

THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR :

L'Obligation morale, principe de liberté, i vol. in-8°, 172 pp. published in the *Museum Lessianum*, Louvain, 1927. 15 fr.

La Dévotion envers l'Eucharistie, 1 pamphlet in-12, 40 pp. published in *Études religieuses*, n^{os} 75 and 76, 2^e, Liège, 1931. 3 fr.

Morale et corps mystique, 3^e ed. 2 vols, Brussels, L'Édition Universelle, 1949, in-8° of 278 and 152 pp. 120 and 75 fr.

Theology of the Mystical Body, 3^e ed. 2 vols. in-8°, Brussels, L'Édition Universelle, 1949, 388 and 402 pp. 175 fr.

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THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST

Historical Theology Studies

WITH

Preface by Fr. J. LEBRETON

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THIRD EDITION

REVISED AND EXPANDED

PART I

PARTS ONE AND TWO

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The second edition of this work was published in 1936. Between that date and his death (May 23, 1940), Fr. Mersch did not allow himself to be absorbed by his other works, to the point of neglecting Vamélioration of this one. He kept a copy of it on good paper at hand, which he would occasionally mark up with various annotations. To tell the truth, he hardly modified the text itself: at most, here and there, he changed a few editorial details, amended minor errors. But he has significantly expanded several of the bibliographies placed at the end of the chapter. He was very careful to search the periodicals and carefully noted all the titles of works and articles concerning the doctrine of the Mystical Body. We felt that this work could not be lost. We therefore offer the reader the text of the work, in the state in which Fr. Mersch left it at his death. Since then, and especially since the encyclical Mystici Corporis Christi, which Fr. Mersch did not have the joy of welcoming, studies on the Mystical Body have abounded, studies which the reader will not see mentioned here. But at least he will find a repertory, probably quite complete, of the works published up to the beginning

AVANT-PROPOS A LA TROISIÈME ÉDITION

of the year 1940.

We did not think it necessary to introduce this work with a biographical note on its author. It is due to the fervent friendship of Fr. Jean Levie and all the good judges were unanimous in declaring that it wonderfully rendered the spiritual physiognomy of the deceased.

*If the reader will remember that the work entitled *Morale and Mystical Body* has recently appeared in a third edition, considerably increased by posthumous writings, he will see that it is now possible to obtain the complete corpus*

VIII FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION

Mersch's studies on the mystical body, a body of work composed of three major works: The Mystical Body of Christ, Studies in Historical Theology, 2 vols; Morality and the Mystical Body, 3rd edition, 2 vols; Theology of the Mystical Body, 2 vols. It is safe to assume that this beautiful body of work will long merit the meditation of the Christian.

L. MALEVEZ, S. I.

PREFACE

The deepest realities of our spiritual life are also the ones we know the least about. The God in whom we have "life and movement and being" is for many people the "unknown God". Thus Christ Jesus, our "inseparable life", appears to many Christians only in the distance of his earthly life, or up there, in paradise, where he awaits us; and yet already here below, he is the vine of which we are the branches, he is the head of which we are the members. He repeats to us, as he did to the apostles after the Last Supper, "Remain in me, and I in you"; and this word is mysterious for us, as it was for the apostles.

The Lord Himself revealed this mystery to us, St. Paul and St. John enlightened it with their doctrine, the holy Church preaches it to us unceasingly, by the voice of her doctors, by the life of her saints, by her prayer; all the effort of this book is to help us penetrate it. This preface does not pretend to complete this lucid and vigorous exposition, still less to give it a recommendation which it does not need. The author has asked me to write a few pages here; I have yielded to his invitation, certainly not to lend him the support of an authority that I do not have, but to give myself the joy of speaking to Christians about the mystery of our life, about what unites us to our Head and to one another.

As a historian of Christian origins, I would like to draw the attention of readers to the first revelation of this mystery. It appears in the life of Christ Our Lord and in the origins

The Church's history is not without its fruits: if we understand the price and the way in which the apostles were raised to this source of life, we will be able to foresee the efforts that they had to make in order to reach this source of life. And this historical study is not without fruit for us: if we understand at what cost and by what way the apostles were raised to this source of life, we will be able to foresee the efforts we must make and the path we must follow.

