciers..." DS 7(2) (1971), Col 1966-7.
183. J. Kirchmeyer, DS Vol. 6 (1967) col. 812, 829 & 830. For the Christian, the ultimate expression of this "determinative moment" is martyrdom. Jean-Claude Huvé comments: "La vérité de la foi, si elle est plus "humaine" (et plus divine) que l'enseignement de la gnose, n'est pas pour autant plus "facile" ou moins exigeante. Parce que vie, elle est elle-même historique et progrès dont le terme idéal n'est autre que l'héroïsme du martyr (cf. l'exemple d'Etienne, III, 12,13), assumption totale de la chair par l'Esprit." DS Vol. 4 (1960) col. 145-6.
184. J. Kirchmeyer, DS, vol. 6, col. 809.
185. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. xiii of Int..
186. AH.IV,27,2, p. 499.
187. AH.IV,30,4, p. 504.
188. AH.III,23,1, p. 455-6.
189. AH.III,10,2, p. 424.
190. AH.V,20,1, p. 547-8; cf. D.B. Reynders, "Optimisme et théocentrisme chez st. Irénée", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, vol. 7(1935), p. 5-27.
191. Wm. F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich in A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Cambridge, University Press, 1952, give for ἀνακεφαλαιόω : a. to sum up, recapitulate, e.g., of individual commandments summed up in the commandment of love in Rom. 13:9. "Everything is summed up in this word (the commandment of love)". ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ τῷ ἀνακεφαλαιόω τὰς. b. To bring everything together in Christ: Eph. 1:10, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. c. To "complete the total of the sins" as in Barnabas 5:11: τὸ ἐλεῖν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν. G.W.H. Lampe, in A

Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford, Clarendon, 1961, p. 106, gives for ἀνακεφαλαιῶ a. Specifically to sum up in words, b. more generally, to sum up, concentrate under one head, e.g., Eph 1:10, Barn. 5:11. c. recapitulate in one's person, i. generally, ii. of Christ, or iii. by restoration or at the parousia; and for ἀνακεφαλαιῶσις ἡ he gives: a. summary in words, b. totalling of accounts, c. a list, d. a summing up, concentration in one's person, e. recapitulation and f. renewal or restoration.

192. B. Reynders, Lexique Comparé... de l'Adversus Haereses, Louvain, L. Durbecq, 1954, p. 48.

193. Noel F. Moholy, The Doctrine of Recapitulation in Saint Irenaeus, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Laval, School of Sacred Theology, 1946. Moholy provides the following examples: AH.V,33,4, p. 563: Isa. 65:25 recapitulates Isa.11:6-9, "And again he (Isaias) says, in recapitulation..." Harvey: "ut iterum recapitulans ait..." II,418. AH.IV,2,1, p. 463: Moses makes a recapitulation of the law in Deut.: "Moses, therefore, making a recapitulation of the whole law..." Harvey: "Movses igitur recapitulationem universae legis..." II,147. AH.I,9,2, p. 329: John "sums up" his prologue in verse fourteen: "...summing up his statements respecting the Word previously mentioned by him, he further declares, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us..." ἀνὰ κεφαλαιούμεενος γὰρ περὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου αὐτῷ ὧν ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγου ἐπεσηγείται. καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν." (Harvey I,83) Similarly, the doctrine of the Gnostics is "a recapitulation of all the heretics", IV, Pref. 2, p. 462, and the entire economy of salvation is summed up by Christ: "Moreover /with regard to the other arrangements concerning the summing up that He should make..." IV,20,8, p. 490: "Et reliquas autem eius recapitulationis dispositiones..." (Harvey II,220) and when He becomes incarnate and was made man, "He commenced afresh (in seipso recapitulavit) the long line of human beings..." from Adam (AH.III,18,1, p. 446; Harvey II,96) Cf. Moholy, idem, p. 23-31.

194. E.g., In becoming incarnate, the Word takes up again or reproduces the flesh of man (Adam) which was His creation in the beginning. "This, therefore, the Word of God was made, recapitulating in Himself His own handiwork..." (AH.III,22,1, p. 454) Hoc itaque factum est Verbum Dei, sum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans" (Harvey II,121) Cf. Moholy, idem, p 31-3.

195. "For He would not have been one truly possessing flesh and blood by which He redeemed us, unless He had summed up in Himself the ancient formation of Adam..." AH.V,1,2, p. 1527: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἐληθῶς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐσχηκώς, δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐξηγορασάτο, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐνακεσάλασάτο. (Harvey II, 316). Cf. Moholy, *idem*, p. 34.
196. In taking up again human flesh the Incarnate Word renews it: "...and that His Son was His Word, by whom He founded all things; and that He, in the last times, was made a man among men; that He re-formed the human race, but destroyed and conquered the enemy of man..." AH.IV,24,1, p. 495: "...esse autem huius Filium Verbum eius, per quem constituit omnia, et hunc in novissimis temporibus hominem in hominibus factum reformasse quidem humanum genus, destruxisse autem et vicisse inimicum hominis..." (Harvey II, 232). Cf. Moholy, *idem*, p. 35.
197. By His Incarnation, birth and life, the Lord passed through every stage of human life thereby "restoring to all communion with God.", AH.III,18,7, p. 448: "omnibus restituens eam quae est ad Deum communionem." (Harvey II, 101. The Lord also "restores" that human obedience to the Father that had been lost by Adam's disobedience: He "was making a recapitulation of that disobedience which had occurred in connection with a tree, through the obedience which was [exhibited by Himself]" AH.V,19,1, p. 547: "...et recapitulationem eius quae in ligno fuit inobaudientiae..." (Harvey II, 375) and He restores finally the image and likeness according to which man was created. AH.V,16,2, p. 545. Cf. Moholy, *idem*, p. 37-8.
198. Moholy, *idem*, p. 39.
199. The Incarnation because it is only as man that the Son of God is "recapitulator", e.g., AH.IV,20,8, p. 490: "...Moreover, [with regards to] the other arrangements concerning the summing up that He should make..." and also the Redemption because in this Christ gains the victory over the power of evil and frees man from the bondage of Satan. By this obedience which culminates in His act of self-sacrifice on the Cross, He recapitulates, i.e., goes over again the ground where man has failed and succeeds. AH.V,16,3, p. 544 and also this quotation: "...For by summing up in Himself the whole human race from beginning to end, He also summed up its death..." V,23,2, p. 551. Cf. Wingren, *op. cit.*, p. 82 and 123-5.

200. Johannes Werner, Der Paulinismus des Irenäus, Leipzig, TU VI, 1889: "Der eigentliche Grund der Heilsnahme des Fleisches ist nicht die Ausopferung sondern die Fleischwerdung Christi." p. 177. Also Paul Beuzart, Essai sur la théologie d'Irénée, Paris, Le Puy-en-Velay, 1908, p. 93; G. Nathanaël Bonwetsch, Die Theologie des Irenaeus, Gutersloh, 1925 and Theophil Tsipke, Die Menschheit Christi als Heilsorgan der Gottheit, Freiburg, Freiburger, Theologische Studien LII-LIV, 1940, p. 25 have similar views.
201. AH.III,16,6, p. 442; III,18,7, p. 448; V,1,1, p. 527 and V,14,3, p. 541-2.
202. Regnault's outline is well suited to our purpose because: a. it is based on a wide range of authorities on the topic - in addition to those given in the bibliography of J. Quasten's Patrology (p. 340-1) are added references to works by N.F. Moholy, A. Houssiau, J. Daniélou and J.T. Nielsen; Cf. DS 7(2), col. 1952; b. it is in summary form and treats of those principal aspects of recapitulation which are generally well-known and that relate specifically to the historical dimensions which apply to our topic and c. it would be beyond the scope of this work to make a thorough and detailed study of all the aspects of such a complex concept. This kind of summary treatment, therefore, suffices as a "framework" for this section. *
203. AH.III,22,1&2, p. 454-5.
204. AH.III,18,7, p. 448. Cf. also II,22,4, p. 391.
205. AH.III,22,3, p. 455.
206. AH.III,22,1-2, p. 454-5.
207. AH.III,21,10, p. 454.
208. AH.V,1,2, p. 527.
209. AH.V,14,1, p. 541.
210. Rom. 8:1-4.
211. op. cit., p 243 (translation my own).
212. Cf. Houssiau's comentary on AH,V,14,2-3 in op. cit., p. 245f.
213. J. Daniélou, Message Evangélique..., Tournai, Desclée, 1961; Sacramentum Futuri, Paris, Beauchesne, 1950; and a section in DS IV(1960), col. 132-138. J.T. Nielsen, Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1968.

214. J. Aulen, Christus Victor, Paris, Aubier (c.1931) 1949
G. Wingren, op. cit.
215. J. Daniélou, DS Vol. 4(1960), col. 133-136.
216. Rom. 5:12-21. For an exegesis german to the topic see
Nielsen, op. cit. p. 68-75.
217. Rom. 5:18: The Jerusalem Bible, New York, Doubleday,
1966.
218. Nielsen, op. cit., p. 74.
219. Nielsen compares Irenaeus's view with Rom 5: 12-21 and
with 1 Cor. 15: 21-22 & 45-49, as compared to Paul.
Irenaeus tends to downplay Adam's personal responsibility
for the Fall. Irenaeus also places more emphasis on the
role of the flesh in redemption, op. cit. p. 75-86.
Authors generally have recognized these tendencies in
Irenaeus.
220. AH.V,20,2, p. 548.
221. AH.V19,2, p. 547. For a further development on the role
of the Church in Christ's recapitulation, cf. p. 237-240.
222. AH.V.20,2, p. 548; Dem. 34, p. 69-70.
223. AH.I,10,1, p. 330-1; IV,20,4, p. 488; V ch. 18, p. 546-7,
et alia. For further development on the eschatological
implication of recapitulation cf. p. 393-9; p. 425..
224. AH.III,18,1, p. 445-6.
225. AH.III,21,10, p. 454 see also: III,18,7, p. 448; III,23,
2, p. 456; V,21,1, p. 548-9.
226. AH.V,23,2, p. 551.
227. AH.III,22,4, p. 455.
228. AH.III,23,1, p. 455.
229. AH.IV,40,3, p. 524; V,21,2, p. 549.
230. AH.IV,33,4, p. 507. The same impression may be gained in
V.14,2, p. 541. As Nielsen expresses it : "Salvation
corresponds to the history that went before: a positive
sign replaces the negative. The new in Christ absorbs
the old." op. cit., p. 60. "All this takes place within
the framework of the history of mankind, as the sole act
of salvation of the sole Creator, God, the Father of
Jesus Christ." idem, p. 60.
231. AH.IV,39,1, p. 522.
232. AH.V,21,2, p. 549.