When the Son of God became incarnate, He entered the world as the King of creation; He was so by right of nature. "When God brought the Firstborn to earth, He said, 'Let all the angels worship Him. This homage which the angels paid to Him, men owed to Him not only as to the Son of God, but as to the new Adam, as to Him who was to recapitulate in Himself all mankind; Israel was particularly obliged to this towards her Messiah, the flower of Jesse, the glory of her race. And yet Israel rejected Him, and mankind disregarded Him; "He came to his own, and his own received Him not.

From this apostasy, from this unbelief, the mercy and wisdom of God will triumph; Jesus Christ will create a new Israel, of which he will be the head and the life; but this new creation will only take place through his death and resurrection; and no one will be born again to this new life, except by dying and rising with Christ. This is the mystery of the cross, folly for the Gentiles, a scandal for the Jews, but the strength and wisdom of God.

The first disciples of Jesus did not suspect, when they gave themselves to Him, at what price they would have to buy the kingdom of God, which they were pursuing. They love their Master, they believe in Him, they give themselves to Him; and Jesus, knowing that they could not yet bear it, does not first offer them His cross; He still veils from them for a time the ruin and dispersion of Israel, the loss of all that was most sacred to them here below. All this will not begin to appear to them until they have already had some experience of the life which the Son of God brings them.

On the first day, they followed him without knowing him, on the faith of their first teacher, John the Baptist. These first impressions were engraved in the memory of one of the Precursor's disciples, the apostle John. He still hears this word spoken to the crowd, "There is one among you whom you do not know," and then, above all, a few

days later, this testimony that decided his life: "Behold the Lamb of God!" Andrew and John left their master for Christ; they gave themselves to Jesus timidly at first, but sincerely, and little by little they were seized by that sovereign hand whose embrace no force can break.

The one to whom they have given themselves in this way is the one who will say to them: "I am the life"; and indeed they believe and understand better and better that he alone "has the words of eternal life", that he is "the bread of life which came down from heaven". At the same time, they feel that everything that had made up their lives up to that point is withering and falling away. Their first teacher, John the Baptist, was longing to disappear; indeed, he has disappeared into prison and the tomb. The lake and its boats had to be left behind; Zebedee was left alone with his labourers; his sons left him. "Whoever loves his father and mother more than me is not worthy of me"; "I have not come to bring peace, but a sword."

And dearer still than the family, Israel is torn apart, its unity broken for ever. How often they have sung the Psalms of the Ascents, "How good, how sweet it is for brothers to dwell together!" "I was glad when they said to me, 'Let us go to the house of Jahveh! Here we stand at your gates, Jerusalem! Jerusalem, you are built as a city where all things are held together'..." All this unity was directed towards Christ; Christ is there, and he is "a sign of contradiction". "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often have I wished to gather all thy children together as the hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and thou wouldst not!"

And the Lord added: "Behold, your house will be left to you desolate"; of the temple "there shall not be left one stone upon another". And yet God had raised it up, and Christ was to be its cornerstone. The builders have rejected it, and the stone will fall on them and crush them.

In the souls of these children of Israel, what anguish when they heard these threats and saw Jesus weeping over Jerusalem! Their whole religious life was based on this building which now threatens to fall into ruin; not a stone of the temple will be left standing; of Israel there will be what remains of the grapes in a vineyard after the harvest.

And yet, more imperious than ever, they felt the desire to be united with God, and all together, in Him; and mysteriously this union was being formed, this new life was invading them. Little by little the Good Shepherd formed his "little flock"; these men whom he was regenerating, who were not born of flesh and blood, but of God, he united them by the intimacy of a divine life whose strength they did not yet suspect.

There is nothing more dramatic in the Gospel than this slow transformation of the first disciples. What they see perishing, their temple, their people, is what they had committed their lives to; in the anguish of this ruin they are sustained by the words of the Forerunner, by the appearance of Moses and Elijah at Tabor, and better still by the words of the Father at the baptism and transfiguration: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; listen to him"; and in the depths of their hearts, often this divine word is heard; it is not flesh and blood that reveals to them the Son of God, it is the heavenly Father. But their daily support, both visible and intimate, is Christ; his words are "spirit and life"; his works are the works of God; and he himself, so close to them by his love, and at the same time so holy! he is the "holy one of God", he is the Son of God, and whoever penetrates him cannot see him without seeing the Father.

But to penetrate it in this way and to be transformed into it, the light and grace of the Holy Spirit are needed, and this supreme gift will be assured to the Church only through the death of Christ. "If the grain of wheat does not fall to the ground and die, it remains alone; if it dies, it bears much fruit... When I am lifted up from the earth, I will draw all to myself."

And this is the supreme test of the apostles' faith; this union they are pursuing with God and with each other, only Jesus can ensure it. He dies, all the support they had taken from him is withdrawn; everything seems to collapse with him. The cry that rises to their lips is that of the disciples at Emmaus, "We had hoped!" Our Lord foresaw this scandal and warned them, "The shepherd will be struck down, and all the sheep will be scattered."

And yet it is from this mortal blow that the Church will be born. As early as the Last Supper, the apostles could have understood this if

their faith had been firmer and more clear-sighted. "This is my body, given up for you... This chalice is the new covenant in my blood...". This body and blood in which they receive communion is a victim already doomed to death; but it is the victim of the Covenant, the one who unites them to God and to each other, the one who gives them life through the merit of his death and the virtue of his resurrection.

And indeed, a few hours later, Jesus dies; hell is defeated, God is reconciled with humanity. The resurrection of Christ puts the divine seal on this reconciliation. The scattered flock is gathered by the Shepherd; and it will no longer be only the small handful of disciples seen around Him; it will be that immense crowd of wandering sheep, those "scattered sons of God" whom the Shepherd has seized by His death and reunited into a flock (*Joh.*, xi, 52). And then it is Pentecost: the Son of God pours out on his faithful the Holy Spirit that he promised them; it is the dew of heaven that makes of all these grains the same dough, the same bread. The Church is born. Around her, all that is carnal disintegrates; Israel, the holy city, the temple, like a body that the soul has abandoned, falls into dust; but a new body arises, animated by a divine life, which death will not wither.

Men are called by God, not only the sons of Abraham according to the flesh, but all the sons of the promise. They are to form a new Israel, the body of Christ; but to be incorporated into it, to be taken up by its life, they must die to the flesh. This severe law, to which Jesus subjected himself and which he imposed on his first disciples, he does not free anyone from it. "No one can enter the kingdom of God unless he is born of water and the spirit," and no one can be born of the spirit without dying to the flesh. Jesus said of Israel, "Every plant which my Father has not planted must be plucked up"; so it will be in every man; and this is what is expressed in the parable of the vine: "Every branch in me that bears no fruit, my Father will pluck up; and every branch that does bear fruit, he will prune off, that it may bear more fruit. Let us look at the vine in the springtime; let us see what remains on the stock after the pruning, and we shall understand the jealous care with which God purifies those whom He wishes to make His children.

This Gospel teaching is even better understood when we reread the epistles of Saint Paul and contemplate his life. Everything is summed

up in two words: death and life.

"We all who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death; we were buried with him by baptism into death, that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we should walk in newness of life. For if we have become one plant with him by conformity to his death, we shall also be one plant with him by conformity to his resurrection; knowing that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that we should no longer be slaves of sin; for he who has died is free from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall live with him, knowing that Christ, having risen from the dead, dies no more, that death has no power over him; for his death is a death to sin once and for all; his life is a life for God. So you, think that you have died to sin, and that you live to God in Christ Jesus." (*Rom.*, vi, 3-11).

How many other texts echo this capital text: "I died to the law in order to live to God; with Christ I have been crucified; I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. (*Gai.*, 11, 19-20.) "Those who are Christ Jesus' have crucified their flesh with its passions and desires; if we live by the spirit, let us walk in the spirit." (*Ib.*, v, 24-25.)" If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness!" (*Rom.*, vin, 10.) " We carry the death of Jesus in our bodies all the time, that the life of Jesus may appear in our bodies. For we who are alive are constantly being given up to death for Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may appear in our mortal flesh. So death works in us, and life in you." (*II Cor.*, iv, 10-12.)