233. AH.V,19,1, p. 547.
234. Dem. 34, p. 69.
235. AH.II,20,3, p. 388.
236. AH.V,14,1, p. 541. Wingren lists several scholars who hold the view that the actual conflict of Christ and not merely the Incarnation by itself is an important part of the Irenaeian concept of recapitulation (ἀντανακρίσις): Stoll, Bousset, Aulen, Rivière, Scharl and Bonwetsch.
237. Wingren, op. cit., p. 124-5.
238. AH.V,16,3, p. 544.
239. AH.VI,3, p. 527 cf. also III,18,7, p. 448.
240. AH.III,22,3, p. 455.
241. AH.V,12,2, p. 538.
242. AH.V,1,3, p. 527.
243. AH.V,16,2, p. 544.
244. AH.V,21,1, p. 548-9.
245. AH.V,18,3, p. 546-7.
246. AH.III,11,1, p. 426.
247. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
248. AH.V,2,2, p. 528.
249. Cf.Int. XV-XVI; p. 17-22; 36-37.
250. Op. cit p. 48.
251. Wingren quotes Irenaeus: "Dolor autem plagae est, per quam percussus est homo initio in Adam inobediens, hoc est, mors, quam sanabit Deus resuscitans nos a mortuis," AH.V,24,2, p. 552.
252. Op. cit. p. 49.
253. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
254. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
255. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
256. AH.III,20,3, p. 450.
257. AH.III,21,4, p. 452.
258. AH.IV,13,1, p. 477.
259. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
260. AH.IV,27,2, p. 499.

261. AH.IV,27,2, p. 499; IV,28,2, p. 501.
262. AH.IV,28,2, p. 501.
263. AH.I,2, 5&6, p. 318.
264. AH.III,17,4, p. 445.
265. AH.III,17,1, p. 444.
266. AH.III,17,3, p. 445. Cf. also V,16,2, p. 544 and A. d'Alès, "La doctrine de l'esprit en saint Irénée", RSR 14(1924), p. 515.
267. AH.III,17,2, p. 444-5. Cf. also p. 286.
268. Dem. 51, p. 81. Cf. also AH.III,16,3, p. 441.
269. Cf. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
270. AH.III,9,3, p. 423.
271. Dem. 47, p. 78.
272. AH.III,18,3, p. 446, cf. also III,12,7, p. 432-3.
273. AH.III,16,3, p. 441.
274. AH.III,9,3, p. 423.
275. AH.V,1,2, p. 527.
276. AH.III,9,3, p. 423.
277. AH.III,17,1, p. 444. Cf. also III,16,2&5, p. 440 & 441. Dem. 51, p. 81, 53, p. 82; 57, p. 85. See Houssiau, *op. cit.* p. 176-7. In reference to "Wherefore" in the translation above Houssiau understands "C'est pourquoi (εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν)" which introduces a fact demanding of explanation and looks back to a preceding explanation. "Irénée vient de rappeler la promesse de l'effusion de l'Esprit sur les chrétiens. L'épiscopat du baptême s'explique donc si on le rattache à l'effusion promise à toute l'humanité. L'Esprit descend sur le Fils de Dieu, puisque celui-ci est devenu le fils de l'homme; l'Esprit réalise la volonté du Père de rénover les hommes dans l'Esprit." *op. cit.* p. 177.
278. Pierre Evieux, "Théologie de l'accoutumance dans Irénée", RSR, Vol. 55, p. 27-28.
279. Cf. Paul Gächter "unser Einheit mit Christus nach dem hl. Irenaeus" Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (1934) p. 526.
280. AH.V,10,1-2, p. 536.
281. Op. cit. p. 24.

282. "If we investigate the relationship between man and the Incarnation according to Irenaeus, we shall soon notice that all his lines of thought point to the Church. The Church is the actual meeting-place in the present time of man and the Incarnation." Wingren, op. cit., p. 147.
283. AH.III,17,1 & 2, p. 444-5.
284. AH.III,2,4, p. 452.
285. AH.III,17,4, p. 445.
286. AH.III,9,3, p. 423.
287. AH.IV,36,7, p. 517-18. The Word may also be said to be "Lord of History" through the work of the Spirit, Cf. IV, 38,3, p. 521-2.
288. Dem. 6, p. 51. See also AH.V,12,2, p. 537-8.
289. AH.IV,38,1,ff, p. 521ff.
290. AH.V,8,1, p. 533 of also V,19,1, p. 536.
291. AH.III,23,5, p. 457.
292. AH.III,12,1, p. 429-30.
293. AH.III,17,2, p. 444-4.
294. AH.III,12,14, p. 435-6; cf. also III,17,2, p. 444-5.
295. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
296. AH.IV,33,1, p. 506.
297. AH.IV,20,10, p. 490-1.
298. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
299. AH.IV,33,1, ff. p. 506 ff.
300. AH.IV,33,7, p. 508.
301. AH.IV,19,1, p. 486-7.
302. Cf. Ochagavia, op. cit. p. 128-9.
303. AH.IV,33,8, p. 508.
304. AH.IV,33,9, p. 508-9.
305. DS Vol. 4 (1960) col. 146.
306. AH.III,12,13, p. 435.
307. AH.III,17,1, p. 444.
308. AH.III,16,4, p. 441-2.
309. Dem. 6, p. 51.
310. AH.III,16,3, p. 441. Cf. also Dem. 6, p. 51.

- 311. AH.III,21,4, p. 452.
- 312. AH.IV,33,15, p. 511.
- 313. AH.IV,36,6, p. 517.
- 314. AH.V,9,3, p. 535.
- 315. Dem. 90, p. 103.
- 316. AH.IV,33,14, p. 510-11.
- 317. AH.IV,20,6, p. 489.
- 318. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
- 319. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
- 320. AH.IV,4, p. 464.
- 321. AH.III,10,3, p. 425.
- 322. AH.III,12,1, p. 429-30.
- 323. AH.III,12,2, p. 430.
- 324. AH.III,17,3, p. 445.
- 325. AH.V,9,2, p. 535; cf. also 5,8,1, p. 533 & III,21,4, p. 452.
- 326. AH.V,9,3, p. 535 and V,10,2, p. 536.
- 327. AH.IV,36,6, p. 517.
- 328. Cf. p. 54-56.
- 329. AH.V,8,1, p. 533.
- 330. AH.IV,39,2, p. 522-3, cf. J. Mambrino, "Les deux mains de Dieu" chez St. Irénée," NRT Vol. 79 (1957) p. 367.
- 331. AH.V,8,2, p. 534, Irenaeus goes on to explain that man, in this way, behaves as irrational animals: V,8,3, p. 534 and V,8,4, p. 534.
- 332. AH.V,10,2, p. 536.
- 333. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
- 334. AH.IV,33,10, p. 509.
- 335. AH.IV,20,11, p. 491-2. cf. A d'Alès, "La doctrine de l'Esprit en Saint Irénée," RSR Vol. 14, (1924), p. 533-4.
- 336. AH.V,11,2, p. 537.
- 337. AH.III,16,3, p. 441.
- 338. AH.V,1,1, p. 527.
- 339. AH.V,8,1, p. 533.
- 340. AH.III,19,1, p. 448.

341. Op. cit. p. 31-2.
342. AH.III,6, 1&2, p. 418-19. Cf. A. d'Alès, "La doctrine de l'Esprit..." op. cit. p. 517. "L'Ecriture, qui appelle Dieu au sens propre le Père et le Fils, appelle dieux au sens analogique, les hommes qui ont reçu la grace de l'adoption divine (AH.III,6,1....)"
343. AH.IV,20,5, p. 489.
344. AH.V,27,2, p. 556.
345. AH.V,10,1-2, p. 536.
346. AH.V,9,1-4, p. 526-8.
347. Cf. Wingren, op. cit. p. 211.
348. AH.V,10-12, p. 536-9. It is not our purpose here to ascertain whether or not Irenaeus understands the Spirit as placing man in a "Supernatural" state as d'Alès claims op. cit. p. 509-10 or as Wingren denies, op. cit. p. 209.
349. AH.V,8,1, p. 533. Cf. p. 374-6.
350. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2 and V,8,1, p. 533.
351. Cf. D.S. Kim, "The Doctrine of Man in Irenaeus of Lyons" Boston U. Grad. School, Ph.D. thesis (1969) p. 304 f.
352. AH.V,8,2, p. 534. Much controversy has arisen over how Irenaeus actually conceives the human composite. Sometimes he speaks of it as a dichotomy following image and likeness, sometimes as a trichotomy of body and soul, and spirit. But in any case it is clear that the 'spirit' is an integral part of the "natural" man as created by God. See D.S. Kim, op. cit. p. 96.
353. Ah.III,17,2, p. 445.
354. AH.III,17,2, p. 444-5.
355. AH.III,17,2, p. 444-5.
356. AH.IV,33,14, p. 510-11 and Dem. 89.
357. Dem. 40-42, p. 73-74.
358. AH.V,11,1, p. 53607.
359. Idem.
360. Idem.
361. Cf. p. 54-56. The Spirit is as "food" to nurture man in his growth to the Image who is Christ (p. 239-240). Image and likeness has eschatological meaning (p. 242). Being created in the Image is a mode of being (p. 272). The Image becomes bodily visible in Jesus (p. 274-5). The Spirit transforms the faithful into the Image (p. 282-7).

362. AH.IV,11,2, p. 474.
363. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 108-9.
364. Op. cit. p. 522-38.
365. Cf. p. 50 and 55.
366. AH.III,12,1, p. 429-30.
367. Dem. 6, p. 51.
368. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
369. AH.IV,31,3, p. 505; IV,33,9, p. 508-9 and III,24,1, p. 458. Irenaeus does not seem to have an explicit doctrine on the Church as the "Mystical Body" According to Wingren, however, this idea of the Church as "body" of Christ, "bride" & "mother" lies in the background whenever Irenaeus uses metaphors or names referring to a woman of the Church, op. cit. p. 160-161.
370. Dem. 5, p. 50. Wingren, op. cit. p. 154.
371. AH.IV,38,1, p. 521.
372. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
373. AH.IV,33,9, p. 508-9. Cf. also IV,33,10, p. 509.
374. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
375. For Irenaeus' conception of "truth" see p. 33-35; 346-353.
376. AH.IV,33,7, p. 508.
377. AH.IV,33,9; IV,33,10, p. 509.
378. AH.III,3 and 4, p. 415-17.
379. Cf. H. Urs Von Balthasar, La Gloire et la Croix, Vol. 2, Paris, Aubier (1965-), p. 78.
380. Cf. Ochagavia, op. cit., p. 132-140.
381. AH.IV,32,2, p. 506.
382. AH.IV,33,10, p. 509.
383. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
384. AH.III,9,3, p. 422.
385. AH.III,25,7, p. 460.
386. DS Vol. 4, (1960), col. 405: "...Ce qu'Irénée a appris, étant jeune, c'est une vie, une histoire du Salut qui se mêle à sa propre histoire..." cf. also von Balthasar op. cit. p. 80-81.
387. Op. cit. p. 67.

388. AH.V,20,2, p. 548, cf. Daniélou, "Le lien entre le mot récapitulation et la conception du Christ-Chef (κεφάλῃ) du corps mystique apparaît bien dans ce passage..." Message Évangélique.... Tournai, Desclée, 1961, p.164-5.
389. "...l'église qui est le résultat mûr de l'histoire du salut et sa figure définitive à la fin des temps..." op. cit. p. 78.
390. AH.IV,18,5. p. 486.
391. AH.V,2,2, p. 528, cf. also V,2,3, p. 528.
392. AH.IV,38,1, p. 521, cf. also IV,38,2, p. 521.
393. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2.
394. M. Hitchcock has termed this "an extension of His creative energy." Irenaeus of Lugdunum, Cambridge, 1914, p278. Cf. his "The Doctrine of Holy Communion in Irenaeus", Church Quarterly Review, 1939-40, p. 21. Also V. Palashkovsky writes, "Ainsi l'eucharistie est le prolongement organique de la création et de l'incarnation. En effet, nous avons là...une prise de possession totale par le Verbe de Dieu des éléments eucharistiques, les assumant pleinement les faisant son propre Corps et Sang ..." "La Théologie eucharistique de St. Irénée", Studia Patristica, Vol. 2, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag (1957), p. 281.
395. AH.IV,18,4, p. 485-6.
396. "De cette oeuvre récapitulatrice le signe admirable et le merveilleux résumé ... c'est aux yeux d'Irénée le sacrement de l'Eucharistie... DS Vol. 7 (2), (1971) col. 1952.
397. "Il récapitule la création, figurée par les éléments du pain et du vin, ce qui permet de discerner la dimension cosmique de son oeuvre. Il récapitule, enfin, dans les prémices de sa résurrection, la récolte, l'engrangement promis par la main des anges, dans toute la durée de l'histoire. L'eucharistie est cet engrangement anticipé, ce qui lui communique son dynamisme intérieur, son mouvement vers l'achèvement; elle est le sacrement de l'incorporation au Christ et à la conformation au Fils de Dieu." Hamman, A., DS vol. 4 (2), col. 1570.
398. AH.V,3,2, p. 528.
399. AH.V,5,1, p. 530-1.
400. AH.V,5,1, p. 530-1.
401. AH.V,12,4, p. 538.

402. As E. Peterson writes:

"Au chapitre VIII, saint Irénée expose que nous n'avons reçu pour le moment qu'une partie seulement de l'Esprit-Saint, cette part que saint Paul appelle arrhes (Ep. I, 13). Possédant ces arrhes, nous appelons Dieu: Père (Rm. 8, 15), mais quand viendra l'abondance de l'Esprit à la résurrection des morts, alors l'Esprit-Saint nous rendra semblables à Dieu, faisant l'homme à l'image et de ressemblance de Dieu devient un concept eschatologique lié à la transformation de nos corps par l'oeuvre de l'Esprit-Saint à la résurrection des morts."

"L'homme, Image de Dieu chez St. Irénée." La Vie Spirituelle, Vol. 100, p. 590.

403. AH.V, 8, 1, p. 533.

404. AH.V, 5, 2, p. 531.

405. AH.IV, 18, 5, p. 486.

406. AH.V, 8, 4, p. 534.

1. Cf. Marguerite Harl, Origène et la Fonction Révélatrice du Verbe Incarné, Patristica Sorbonensia, Vol. II, Paris, 1958, p. 73-101. Harl sees a tendency to dualism and hence to Gnosticism in this trend as, for example, in Plato's "two gods" which although not radically distinct, leave the transcendence-immanence question unresolved. Of the second century philosophers she observes: "...Du courant dualiste, ils ont retenu quelques points: Dieu est éloigné, difficile à connaître, indicible, sinon incompréhensible; ce que l'on connaît de lui est, non pas son essence, mais son existence et son action; cette connaissance n'est pas suffisante, elle doit être complétée." p. 89.
2. "Ce courant optimiste, moniste, apparaît dans presque toutes les écoles: c'est la présence universelle du souffle divin chez les Stoiciens, la parenté et la connaturalité chez les Platoniciens. D'un système à l'autre, le vocabulaire est analogue. Certains mots (ressemblance, connaturalité, affinité, dépendance, sympathie, lien, participation, etc.), sont très communément employés..." Harl, op.cit., p. 91.
3. "La première condition de la connaissance de Dieu est la purification totale de l'intelligence. Si Dieu peut être connu, c'est par la partie de l'homme qui lui ressemble, par l'esprit et non par le corps..." Harl, op. cit., p. 92.
4. Harl, op. cit., p. 94.
5. "A cette ascension progressive correspond l'idée d'une pédagogie divine. Dans son ouvrage important, Proncia und Paideusis Hal Koch a naguère montré la place de ce thème dans la pensée d'Origène, comme aussi dans la philosophie grecque." Harl, op. cit., p. 96.
6. Cf Int. p. xv-xvi and p. 36-37.
7. According to Kirchmeyer, such a view was basic to the Greek Fathers as well as to Irenaeus: "Que l'achèvement de l'être spirituel à l'image de Dieu s'accomplisse dans le face à face de la vision béatifique est une vérité si souvent évoquée, qu'il n'est guère utile d'en multiplier les témoignages...et, au regard d'Irénée, toute l'histoire humaine tient son intelligibilité du fait qu'elle représente, dans le plan divin, le temps d'une accoutumance progressive de la créature à sa destinée contemplative qui est sa vie (Adv. haer. IV, 20, 4-7, PG 7, 1034-1037b, SC 100, p 634-648). Si différents qu'ils soient, l'un et l'autre s'accordent à considérer la vision béatifique dans sa double dimension de grace absolue et de perfectionnement ontologique." DS, T. 6, col. 842.

8. "...Si la divinisation nous assimile à Dieu, elle ne réduit pas l'abîme qui sépare la créature de son Créateur ...En ce sens précis, Dieu est invisible par nature..." Kirchmeyer, DS Vol.6, col. 843.
9. AH.IV,20,2, p. 488.
10. AH.IV,20,3, p. 488.
11. AH.IV,20,2, p. 488.
12. Dem. 7, p. 51-52; cf. also III,1,1, p. 414.
13. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9. For Irenaeus, there is no question that to see God is the equivalent of being divinized. As Daniélou observes, it is not a view exclusive to Irenaeus: "Cette idée semble se rattacher à Théophile d'Antioche: la vie de l'homme, c'est voir Dieu, c'est avoir part aux réalités, se transformer en elles. Pour Irénée, voir Dieu équivaut à être divinisé. L'aspect de connaissance et celui de vie sont entièrement unis. "Message Evangelique.... Tournai, Desclée, 1961, p. 329.
14. AH.IV,20,10, p. 490.
15. AH.III,12, 6f, p. 432f; cf. also III,5,2, p. 418. Balthasar has covered this area well. In his words: "Grace à ce principe de l'évidence tiré de l'évidence de la chose elle-même, Irénée réfute d'une part la théorie gnostique de la tradition secrète...d'autre part, la théorie gnostique de l'adaptation de l'Ancien comme du Nouveau Testament à la manière de penser, au milieu, aux préjugés de chaque homme..." op. cit., p. 44.
16. AH.IV,39,2, p. 522-3.
17. Idem.
18. AH.IV,11,2, p. 474. "Man's growth is thus not simply a work, a consequence of God's act of creation, but actually is God's act of creation, exactly the same reality as God's creation, though seen from a different angle..." Wingren, op. cit., p. 33.
19. AH.IV,38,2, p. 521.
20. AH.V,5,1, p. 530-1.
21. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
22. AH.IV,38,1, p. 521.
23. "...It has to be clearly remembered throughout that in the Irenaeian concept of growth there is first and foremost an emphasis on the smallness of man and the greatness of God-but on the greatness of God as Creator, that is, the

bestower of inexhaustible gifts. Man's growth has its source in the power of God... Wingren, op. cit., p. 33.