These texts are so familiar to us that the point may be blunted; sometimes we can only see in them a habitual, intense contemplation, a constant remembrance of the death and resurrection of Christ, animating the apostle, filling his heart and guiding his life. There is this, no doubt, but this contemplation is only the fruit of the union of the Christian with Christ, of the member with the Head, and the principle of this union is not the mental activity of man, it is the Spirit of the Lord.

Faith prepares this union, it is the condition, not the origin; it is baptism which creates it: "All of you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. (*Gai.*, ni, 26). And this union makes us die to sin and live to God; all that is carnal in us is doomed to death; but

the spirit is seized by life, and from now on, as long as we are here below, this double action will continue.

"Therefore we do not faint; but though the outward man is going to ruin in us, the inward man is being renewed day by day. And our light afflictions of the present time produce for us an eternal weight of glory, and our eyes are fixed not on visible things, but on invisible things; for visible things are transient, and invisible things are eternal; and we know that if this house which we inhabit on earth is destroyed, we have in heaven a building which is the work of God, an eternal dwelling place which is not made with human hands. So we groan in this (earthly house), desiring to put on our heavenly dwelling, if at least we are found clothed and not naked. For while we are in this tent, we groan, burdened, because we desire not to be stripped, but to be clothed, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life." (*II Cor.*, iv, 15 - v, 4).

This admirable text shows well where this divine action tends; its jealousy is extreme; but it is the jealousy of life which cannot suffer in the living organism a dead flesh; it eliminates it, or rather it devours it, it "swallows" it. No asceticism will be more demanding than this one; none will radiate with a more magnificent or more assured hope. Everything must be mortified; but it is because everything can and must be seized by life; the flesh itself, this humble flesh that a haughty gnosis despises, God wants to vivify it.

So the more the Apostle feels himself invaded by the death of Christ, the more he triumphs: "I take pleasure in infirmities, in insults, in calamities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake; for it is when I am weak that I am strong." (*II Cor.*, xn, 9-10.) "If we have died with Christ, we shall also live with Him." (*II Tim.*, 11, 11.) This life does not appear only in the distance, as the reward promised to Christian mortification; but even now we possess the outline of it in ourselves, in the action of the Spirit who makes us children of God: "The Spirit himself testifieth to our spirit that we are children of God; if we are his children, we are also his heirs, heirs of God, joint-heirs with Christ, if we suffer with him, that we may be glorified with him." (*Rom.*, vin., 16.)

No doubt this divine action does not do us violence; our cooperation is free, and it is indispensable; we must "put to death by

the spirit the works of the body, in order to live" (*Rom*, (Rom. vii. 13); but this is only a cooperation; the active principle of this mortification and of this life is the Spirit; it depends on us to be seized by this current or to withdraw from it; but our initiative could not make up for it; it is necessary indeed that it seize us, uniting us to Christ, to His death and to His resurrection. "He died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all, that they who live should no longer live for themselves, but

for him who died and rose again for them." (*II Cor.*, v, 14-)

And this life of the spirit, which we receive from Christ, is no longer an isolated life like the one we led in the flesh. It is a life that unites together all the members of the body. All the texts that pass before our eyes in this book will tell us again the intimacy of this union. The Israelites sang, "How good, how sweet it is for brothers to dwell - together!" The union of Christians is closer: it is no longer merely a common dwelling; it is one life, which spreads throughout the whole body, vivifying, developing, and making all the members act. We cannot contemplate this mystery without feeling its attraction; is not the reality it proposes to us the ideal that every human society pursues? But for this ideal to become a reality rather than a dream, we must first unite ourselves to the Head without whom the body has neither life nor unity. We must "grow in every way in him who is the head, Christ. Through him the whole body, being well organized and joined together, through the mutual help of the members, each working according to his measure, grows and is built up in love." (*Eph.*, iv, 15-16.)