24. "De voir, Les deux mots: videre et ostendere reviennent continuellement sous la plume d'Irénée. Videre de nouveau, est moins "l'intuition" de Platon que le fait de se tenir devant l'évidence des faits; La réalité elle-même est une tandis que sont innombrables les conjectures de la pensée. C'est cette forme que revêt chez Irénée le vieux thème théologique des "deux voies"; "Pour tous ceux qui voient, il n'y a qu'un chemin — et ascendant — qu'il lamine la lumière céleste... (Dem. 1)..." Balthasar, op. cit., p. 40-41.
25. AH.IV,20,6, p. 489.
26. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9.
27. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2.
28. AH.V,15,3, p. 543.
29. AH.III,20, p. 450.
30. Cf. p.182f. Balthasar explains how such a view of things is unique in the realm of the human spirit.
"... La concentration engendre une formule qui tient et exprime tout; mais elle n'est ni une morceau de rhétorique, parce qu'elle n'en a pas le caractère occasionnel et artificiel, ni le simple résultat d'une puissance d'intuition artistique (bien qu'elle soit cela aussi), parce qu'elle reproduit avec une obéissance totale les articulations de la révélation salvifique. Elle n'est pas une ruse polémique, bien qu'elle ne soit pas née autrement que sous la pression de l'indignation, elle est force de spéculation au sens originel du mot; mais, avant tout, elle n'est pas une abstraction...au contraire elle possède la vibration, le parfum et véritablement le caractère poétique de l'invention immédiate, spontanée... op. cit., p. 45.
31. AH.IV,14,1, p. 478-9.
32. AH.V,1,1, p. 526-7.
33. "Nous sommes ramenés une fois de plus à l'idée centrale d'Irénée, celle d'une éducation progressive de l'humanité. C'est en effet cette idée qui synthétise les deux grands thèmes que nous avons vu surgir dans son anthropologie: celui de la temporalité et celui de la liberté. L'éducation est le propre d'une liberté qui est dans le temps et qui par conséquent doit se tourner progressivement vers le bien..." Le message chrétien et la pensée grecque au II^e siècle, "Ad modum manuscripti" Inst. Cath. de Paris, Vol. 17, (1958).

34. AH.IV,38,2, p. 521.
35. AH.IV,14,2, p. 479.
36. While Irenaeus understands that revelation of God is essential to man's life, there is always a limit to the amount of light (revelation) that man can tolerate. Therefore it is for man's own good that the Father preserves before man His own invisibility (transcendence). This is clearly shown in AH.IV,20, 6-7, p. 489-490.
37. "Ce lien établi entre le mal et l'ignorance était une constante de l'éthique grecque, de Platon aux stoïciens et au néoplatonisme (A. Jagu, Les philosophes grecs et le sens du péché, Tournai, 1960, p. 189-240). Malgré les risques d'intellectualisme qu'il comporte, les auteurs chrétiens ont eu d'autant moins de scrupules à l'affirmer à leur tour, qu'ils y mettent un autre esprit et se conforment d'ailleurs aux habitudes de langage de la Bible (vg Sagesse 13, 1 et 14,2 associant paganisme et ignorance et Actes 17,30...). On répétera à toutes les époques...que l'ignorance est la source, et aussi la conséquence du péché, et que la misère de l'homme pécheur équivaut à une cécité de l'esprit et du coeur..." Jean Kirchmeyer, DS Vol. 6, Paris 1967, col. 824-5.
38. Kirchmeyer, idem.
39. Marguerite Harl, "Origène et la fonction révélatrice du Verbe Incarnée," Patristic Sorbenensia Vol. II, Paris, 1958, p. 94.
40. Harl, idem. p. 94.
41. Harl, idem., p. 94-5.
42. Harl, idem., p. 95.
43. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 72.
44. Gospel of Truth, edited by M. Malinine, H. Puech, G. Quispel, Zurich, 1956, f. viii-ix, p. 16-17.
45. "History is a process which is governed by the word of Yahweh; rather history is the word of Yahweh, the reality which fulfils His utterance. The word of history is dynamic in that it accomplishes what it signifies, dianoetic in that it renders history intelligible. As a release of psychic energy history is also a revelation of Him who utters the word." "The word of Yahweh is a creative agent. ..." John L McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, New York, Macmillan, 1965, p. 939.
46. "...for it is the divine element of power. It is the

- saving power, Yahweh; Israel is delivered not by power or strength but by His spirit in Zc 4:6. It is the pervading divine presence either in the world or in Yahweh's guidance of Israel..." McKenzie, *idem.*, p. 841.
47. Justin, Dial. 56,2. "...There exists and is mentioned in Scripture another God and Lord under the Creator of all things..." T.B. Falls, *St. Justin Martyr, The Fathers of the Church*, New York, Christian Heritage, 1948, p. 232.
 "Θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἕτερος ὑπὸ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὧν..." Io Car. Th. eques de Ottō, *Corpus Apol. Christ. Saeculi Secundi*, Vol. 1, Tom. 1, Pars 1, 275c, p 186, 188.
48. AH.III,11,6, p. 427
49. AH.IV,6,2, p. 468.
50. AH.IV,6,6, p. 469.
51. AH.IV,20,1, p. 487. Cf. L. Escoula, "Le Verbe Sauveur et Illuminateur chez saint Irénée, NRT, vol. 66(1939), p. 560.
52. "Le Dieu transcendent reste donc invisible par nature. Pourtant son Fils incarné nous le révèle; il est celui qui seul connaît et contemple l'invisible; il est le visible et le compréhensible de celui qui par nature est invisible et incompréhensible. Cette gnose du Père qu'il communique, n'est donnée qu'à ceux qui l'aiment..." D.E. Lanne, "La vision de Dieu dans l'oeuvre de saint Irénée", *Irenikon* 33(1960), p. 313.
53. "On voit que pour Irénée la transcendance de Dieu est intégralement sauvegardée. L'homme ne peut connaître Dieu par ses propres forces. Mais par ailleurs, Dieu peut librement se faire connaître à lui. Ainsi toute prétention de l'orgueil humain à connaître par ses propres forces Dieu est condamnée - et en même temps la connaissance de Dieu est un don que Dieu fait à ceux qui l'aiment. Cette doctrine, Irénée, va la développer en nous montrant le rôle du Verbe dans cette communication..." *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux II^{ème} et III^{ème} siècles*, Tournai, Desclée, 1961, p. 329.
54. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9. On this point cf. Houssiau, *op. cit.*, p. 87f.
55. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9. Cf. Daniélou, *idem.*, p. 329-330.
56. Kirchmeyer, DS, Vol. 6, col. 826-7.
57. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9.
58. "...mais ce n'est pas prolonger indûment la pensée des Pères que de voir dans la métaphore du miroir une

expression analogique de la grace du face à face. Car l'image de Dieu en nous ne constitue ni un bien que nous possédions, ni un moyen dont nous disposions pour aller à Dieu; elle est une référence personnelle dont le mouvement et la terme nous sont donnés, un "mode d'être tout entier orienté, ontologiquement et psychologiquement, vers une rencontre dont la vérité ne sera pleinement vécue et perçue qu'au ciel..." Kirchmeyer, DS, Vol. 6, col. 845-6.

59. McKenzie, op. cit., p. 940-1.
60. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 30.
61. Idem, p. 65.
62. AH.IV,20,11, p. 491-2.
63. AH.IV,20,7, p. 489-490.
64. on this point cf. Unger, "Christ's Role in the Universe According to St. Irenaeus", Franciscan Studies, V(1945), p. 16.
65. AH.IV,20,7, p. 489-490.
66. AH.IV,6,3, p. 468.
67. A thorough study on this question was undertaken by Juan Ochagavia. In this work he states: "...for him (Irenaeus) the Father can in no way manifest Himself to man in this life; the paternal vision is kept for the heavenly glory. The Son, on the contrary, having a visibility of His own, was well qualified to be the subject of theophanies..." Visibile Patris Filius, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 171, Rome, Typ. Pont. Univ. Orient. Stud., 1964, p. 94.
 "...Irenaeus' endeavour is precisely to show that there is no fundamental difference between the Old and New Testaments regarding man's knowledge of God: the Father is always known in and through the Son." Idem, p. 95.
68. AH.V,16,2, p. 544. Cf. A. Orbe, Hacia la primera teologia de la procesion del Verbo, Rome, 1958, p. 655-6. Cf. also Ochagavia, op. cit., p. 89.
69. Op. cit.; p. 91.
70. AH.IV,6,3, p. 468.
71. AH.V,1,1, p. 526.
72. AH.IV,6,6, p. 469. Cf. also IV,6,3, p. 468 and IV,6,7, p. 469. Cf. also Daniélou, Message Evangelique..., Tournai, Desclée, 1961, p. 332.
73. AH.IV,6,4, p. 468 and IV,6,7, p. 469.

74. D.E. Lanne makes some interesting observations on this point: "...Contre l'opinion des hérétiques qui veulent que le Dieu suprême ait été invisible aux anges et au démiurge inférieur, Irénée affirme que ce Dieu pouvait de fait, être invisible en raison de sa transcendance (propter eminentiam), mais qu'en aucune manière les anges ne pouvaient l'ignorer, en raison de sa providence..." "La vision de Dieu dans l'oeuvre de st. Irénée", Irenikon Vol. 33(1960), p. 312.
- "...Il veut faire pièce au système valentinien, maintenir l'absolue transcendance divine, mais expliquer aussi comment ce Dieu suprême se révèle par sa providence et son amour, comment il vivifie l'homme en le faisant participer à son éclat et en se faisant voir de lui..." Idem, p. 316.
75. AH.III,11,5, p. 427. Cf. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 73.
76. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 73-4.
77. Ochagavia, op. cit., p. 81. 78. Idem, p. 81.
79. E.g., III,24,2, p. 459. This comment by D.B. Reynders: "...Dieu se fait connaître, dans la nature et dans la révélation...C'est pour cette raison que les gnostiques le méprisaient, estimant trop petit ce Dieu trop proche. Comme si ce n'était pas sa connaissance qui nous rendait parfaits et comme si elle nous faisait éteindre son immensité, voir l'invisible! Ne vaut-il pas mieux que le Dieu suprême des gnostiques qui s'isole, inutile à lui-même et les autres, dans son inaccessible indifférence? "Optimisme et théocentrisme chez saint Irénée", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Vol. 7(1935), p. 243.
80. AH.IV,6,1-7, p. 467-9. "Jesus se fait donc notre Docteur, non seulement parce que, 'parole sortie du silence' (Ignace d'Antioche, Lettre aux Magnésiens 8,2, SC 10 bis, p. 102), il est chargé de nous dévoiler les secrets de la vie trinitaire, mais parce qu'il incarne l'amour créateur et rédempteur à l'oeuvre depuis les origines de l'histoire humaine (Irénée, Adversus haereses IV,6,7...)" Kirchmeyer, DS 6, p. 825-6.
81. See "harvest" theme in AH.IV,23-25, p. 494-496. Cf. also Houssiau, op. cit., p. 85-6.
82. AH.IV,25,3, p. 496. Cf. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 85.
83. "D'une manière plus précise, semer signifiera servir les desseins de Dieu, c'est-à-dire les intentions dont Dieu charge des événements pour préparer l'homme au Christ, à la venue du Fils de Dieu..." Houssiau, op. cit., p. 86.

where he is commenting on the passage: "...Who, then are they that have laboured...who even prefigured our faith... etc.. AH.IV,23,1, p. 494.

84. AH.IV,9,2, p. 472.
85. Cf. Kirchmeyer, DS 6, col. 826.
86. "...C'est par Ses Mains que Dieu se fait connaître continuellement, affirme saint Irénée. Mais ses mains, nous venons de le voir, ne sont que l'image de Son Amour qui nous est toujours connu, car en aucun lieu du monde nous ne pouvons Lui échapper..." J. Mambrino, "Les deux mains de Dieu dans l'oeuvre de saint Irénée", NRT 79(1957), p. 370.
87. Mambrino, op. cit., p. 358.
88. AH.V,20,2, p. 548.
89. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
90. AH.IV,20,5, p. 489.
91. Kirchmeyer, DS 6, col. 826f.
92. AH.III,11,5, p. 427.
93. AH.V,12,4, p. 538.
94. AH.IV,14,2, p. 479.
95. AH.V,17,1, p. 544.
96. AH.IV,38,3, p. 521-2.
97. AH.IV,20,5, p. 489.
98. "Un caractère de la théologie d'Irénée est la place donnée à l'Esprit sanctificateur à côté du Verbe révélateur. La création est plus particulièrement référée au Père, la révélation au Fils, la sanctification à l'Esprit. La sanctification est en effet l'achèvement du dessein de Dieu. Or l'Esprit est celui qui mène le dessein issu du bon plaisir du Père, accompli substantiellement par le Fils, à son achèvement. Par là aussi la diversité des appropriations comporte une certaine succession. L'Esprit est donné en dernier, puisque c'est par lui que le dessein de Dieu atteint son terme. Or ce terme est l'adoption divine. C'est pourquoi nous avons vu Irénée présenter l'Esprit comme celui 'en qui nous pouvons dire: Abba, Pater'."
99. AH.IV,6,7, p. 469.
100. "Avec cette action révélatrice du Verbe de Dieu dans l'histoire du monde nous sommes vraiment au coeur de la pensée d'Irénée..." L. Regnault, DS 7, col. 1947.
101. AH.V,28,3, p. 557.

102. AH.IV,20,7, p. 489. Cf. Lanne, D.E., "La vision de Dieu dans l'oeuvre de saint Irénée", Irenikon 33(1960), p. 317.
103. Dem. 28, p. 66-7.
104. AH.IV,11,1, p. 474.
105. AH.IV,20,11, p. 491.
106. AH.IV,20,7, p. 489. "For where there is regular succession there is also fixedness; and where fixedness there suitability to the period..." might render the original sense more accurately if "fixedness" were replaced by "melody". Harvey's latin text gives "constantia" (II, p. 218). Sources Chrétiennes, however, gives "consonantia" - a correction made on the basis of the Armenian version (Arm. 20,169) - and translates this in the French as "mélodie" (SC 100, Vol. 2, p. 646-7).
107. "L'habitation du Verbe dans l'homme n'est qu'une accoutumance, parce que le but de Dieu ne peut s'accomplir que lorsque tous les hommes seront unis au Christ et en lui. Ce n'est qu'un commencement. Réciproquement, l'accoutumance de l'homme à Dieu est un processus tel que l'homme est entraîné hors de lui-même...En s'accoutumant à l'homme, Dieu lui donne un pouvoir sur soi: l'homme acquiert le pouvoir de devenir semblable à Dieu..." Pierre Evieux, "Théologie de l'accoutumance chez saint Irénée", RSR 55(1967), p. 40.
108. AH.IV,11,2, p. 474.
109. H.U. von Balthasar comments on the passage: "...By this arrangement...and these harmonies, a sequence of this nature...etc." (AH.IV,38,3, p. 521.): "...C'est là l'ordo promotionis et le mode de l'initiation à l'incorruptibilité...un ordre essentiellement doux, sans hâte, serein, patient. Ces expressions reviennent sans cesse, quand Irénée veut rendre sensible l'état d'esprit particulier de son monde spirituel..." La gloire et la Croix, Vol. 2, Paris, Aubier, 1965, p. 69.
110. "...Le thème de l'ascension de l'âme tire son expression la plus célèbre du Banquet de Platon, mais il se trouve, au II^eme siècle, enrichi de plusieurs apports: l'exégèse philonienne, par exemple, a développé le thème de la migration mystique, de la Voie royale; l'Exode présente au lecteur les étapes du voyage humain; l'homme doit passer par les degrés hiérarchiques des Puissances divines (voir, sur ce sujet, Pascher 460). Peut-être une influence orientale, que certains décèlent dans les fragments reconstitués d'Ammonius Saccas, a-t-elle également laissé sa trace en ce domaine, accentuant les

thèmes de la descente et de la montée et distinguant des degrés..." Harl, op. cit., p. 96.

111. Cf. above, p. 2 and 3 and Harl, idem, p. 96.
- 112. AH.III,12,12-13, p. 434-5. Cf. A. Benoit, op. cit., p. 183.
113. AH.IV,10,1, p. 473. Cf. also Ch. II, above.
114. AH.IV,6,1, p. 467-8.
115. AH.IV,9,3, p. 472-3.
116. AH.IV,9,3, p. 472-3.
117. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9.
118. AH.IV,6,6, p. 469.
119. AH.III,11,8, p. 428 & IV,25,3, p. 496.
120. AH.IV,14,2, p. 479. For the various divisions of steps or periods see L. Regnault, DS 7(2), Col. 1947.
121. A. Luneau, L'histoire du Salut, Paris, Beauchesne, 1964, p. 96-101.
122. AH.III,11,1, p. 426.
123. AH.IV,10,1, p. 473. Cf. also IV,11,1, p. 474.
124. AH.III,11,8, p. 428-9.
125. Dem. 24, p. 62-3 and 44-45, p. 76-7.
126. AH.IV,21,1, p. 492.
127. AH.IV,5,4, p. 467.
128. AH.IV,5,5, p. 467.
129. Evieux, op. cit., p. 12-13.
130. "Aussi peut-on considerer dans le personnage d' Abraham deux aspects: l'un, patriarcal: son obéissance permettra la réalisation de la promesse, grâce à la postérité charnelle qui lui sera donnée; l'autre, prophétique: Abraham ($\pi\rho\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\omega\varsigma$, prono animo) n'a pas hésité à offrir son fils, parce qu'il a vu dans l' Esprit que ce sacrifice engageait le salut de toute sa postérité spirituelle, et qu'Isaac préfigurait le Christ." Evieux, op. cit., p. 12.
131. AH.IV,5,5, p. 467.
132. Dem. 35, p. 70. Cf. also AH.IV,7,1-3, p. 469-470.
133. AH.IV,28,1, p. 495-6.
134. AH.IV,21,2, p. 492-3.

135. AH.IV,21,3, p. 493.
136. AH.IV,25,1, p. 495-6. "...It is on account of this hidden presence of Christ in the Old Testament witnesses that Abraham is given this peculiar double position in Irenaeus as first parent and type of both Testaments, of the covenant both of bondage and of freedom, of both the Law and the Gospel, one through circumcision, the other through faith. Irenaeus links up with the line of thought in Paul at this point. In Abraham faith comes first, before circumcision, and through faith he prefigures the covenant of freedom and adoption. Circumcision, on the other hand, is an expression of the testament of the Law and bondage. Strangely enough, however, in the actual redemptive history it is the latter which comes first: Moses precedes Christ, as Taman's first son was born after her second (Gen. XXXVIII, 27-30)...The promise is earliest, before the Law, and likewise is last and definitive. In Christ the primal condition re-emerges, and man is given his free position as a child again. Bondage "intervened" and was transient, as the domination of sin was transient." Wingren, op. cit., p. 72.
137. AH.IV,25,3, p. 496.
138. AH.IV,20,12, p. 492. Cf. also IV,20,8, p. 490.
139. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
140. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9.
141. AH. Dem. 30, p. 67.
142. AH.IV,33,10, p. 509.
143. AH.III,20,1, p. 449-50; cf. also Georges Jouassard, "Signe des Jonas sans... Irénée" in H. Lubac, L'Homme devant Dieu, Vol. 1, Paris, Aubier, 1963-4.
144. Dem. 25, p. 64.
145. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490.
146. Dem. 26, p. 64-5.
147. AH.IV,30,4, p. 504.
148. AH.IV,20,10, p. 490-91. Other examples cited; Moses and Elias IV, 20, 9-11, p. 490-2.
149. AH.IV,26,1, p. 496-7.
150. AH.IV,20,8, p. 490; Dem. 34,67, & 92. A. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 881-90. Ochagavia objects to Houssiaus' interpretation that Irenaeus meant to say that these visions of the prophets were prophetic and preparatory only. According to Ochagavia such an interpretation does violence

to the realistic language of Irenaeus on the comings and goings of the Word in history. (Especially AH.IV,20,8). Ochagavia maintains that Irenaeus wished to say that the Word was nevertheless present in the Theophanies and that this does not imply an encroachment upon the uniqueness of the Incarnation. "...If the Word was actually present in theophanies and in the rest of the old economies, does this mean an encroachment upon the uniqueness of the Incarnation? Not necessarily. And the notion of "mission" can account for this difficulty. It is certainly true that the Incarnation constitutes the definitive and most characteristic mission of the Son: the assumption of a human nature in a forever indissoluble unity. Irenaeus, however, with his deep sense for the continuity and slow progressing forth of God's salvific plan, sees the fitness and also the necessity of many anticipations of the definitive event that took place in Jesus Christ. The Word was fit to carry out those missions since He possessed from the beginning the visibility required for this role..." Ochagavia, op. cit. p. 93-4.