And in the same way, this immense unity of the world, which we glimpse, can only be grasped in Christ: "All things were created by him and in him. And he exists before all things, and in him all things subsist; and he himself is the head of the body, the church; he is the principle, the firstborn from the dead, that he might have the preeminence in all things, because it pleased all the fullness to dwell in him, and through him to reconcile all things, pacifying by the blood of his cross, through him, all things that are on earth and that are in heaven." (*Col.*, 1:16-20.)

Thus this death of Christ, which tends in us to vivify all things, to unify all things, to pacify all things, seizes in its divine action not only humanity but the whole world. And here again these promises respond to our deepest aspirations; when the messianic prophecies gave a glimpse of a new heaven and a new earth, this vision of peace was not a delusion, but could only be realized through the death of the Son of God, the Firstborn of creation, the Savior of the world.

One word of the Lord will sum up all the information I have tried to develop in these few pages; Jesus had been led to the tomb of Lazarus; to overcome a last hesitation on the part of Martha, he said

to her: "If you believe, you will see the glory of God. This resurrection which Christ promises us, we must believe in it; and on this faith we must commit all that we have, and first of all our life, and lose it.

Every man can sense the attraction of this mystery of the Body of Christ; he sees in it all that he so greatly needs, true life, union with God and, in God, unity of all men and of the whole world. He senses it, he desires it; but he will not truly understand it until he enjoys it, until, resurrected by Christ to a new life, he has tasted, according to the words of Saint Peter, "that the Lord is sweet. This sweetness of the life-giving union of the member with the Head is the secret of the Christian, the hidden treasure that only he who possesses it knows.

But to all Christ offers it, "If you believe, you will see the glory of God." We must do honour to his word and commit our faith to it. We must buy this heavenly pearl at any price; and since it is the life of Christ in us, we must give up our selfish life; we must die; we must bury ourselves with Jesus. This burial is life-giving. We will no longer be our own, but we will be members of Christ; we will have lost our life, we will have found the divine life.

The holy day of Easter 1932.

JULES LEBRETON.

INTRODUCTION

In these pages we propose to study what St. Paul calls, in his epistle to the Colossians (i), the "mystery of Christ in us". The aim is to make this mystery better known by bringing together, in the best possible order, the marvels which Scripture and tradition have said about it.

But these marvels are so numerous, and also of such diverse orders, that it is almost indispensable to first give a general view of them, in order to link in advance the ideas that will follow, and thus to put in advance, in the inventory that will come, the necessary unity. Obviously, this can only be a summary, of which the whole work will be the explanation and justification.

The "mystery", therefore, is, above all, a wonder of unity. God has raised to a supernatural perfection the unity which, by nature, men possess among themselves. Henceforth, they are one, but one in Christ, one in such a transcendent way that they are as incapable of realizing it by their own strength alone, as they are incapable of representing it by their reason alone.

This unity takes hold of our being on all sides: it unites us to ourselves, it unites us to one another, it unites each and all of us to God, it unites each and all of us to Christ. Thus, multiplying itself in a way to adapt to the multiplicity that is in us, it clasps us, exactly as we are, in the unity that is in us.

(i) *Col.* i, 27. The text is studied in chapter v.

First of all, unity with Christ: this is the root of all the rest: it is from the Saviour that all their supernatural unity comes to men, as well as all their supernatural life. And what is life but a particular mode of unity?

For them, from the supernatural point of view, to exist is to be in Christ; to live before God, to have a price, a hope, an eternity, is still to be in Christ; to produce salutary works, to know, to hope, to love, is still and always to be in Christ.

He is the head, they are the members; he is the vine, they are the branches; he is the life in his source, they are the living; he is the unity, and they, though they are many, in him who is one, are one.

Between them and Him, everything is common. The greatness he has must extend to them; it is in him in fullness, it drifts to them by participation; but it pulsates in them with the beating of his heart. All that he is, and even all that he has done, and even his slightest gestures, is the cause of their most interior life. His purity, His justice, His holiness, "influence" them, as theology says; they become theirs, since He has made Himself theirs, and in this way they are made holy, just and pure before God, but only because of Him and in Him. His birth and life, his death and resurrection, especially his death and resurrection, are theirs too, since he is theirs; they are mysteriously prolonged, by the sacraments and by grace, in their regeneration, in their death to sin, in their exaltation to glory.