151. Dem. 29, p. 67.
152. AH.IV,19,1, p. 486-7.
153. AH.IV,19,1, p. 486-7.
154. AH.IV,21,3, p. 493.
155. AH.IV,14,3, p. 479.
156. AH.IV,23,1, p. 494; cf. also IV,p. 121,217.
157. Dem. 26, p. 64-5.
158. AH.IV,15,1, p. 479-80.
159. AH.IV,16,3, p. 481.
160. AH.IV,16,4, p. 481-2.
161. AH.IV,13,2, p. 477.
162. AH.IV,13,4, p. 478.
163. AH.III,12,15, p.436; IV,8,2, p. 471.
164. AH.IV,16,2, p. 480.
165. AH.IV,12,4, p. 476.
166. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
167. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
168. AH.IV,13,2, p. 477.
169. AH.IV,17,1, p. 482-3.

170. AH.IV,14,1, p. 478-9.
171. AH.IV,15,1, p. 479-80.
172. Cf. Evieux, op. cit. p. 17. Wingren, op. cit. p. 64.
173. "Le mouvement de descente et de montée auquel s'accoutume le Verbe, c'est donc le mouvement même du salut préparé par la sortie d'Egypte et le don de la Loi. Et observer la Loi de Moïse, c'est entrer dans la relation d'amour opérée par la Verbe, c'est faire route avec lui, pour être sauvés par lui. Accoutumés à cette relation d'amour, les hommes pourront accueillir le Verbe et être sauvés; mais s'ils n'obéissent qu'à des commandements d'hommes, s'ils sont "vides d'amour"; ils ne seront pas des justes selon Dieu, mais des justes selon les hommes et resteront dans leur péché." Evieux, op. cit. p. 16.
174. AH.IV,7,3, p. 470; IV,8,1, p. 470-1; IV,13,1, p. 477.
175. AH.IV,16,1, p. 480-1.
176. AH.IV,16,5, p. 482.
177. AH.IV,11,4, p. 475.
178. Dem. 28, p. 66-67.
179. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
180. AH.IV,16,2, p. 481.
181. "In certain respects the Law is in itself a prophecy of Christ since Christ is the imago and similitudo Dei, the fulfillment and end of the Law. The Law might therefore be said to prophesy about its own abolition ..." Wingren, op. cit. p. 69.
182. AH.IV,12,4, p. 476.
183. Cf. p. 321-2.
184. Cf. p. 321-2.
185. Cf. p. 318-319.
186. Cf. p. 91-3.
187. Cf. p. 293-5; 321-2.
188. "Le verbe est vraiment le terme de la Loi, celui en qui elle se consomme. Il n'apparaît pas seulement comme identifié au principe et au terme de la Loi, il est celui qui agit..., qui réalise l'économie du salut, celui prépare et dispose le peuple élu à sa venue selon la chair...." Evieux, op. cit. p. 15.
189. "...D'ailleurs, les deux acceptions cosmique et logique, parfois difficiles à distinguer, se mêlent chez lui et

se fondent si intimement que l'on perdrait son temps à vouloir les dissocier. Il sera plus profitable de procéder par voie synthétique, en étudiant la récapitulation irénéenne dans sa réalisation concrète...."
D'Alès, "La doctrine de la récapitulation en saint Irénée", RSR Vol. 6, (1916) p. 189.

190. Dem. 89, p. 102.
191. AH.IV,16,3. p. 481.
192. AH.IV,25,1, p. 495-6.
193. AH.IV,4,3. p. 466.
194. AH.IV,34, 1, p. 511.
195. AH.IV,38,2. p. 521.
196. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
197. AH.IV,9,2, p. 472.
198. "On doit relever là une intention antignostique qui veut valoriser l'importance de la chair dans le mystère de la venue du Fils de Dieu sur terre. Non seulement c'est l'homme tout entier qui est assumé par le Verbe incarné, mais c'est par la chair unie au Fils de Dieu que nous est communiquée la lumière du Père. Le but premier de l'économie divine est de rendre la chair incorruptible par la chair divinisée du Christ." Lanne, op. cit. p. 314.
199. AH.IV,20,2, p. 488.
200. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
201. AH.IV,20,1 & 4, p. 487-8; cf. Lanne, op. cit., p. 315.
202. AH.IV,20,4, p. 488.
203. AH.IV,20,9, p. 490; cf. Lanne, op. cit., p. 317-318.
204. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9.
205. AH.IV,20,5, p. 489.
206. Cf. Lanne, op. cit., p. 316.
207. AH.IV,20,5, p. 489.
208. AH.IV,37,1, p. 51819; (cf. also IV,36,8, p. 518-). The "tract" on the free-will of man extends from here to the end of the Fourth Book.
209. E.g. God, through the angel, "exhorts" Joseph to take Mary as his wife: IV,23,1, p. 494. (The suadens from Harvey, p. 230, is presumed to be πειθων in the original according to SC 100, p. 692-3), or He draws man from his captivity to Satan "by persuasion": AH.V,1,1,

- p.527 (the suadentem in Harvey, p. 315 is here rendered as μετῶν in SC 153, p. 20-21).
210. "All such passages demonstrate the independent will (τὸ αὐτεξούριον) of man, and at the same time the counsel which God conveys to him..." AH.IV,37,3, p. 519. Harvey has, "...quia consilio instruat Deus..." apparently from τὸ συμβουλευτικὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ in the original. Cf. SC 100, p. 928-9.
211. AH.IV,39,2, p. 522-3 (Harvey, Vol. 2, p. 299).
212. AH.V,3,1, p. 529.
213. AH.V,3,1, p. 529.
214. AH.IV,39,1, p. 522; cf. also IV,37,7, p. 520.
215. AH.III,23,1, p. 455-6.
216. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
217. AH.III,22,1, p. 454.
218. AH.IV,37,7, p. 520-1.
219. AH.V,28,4, p. 557.
220. Something of this has been expressed by the present-day christian existentialist, Paul Claudel, "...Même pour l'homme spirituel l'expérience existentielle est proche de la terre et de la sensibilité; ce qu'Origène appellera les sens spirituels et, en bon platonicien, distinguera fortement des sens du corps, cela est pour Irénée le sens originel, permanent qui permet à l'homme terrestre de goûter les choses, les bonnes comme les mauvaises. Il faudra attendre Claudel pour que surgisse de nouveau, dans le christianisme, un semblable langage..." H. Urs von Balthasar, La Gloire et la Croix, Vol. 2, Paris, Aubier, 1965, p. 71.
221. AH.IV,4,3, p. 466.
222. AH.IV,41,3, p. 525.
223. AH.IV,37,4, p. 519.
224. AH.III,20,2, p. 450.
225. Evieux, op. cit., p. 31. "Cette accoutumance est à double effet. C'est d'abord l'homme qui s'accoutume à saisir Dieu: percipere. Ce verbe répond à capere, dont le sens général est "recevoir", ce qui peut signifier: contenir, posséder (la contenance est à la mesure du contenu). Percipere, lui, signifie saisir, s'emparer (on ne contient pas, mais on tient). La plénitude du capere est réservée à la vision future. Mais le percipere

actuel est le commencement et le gage du capere...à venir".

226. AH.IV,20,5, p. 488-9. The Latin is from Harvey, Vol. 2, p. 216-217. Cf. Evieux, op. cit., p. 31.
227. "Riche est donc la compréhension de ce percipere: saisie de Dieu par l'humanité, vision de Dieu dans le Christ, et, par cette vision, participation à la vie divine elle-même. Mais tout cela se fait progressivement, par une accoutumance, dont le moment décisif est l'Incarnation." Evieux, op. cit., p. 31.
228. "Il y a donc continuité et discontinuité entre le percipere-assuescere et le capere-continere. L'accoutumance prépare effectivement la contenance, qui en est le terme corrélatif. Mais l'accoutumance implique la double limitation de la mesure et du temps: on s'accoutume à ce qu'on n'a pas encore la suffisance de contenir; la contenance est la suppression de cette double limite: c'est pourquoi le terme de l'accoutumance est atteint au delà d'elle-même..." idem. p. 34.
229. AH.IV,13,4, p. 478.
230. AH.IV,13,4, p. 478.
231. AH.IV,37,1, p. 518-519.
232. AH.IV,11,3, p. 474-475.
233. AH.IV,6,6&7, p. 469.
234. AH.IV,6,7, p. 469.
235. AH.IV,23,1, p. 494.
236. AH.IV,41,1, p. 524.
237. AH.IV,6,6, p. 469.
238. AH.IV,37,3, p. 519.
239. AH.IV,41,3, p. 525.
240. AH.V,28,4, p. 557.
241. AH.V, pref., p. 526.
242. AH.IV,33,8, p. 508. For the Latin and the Greek original cf. SC 100, p. 818-819.
243. Cf. Irenaeus' opening remarks of Book III, Ch. 2-4, p. 414-417.
244. AH.IV,32,1, p. 505.
245. AH.IV,33,1-15, p. 506-511.
246. E.g. 1Cor. 13.