As his greatness passes into them and transfigures them, their miseries pass into him and are consumed there. In him, through his blood and his cross, sin no longer exists, and the consequences of sin, the sufferings, humiliations and death become causes of expiation and life, causes of joy. In short, in him and in him alone, the restoration and ennoblement of men takes place: freed from their leprosy, transformed into the likeness of Christ, they can approach God.

Union with God is the second union to be considered. This union, men are in Christ and only in Christ. Since he is God and since they are in him, in him they are divinized. Since he is the Son and they are in him, in him they are adopted children. Since he has the Spirit and they are in him, in him they have the Spirit. The grace that makes his humanity that of the Word of life is also the grace that

makes their humanity to them possess life within itself, but in him and in him alone. The justification which makes them intrinsically holy is the extension in the members of the action of the whole Trinity, which, at the incarnation, made the body and blood of their head the body and blood of the Holy of Holies.

This grace which comes from him is as immense as it is august: the elevation which it brings, it confers on all its members, and to all, in him alone. Therefore, by making the supernatural life of all in him, it also makes the unity of all in him.

Unity, then, of all men with one another in Christ, this is the third of the unions that we must study. Since all men live exclusively, before God, from their attachment to the same one and only Savior, they are all living with one another by that very thing which makes each one of them live within themselves. They are therefore Catholic, universal, men of the Church and of the universe, and this from within. In that which is most interior, in that Christ from whom they live, each one is completed by the others; they have, but with all of them, their life and their holiness, their works and their merits, which are undoubtedly their own, but at the same time belong to all. Each one has it in his own right and each one is intrinsically holy, since each member of Christ is truly alive, and each one has it by union with all the others - by communion with all the saints, living or dead - because all live in one and the same Christ. Such is the union of the human race with itself in this Christ.

Finally, we must add, the union of each man with himself; a deepening of the interior life; a divinization which affects the deepest self in its very substance. At the same time, there is a need to rise above oneself; a new code of purer morality, of supernatural morality; a demand for holiness, chastity and, above all, Christian charity. In Christ, one must live for God and for one's brothers and sisters, because in Christ one lives with them.

The mystery, as we can see, is, as far as God is concerned, a prodigy of goodness, and as far as man is concerned, a prodigy of transfiguration, of life, of holiness and above all of unity. To say what it is, no formula is sufficient, the summary we have just read is terribly insufficient and the pages that follow will not be able to express everything. In order to give a complete picture, it would be

necessary to go through the whole of Christian doctrine and show how, always and everywhere, it speaks of the union that all receive with God, all together, in Christ.

In fact, it is by saying what Christianity is that the Fathers say what the union of man with Christ is. It is, for example, by explaining that the Church is one and necessary, that they make known that in it one is incorporated into Christ; it is by speaking of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, that they give a doctrine on the divinization which is conferred on the members of the incarnate Word. Often even this latter doctrine is rather assumed than treated *ex professo*. Such occasional teachings, it may be guessed, are not always easy to discern. The task will be made easier by the foregoing overview.

The mystery is therefore, in essence, a wonder of unity.

But what exactly is this unit?

On this point, opinions are divided. In the first place, there are false ones, which we will mention here so that we do not have to come back to them.

Let us say, then, that this unity would be misunderstood, or rather not understood at all, if we were to imagine that Christians are really and absolutely Christ himself,

or - if the reader will pardon the expression - that they are fragments, moments of Christ. We would thus fall into a kind of pantheism, a "panchristianism" rather, as contradictory as it is simplistic, and - extremely fertile in absurd consequences. The judgment is harsh, but it must be made: the distortions of the most excellent things are the most unbearable. We know to what selfish pride, to what stubbornness in the most bizarre ideas, to what perversions even, an enlightened devotion can lead. Disdain for human acts, because, all in all, they are nothing, not being acts of the Saviour; or proud esteem for these same acts, because they are decreed to be the very acts of Jesus; the lowering of Christ to our purely human level or the pretence of walking on his level, in short, the forgetting of what is most essential to Christianity, such may be the end of the exaggerations of which we are speaking, and the outcome shows what was worth the direction of departure.