247. AH.V,1,1, p. 526-7.
248. AH.III,20,2, p. 450. " 'Suivre le Verbe' décrit l'attitude fondamentale proposée par Dieu dans les préceptes naturels de la Loi et dans l'Evangile. Irénée fonde ainsi en un seul précepte l'obligation légale "suivre le Seigneur".... et le commandement évangélique "suivre le Christ"... Houssiau, op. cit., p. 115-116. Cf. also Regnault, DS Vol 7 (2), col. 1962.
249. AH.IV,34,4, p. 512; cf, also Regnault, DS Vol. 7 (2), col. 1963.
250. Dem. 34, p. 69-70.
251. Cf. Kirchmeyer, DS Vol. 6, col. 865.

1. *παρουσία* signifies "presence" or arrival. As used in the New Testament it means the coming of Jesus as the Son of Man as prophesied in Daniel 7:13. Cf. J.L. McKenzie, op. cit., p. 638-640.
2. AH.IV,20,11, p. 491.
3. Dem. 30, p. 67.
4. AH.IV,33,4, p. 507.
5. AH.IV,33,1, p. 506.
6. AH.IV,3, p. 511-12.
7. AH.IV,33,11, p. 509-10; cf. also III,20,4, p. 450-1.
8. As Daniélou suggests: "The two streams of prophecy remain radically distinct throughout the Old Testament: the coming of Jehovah in the last days to judge the world from his eternal habitation, and the coming of Messiah to set Israel free from her enemies and to inaugurate a new people, are envisioned in reality as two separate events, and give rise to two divergent literary traditions. From the first comes the idiom of transcendental eschatology, culminating in the apocalyptic books; from the second, temporal messianism, represented in the main by the prophetic books. In later Judaism, some efforts were made to harmonize these points of view, but for the most part only through introducing an order of succession between two phases; the earthly kingdom of Messiah, to be followed by the coming of Jehovah in the end of the world" The Lord of History, (trans from French by Nigel Abercrombie) Chicago, Longmans, Green & Co., 1958, p. 187-8.
9. For an elaboration on this development: A. Houssiau, La Christologie de St. Irénée, Louvain, Pub. Univ. de Louvain, 1955, p. 57-62.
10. "Together with the genealogical continuity, linking Christ with the sons of Adam, we find a theological continuity: his work belongs to the historical framework of the mirabilia Dei, of which it is the last and supreme instance ..." Daniélou, op. cit., p. 189.

"The dogma of Chalcedon, however, furnishes an unambiguous answer to the eschatological problem of Christianity. If Christ is 'the last Adam' the mystery of his personality contains the truth about 'the last things'. Christological definition opens the way to a right judgement of the theological meaning of history. The formula for the union of the two natures in the incarnate Word...was the key for

interpreting much evidence that was otherwise indecisive
" idem. p. 190.

11. AH.IV,41,4, p. 525.
12. AH.IV,34,2, p. 511.
13. AH.III,16,3, p. 441.
14. He demonstrates this in his interpretation of "wisdom" in the Book of Proverbs: AH.IV,20,3, p. 488.
15. AH.III,16,3, p. 441; cf. III,22,1, p. 454.
16. AH.IV,20,2, p. 488; cf. III,16,3, p. 441.
17. AH.III,19,3, p. 449.
18. AH.IV,5,2, p. 466-7.
19. AH.V,13,1, p. 539.
20. AH.III,18,6-7, p. 447-8; cf. V,17,1, p. 544-5; Houssiau, op. cit., p. 214; cf. above, Ch. IV, p. 112-117.
21. AH.V,16,2, p. 544; cf. V,28,4, p. 537; see Jean-Pierre Jossua, Le Salut: Incarnation ou Mystère Pascal, Paris, Ed. du Cerf, 1968, p. 127.
22. Dem. 31, p. 67-8.
23. AH.III,16,9, p. 443-4.
24. AH.V,2,3, p. 535.
25. AH.V,7,1, p. 532-3; cf. III,16,9, p. 443-4.
26. AH.IV,9,2, p. 472.
27. AH.V,13,1-4, p. 539-40; cf. V,12,6, p. 539.
28. AH.V,13,3, p. 541. Cf. above, Chapter IV, p. 185-6.
29. "...The Spirit is something which grows together with man, and in proportion as it does, man becomes what he was destined to become, viz. man... This goal has not yet been reached within the Church, but the Spirit strives against the flesh. Sin, the inhuman element, still remains... But one day, in the resurrection, the Spirit will wholly penetrate the flesh, drive out sin, and make man man..." Wingren, op. cit., p. 153-4.
30. AH.III,23,7, p. 457.
31. AH.III,16,9, p. 443-4.
32. AH.V,12,1, p. 537.
33. AH.III,23,7, p. 457.
34. AH.II,34,1, p. 411.

35. "In his conception of the resurrection Irenaeus lays a strong emphasis on the activity and power of God in regard to man. Man dies - and then God raises him from the dead. The idea of immortality, on the other hand, locates the life-force directly in man as he is in himself - the man who is immortal is not subject to death. When it comes to the question of immortality or resurrection Irenaeus is occasionally ambiguous, as though, in spite of all that he is continually saying about the resurrection of the body, he were anxious to assert the immortality of the soul. There are several explanations for this apparent vacillation, but the most important reason is the specific conception of life which Irenaeus held - in all its aspects life is a receiving of the power of God - and the related concept of "growth" which dominates Irenaeus' whole view of man in fellowship with God, and which makes him unwilling to make a sharp line between the present time and eternity..." Wingren, op. cit., p. 204.
36. "...Here we face a characteristic paradox of Christianity. Although the time-process continues, and the last day, or chronological end of the world, is in the future, yet the ultimate reality is already present, in the person of the incarnate Word; there is not, because there cannot be, anything beyond this." Daniélou, The Lord of History, p. 190.
37. AH.V,10,2, p. 536.
38. AH.V,10,2, p. 536.
39. AH.V,3,3, p. 529-30.
40. Idem.
41. Pierre Evieux, "Théologie de l'accoutumance dans Irénée", RSR Vol. 55 (1967), p. 38-9.
42. AH.V,16,1, p. 544.
43. Idem, p. 42.
44. AH.V,5,1, p. 531.
45. AH.V,6,1-2, p. 531-2.
46. AH.V,36,1, p. 566-7; cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 137.
47. AH.IV,9,2, p. 472.
48. AH.V,13,3, p. 540.
49. AH.V,8,1, p. 533-4.
50. Dem. 90, p. 103.

51. AH.V,13,4, p. 540. Wingren has stated the point well, "...Human life in its purity wells up in the Christian congregation, which drinks from Christ as the source of Creation. But those who have been engrafted into Christ must still taste the tyranny of sin and death, which still persists, in their suffering and struggling on the earth. This agony, however, which at times culminates in martyrdom, does not lead them away from the Lord, but on the contrary brings them nearer to Him, since Jesus Himself was crucified..." op. cit., p. 155.
52. AH.V,13,4, p. 540.
53. AH.V,8,1, p. 533.
54. AH.V,6,2, p. 532.
55. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
56. AH.III,6,1, p. 418-19; IV, pref. 4, p. 462-3; V,12,4, p. 538; et alia. Wingren sees also this historical application, "...The natural undestroyed life of Creation returns to the earth when the righteousness of the pure man, which took form in Jesus Christ, extends to others and refashions them. The Church is the way by which the Risen Lord moves out into the world of men, who thereby regain their freedom. And the way outwards to men is at the same time the way forwards to the Parousia. As the Church has to expand spatially, it has also a time in which it has to grow — to grow up to Him who is the head, namely, Christ..." op. cit., p. 169.
57. AH.III,24,1, p. 458.
58. AH.V,20,2, p. 548.
59. Idem.
60. Dem 46, p. 77-8; AH.IV,28,3, p. 501-2; V,34,3, p. 564. Cf. Wingren, op. cit., p. 180.
61. AH.IV,18,5, p. 486; V,2,2-3, p. 528.
62. AH.IV,6,2, p. 468; I,3,4, p. 319-20. Cf. Houssiau, op. cit., p. 218-219.
63. AH.I,10,1, p. 330-331.
64. "In actual fact the whole of Irenæus' doctrine of recapitulation in all its phases is oriented towards the Parousia. From beginning to end recapitulatio involves a continuum which stage by stage is realized in time. When the hostile powers have been defeated and expelled, this work of recapitulation is fulfilled and man restored. There is, however, a definite time-sequence in the

conflict - the hostile powers are put down in the order and at the time which God has appointed. Irenaeus refers here to the Pauline statement: "The last enemy to be destroyed is death" (1Cor 15:26). (AH.III,23,7&V,36,2) Sin brought death into the world, and sin will be vanquished before death. We may well say, with regard to the defeat of death in the present, that the final victory over death in Christ was achieved through the resurrection on the third day, but we should then have to add that men will not fully be clothed in Christ's victory until the resurrection of the dead and the life eternal. When those who belong to Christ are raised, Christ will then have "emptied" death. It is when men receive life and are freed from the clutches of the manslayer, the murderer, the enemy of man, that ἀνταρκαλαίωσις comes to fulfillment. (AH.III,36,...) Wingren, op. cit., p.193.

65. AH.V,12,2, p. 537-538.
66. AH.V,21,1, p. 548-549.
67. AH.III,18,7, p. 448.
68. AH.V,15,2, p. 543.
69. AH.V,12,3, p. 538; V,13,5, p. 541; cf. above Ch. IV, p. 177, 226-7.
70. Wingren, op. cit., p. 194.
71. AH.V,20,2, p. 548.
72. Dem. 34, p. 69-70.
73. AH.III,21,9, p. 453-454.
74. AH.I,20,1, p. 344-345.
75. AH.IV,33,15, p. 511.
76. AH.V,20,2, p. 548.
77. AH.III,16,6, p. 443.
78. AH.IV,34,4, p. 512.
79. AH.III,19,3, p. 449.
80. Wingren, op. cit. p. 171.
81. AH.III,23,8, p. 457-458.
82. AH.III,22,3, p. 455.
83. AH.IV,41,2, p. 524.
84. AH.III,18,7, p. 448; V,24,4; p. 553.
85. AH.V,25,1, p. 553. Daniélou saw in this text a typical example of dualistic apocalypticism drawn from Judaeo-

Christian theology. "...Cette conception d'un adversaire eschatologique du Messie, d'un Anti-Messie est d'origine juive et apocalyptique. On la trouve dans Daniel 7:8 et sq., que cite Irénée. Elle correspond bien à la vision dualiste des apocalypses, que nous avons rencontrée chez les Esséniens et où, à chaque envoyé de Dieu, correspond un adversaire suscité par Satan. Nous sommes ici en présence d'une théologie typiquement judéo-chrétienne ...". Le Message Chrétien et la pensée Grecque au II^eme siècle, "ad modum manuscripti", Inst. Cath. de Paris, (1958?) p. 159.

86. AH.V,28,2, p. 557.

87. Idem.

88. A. d'Alès, "La doctrine de la récapitulation en saint Irénée", RSR 6 (1916), p. 200.

89. AH.IV,41,1-3, p. 524-5.

90. AH.V,29,2, p. 558.

91. AH.V,29,2, p. 558.

92. AH.V,30,1, p. 558-9.

93. AH.V,28,4, p. 557.

94. AH.V,29,1-2, p. 558. This view was suggested, in part, by Daniélou's explanations for the same texts: "...Pour Irénée il faut que le mal qui s'est accumulé depuis les origines soit comme récapitulé à la fin pour être totalement détruit avant que puisse s'ouvrir le septième millénaire, le royaume terrestre messianique."

"Cette signification de la récapitulation du mal est bien marquée par lui dans ce passage... (V,29,1-2) Nous sommes tout proches ici de Saint Jean montrant dans l'Apocalypse 'la Mort et l'Enfer jetés dans l'étang de feu' avant que la 'Jérusalem nouvelle' ne descende 'comme une nouvelle mariée parée pour son Epoux' (20,14-21,2). C'est bien cette vision de la fin des temps qu'Irénée reprend en terme de récapitulation." Le Message chrétien et la pensée Grecque au II^eme siècle, Paris, Instit. Cath. de Paris, (1958?) ("Ad modum manuscripti").

95. AH.V,30,3&4, p. 559-60.

96. AH.V,28,2, p. 556-7.

97. Idem.

98. Idem.

99. AH.V,30,3, p. 559.

100. AH.V,26,1, p. 554-5.
101. AH.V,30,2, p. 559.
102. AH.III,23,7, p. 457.
103. AH.V,30,4, p. 560.
104. Idem.
105. AH.III,16,8, p. 443.
106. Cf. AH.V,5,1, p. 530-1; II,33,5, p. 410-11; V,7,2, p. 533; V,12,4, p. 538. In this final resolution of the eschatological drama. Irenaeus' polemic against the Gnostic repudiation of the flesh gains its ultimate proof.
107. The Theology of Jewish Christianity (transl. from Fr. by John A. Baker), London, Longman and Todd, 1964, p.378-9.
108. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 385-6. Absence of any references to the millenium in the writings of Clement of Rome and of Hermas as well as emphasis placed on the times of the Church preceding the final judgement in these writings supports this view. Idem.
109. Daniélou alludes to a key example of such an application in Justin (Dial. LXXX, 4) and continues: "The interest of this quotation lies in the fact that it reveals the point at which all the themes of Asiatic millenarianism converge. Here are the themes of the New Jerusalem, that of the reconciliation of the animals and that of longevity. It seems as though the essential characteristic of Asiatic millenarianism lies in its applying to the doctrine of the first resurrection the predictions of this chapter from Isaiah..." op. cit., p. 392.
110. Cf. L. Gry, Le millénarisme, Paris, 1904, p. 81-82; and Daniélou, op. cit., p. 389.
111. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 389-90.
112. AH.V,35,2, p. 565-6. "...His (Irenaeus') real target, however, is not this typology of the Church, but the allegorism of the Gnostics, who emptied the prophecy of its historical content by transferring it to the timeless world of the Pleroma..." Daniélou, op. cit., p. 386.
113. "Irenaeus Millenial Hope: A Polemical Weapon", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 36 (1969), p. 16.
114. "...The "Kingdom", or the "Kingdom of the Son", is an eschatological term which signifies something purely future, something not yet begun, in spite of the fact that Christ has been born, put to death, is risen, and

is now seated in power as the Head of the Church. At the same time Irenaeus uses the term regnum in a further sense as being contemporaneous with the dominion of Christ in all its phases from the beginning of His work of recapitulation in His becoming man, through the Cross and resurrection, the Church and the final Kingdom on earth, to His delivering up of the Kingdom...." Wingren op. cit., p. 191.

115. Albert Houssiau, La Christologie de Saint Irénée, Louvain Pub. Univ. de Louvain, 1955, p. 130.
116. This is indicated when one compares Irenaeus' reference (apparently from Barnabas) to the total time of history from Creation to end (AH.V,28,3, p. 557) and his reference to the coming of the Kingdom following the Antichrist (AH.V,30,4, p. 560). Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 399-400.
117. AH.V,35,2, p. 565-6.
118. AH.V,35,1, p. 565; cf. also V,34,4, p. 564-5.
119. AH.IV,20,10, p. 490-1; cf. V,34,4, p. 564-5.
120. AH.V,32,1, p. 561.
121. AH.V,6,1, p. 532.
122. "...On peut donc le comprendre comme une figure qui doit prendre forme dans l'histoire pour se consommer dans l'éternité..." Pierre Evieux, "Théologie de l'accoutumance dans Irénée", RSR 55 (1967), p. 52.
123. AH.V,35,1, p. 565; also cf. Evieux, op. cit., p. 49.
124. Evieux, op. cit., p. 51.
125. AH.V,32,1, p. 561; cf. V,31,1-2, p. 560. It would appear that in this same Asiatic tradition Methodius of Olympus understood that the flesh during the millenium would remain essentially corruptible. It would receive only a longevity like that of Adam in Paradise (of one thousand years). This is presumably how Irenaeus would understand the millennial state of preparation for and becoming accustomed to the incorruptibility inherent in the post-millennial state of vision of the Father. Cf. Methodius, Conv. IV,5; Daniélou, op. cit., p. 382.
126. AH.V,35,2, p. 565-6; "...In this respect his exegesis of the Revelation is coherent. The mention of the rebuilding of Jerusalem is important for it shows to what extent the ideas expressed here by Irenaeus were those of the Asiatic millenarianism of Cerinthus and Montanus, for whom the Jerusalem theme was of the first

importance. At the same time he reveals the sources of this theme by showing that it is connected with the prophecies of Isaiah, understood in their literal sense" Daniélou, op. cit., p. 388.

127. AH.V,32,1, p. 561.
128. AH.V,9,4, p. 535.
129. AH.V,23,2, p. 551.
130. For background research on the "thousand years" of this tradition, cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 390-396. On p.393 he writes: "...It is clear, however, that in this context of ideas, the chronological aspect of the millenium is secondary; what matters is that it points to a paradisaal state of existence..."
131. AH.V,34,4, p. 564-5.
132. AH.V,34,2, p. 564.
133. AH.V,33,3, p. 562-3.
134. AH.V,33,3, p. 562-3.
135. AH.V,33,4, p. 563.
136. Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 362-3.
137. AH.V,33,4, p. 563.
138. AH.V,35,1, p. 565; cf. Isaiah 40:1-4; 41:19.
139. AH.V,35,1, p. 565.
140. Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 383.
141. Cf. above, Ch. III, p. 92-3; 97-98. Wingren supports this view of Irenaeus' motivation: "This comprehensive view of the renewal of nature in the regnum is in complete harmony with what is central to the theology of Irenaeus. When man becomes man and reaches his destination, God's decree for Creation is fulfilled. And it is an integral part of this original decree that man is to "rule" all other living creatures on the earth..." op. cit., p. 185.
142. AH.V,33,1, p. 562.
143. Idem.
144. "...His intention in all of these arguments is explicit: to employ the eschatological hopes of his era as dis-putations against Gnostic dualism and its denial of the integrity and resurrection of matter." M. O'Rourke-Boyle, op. cit., p. 13.
145. AH.III,16,6, p. 442-3.

146. Cf. O'Rourke Boyle, op. cit., p. 14-15.
147. AH.V,35,2, p. 565-6.
148. Idem. cf. also V,36,3, p. 567.
149. AH.V,35,2, p. 565-6.
150. Idem.
151. Idem.
152. Idem.
153. AH.V,36,1, p. 566-7.
154. Idem. cf. also V,36,2, p. 567.
155. AH.IV,28,2, p. 501.
156. Although this particular passage may refer to the millennium, it does reflect Irenaeus' understanding of man as creature. Regnault projects this understanding into a consideration of man's final life with God: "Qu'au terme de la destinée humaine et au sein même de la splendeur divine où la créature est finalement plongée, il puisse y avoir encore place pour un progrès illimité et perpétuel, c'est là pour Irénée une certitude fondée sur la loi nécessaire de ses rapports avec Dieu. Demeurant toujours créature, l'homme aura toujours à recevoir ce royaume qui sera son héritage..." Ds Vol. 7 (2), col. 1965.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AH. The English version of the Adversus Haereses as in the Roberts and Donaldson edition. Cf. above, p. 520.
Dem. The English version of the Demonstration as translated by J.P., Smith in Proof of the Apostolic Preaching (coll. Ancient Christian Writers, 16), London, Longmans, 1952.
DS Dictionnaire de de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique, Paris.
NRT Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Tournai - Louvain - Paris.
RSR Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris.
RTAM Recherche de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, Louvain.
SC Sources Chrétiennes, Paris.
TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig.
VC Vigiliae Christianae, Amsterdam.