We would be mistaken again, but less seriously, if we trusted, in such a serious matter, to imagination and feeling rather than to reason and faith. This is what would happen, for example, if one wanted, by all means, to represent the mystical body by an image, and by an image which one would consider perfectly accurate. Images are certainly needed by the man who thinks nothing without a phantasm, and Scripture provides several of them here. But the error would be to take the image as a definition and to imagine that we know exactly the mystery of the head and limbs, because we imagine a sort of great ethereal and invisible organism, or a sort of living atmosphere where the souls would melt into each other. Needless to say, if one allows oneself to be led in this way by the madwoman of the house, one is heading towards all kinds of aberrations?

From time immemorial it has been necessary to warn Christians against false mysticism. In our time, this precaution is at least as necessary as ever. To say here what forms the illusion takes is quite useless; but it is clear enough that the doctrine of the mystical body can be a mask which it uses: since always, the mire of darkness likes to disguise itself as an angel of light.

Words, moreover, encourage temptation. The term mystical body awakens in some minds ideas of complicated devotion, sentimentality, spiritual ambition, aspiration towards extraordinary,

ecstatic, and sometimes morbid states. Perhaps it is for this reason alone that many hold it in suspicion.

Unfortunately, these prudent distrusts are not the only drawback to be feared. Among the less informed and less educated faithful, or those with less common sense, the very doctrine of the mystical body, like all truths, lends itself to being misunderstood.

There are some, for example, who might think that it dispenses with effort and that, as long as one is a member of Christ through baptism, asceticism and mortification have no reason to exist. What is the use of watching oneself and attacking one's faults, what is the use of working in one's prayer and stimulating one's mind to make it think and love, since the goal is to forget oneself and these traditional tactics of spirituality only encumber the soul with itself? All one has to do is to absorb oneself in Christ, to become tender in the thought - let us be forgiven the expression - that one dissolves in him like a melt, and this affectionate persuasion would be a good substitute for particular examinations and austerities.

How false and narrow these views are is abundantly shown by Scripture and tradition, as the following pages will show. The life of Christ in the faithful and of the faithful in Christ, as it sums up the whole of religion, also sums up all the precepts of Christian asceticism. It does not suppress anything, as we shall see; it repeats everything, but with a fuller and more penetrating meaning; with more intransigent demands too, but, at the same time, more acceptable.

The purpose of these pages is not to refute the illusions mentioned above and the false ways of representing unity in Christ. It is only a question here of seeking the truth; but, *verum index sui et falsi*, the truth, even by itself, is the best antidote against error.

These are bad ways of conceiving the mystical body. But the right one, we must now ask ourselves, the right one, what is it?

The answer is that there are two, both good, both orthodox.

The first is characterized by its realism and mysticism. Here is a summary of it. The great preoccupation which drives it is to go to the end of the scriptural and patristic affirmations. According to her, Christians have a true union with Christ, a real and ontological union;

truly and really, he is in them, and they in him; truly and really they are all one in him, as he is one with the Father. It does not matter that this union is difficult to explain; is it such a great pity that God has given men, with his Son, a more perfect union than their own ideas, which are always so short? That it may be misunderstood is still true; are not all truths there? But it is no less real. The thing is to explain oneself clearly and carefully when one speaks of it. It is understandable that one should hesitate to call it physics: it would seem to place it within the framework of the natural order. That one does not wish to see, in the expression of mystical body, limbs and head, a thesis statement from which one can draw all possible consequences, is nothing more wise: these metaphors, for they are metaphors, indicate a transcendent unity with respect to the entities of biology of which they speak. The best way to name it is to keep its traditional name, and call it mysticism. But it must be understood that this term is by no means synonymous with the vaporous and semi-real. It means, on the contrary, something that goes beyond, in fullness and reality, the objects of nature, and also the positive ideas that our reason can form.

The other way of conceiving does not go so far and the union it describes, real without doubt, is real of a paler reality, a reality of a moral order. What holds it back is not, of course, the texts of Scripture and the Fathers; they are as forceful as possible. It is the concern, very legitimate, it must be said, not to multiply the mysteries of the faith without reason. Everything is explained, therefore, according to her, if we take into account the resemblance of Christians to Christ and their absolute and multiple dependence on him. The Lord is the model of all their virtues, the principle of all their hopes, the redeemer of all their sins, the source of all their supernatural life. He is the exemplary and meritorious cause of their justification; he is even, in a certain sense, the final and efficient cause. He is their Emmanuel, their master, their conductor, their friend, their brother, their all, and they are nothing before God except with him and through him. In short, all the ties that can bind one man to another, they have with him, and many more, and much stronger. This is more than enough for the Christian doctrine to be able to assure that he and they are one body, a mystical body.

Between these two conceptions, the Church has never pronounced itself. Each has its advantages, if only that of forcing the other into moderation. The second is clearer, easier to explain and understand. The other, in our opinion at least, is richer in doctrine, more supported by Scripture and the Fathers, more in keeping with the analogy of faith, and, if what it says is more mysterious, this mystery is not so much a difficulty of understanding which is added to the others, as a transcendent truth which helps us to understand the other truths to some extent.

That is to say that, for our part, our choice is made. In the following pages, we will express ourselves according to this first conception, and these pages will show whether it is right or wrong.

But we do not think of fighting the other way of conceiving, nor even of discussing it. The mystery of Christ in us is a mystery of union, and we must not take as a given the arguments against his brother in texts that speak only of charity and understanding.

Theology can and must sometimes be combative when it has before it enemies of revelation, whether declared or not, whether conscious or not. But here, there are no adversaries. All, jealous of the same orthodoxy, are equally eager to seek, and to seek together if possible, the same truth.

Therefore, the search for the truth is difficult enough here, so that we do not bother with polemics.

It is not for nothing that the unity we are dealing with here has received, as its usual designation, the term mystical, mysterious. It is not in vain that it is linked to all the dogmas, even the most obscure, of our faith. In order to understand it, one would have to understand what the Incarnation is, which brought it here below, what the divine life is, to which it is linked, what the justification of men is, of which it is an aspect, what original sin is, of which it is the reparation, what the Eucharist is, of which it is the proper effect, in short, one would have to understand the whole of Christian doctrine. It is useless to pretend here below to have such clarity. It is only in the day of eternal light, "that day", as Jesus says in St. John, that Christians will know how Christ is in the Father, and they in Him, and He in them (*Joh.*_t

xiv, 20).

In the meantime, we must be content with the half-light of this earth, a light that study and reflection can increase, a light that is very fruitful and very desirable, but always imperfect.

When God speaks of this unity of grace, in Scripture and in the Fathers, He uses comparisons and suggestive but imprecise expressions much more than definitions and rigorous expositions. The formulas retain a certain vagueness, in which reason, always geometric, does not find the clear and distinct concepts that satisfy it.

Obviously, since it is so, it is good that it is so. God who knows better than men, and the splendours

of whom he speaks, and the poor intelligences to which he addresses himself, knows better than they do the most suitable way of making them glimpse something of the transcendent realities. He speaks to them of the "mystery" as he spoke to the Jews of old, *prout poterant audire*, according as they are able to hear.

For us, at the moment of collecting and repeating his message, we want to admit only one concern, a concern that we would like to be religious, that of repeating it exactly as it is. The first duty, when reporting the thought of another and even when expressing one's own thought, is not to be clear; it is to be faithful and well modelled on the copy. Pelagius' ideas on grace are simpler to understand than those of Saint Augustine. Does this prove that they are better? Can it not even be the case, when it is a question of raised realities, and especially of supernatural realities, that the limpidity of the exposition is a sign that the real difficulty, that is to say, the real wonder, has been removed?

As long as it comes from God, all data is good. So we will take them all: vague when they are vague, clear when they are clear, unfinished when they are unfinished. We shall try not to add anything, not even adventitious clarity, and not to suppress anything, not even that which appears to our eyes to be nocturnal, excrescences or obscurities. Out of reverence for the truth, and also out of respect for the reader, we shall do everything, obviously, to be precise and easy; but we pray to God not to betray either the truth or all of us who have no need of it.

The difficulty of a subject is not a reason for not studying it; on the contrary: it is at the obscure crossroads that we must multiply the clarity. We may be told, "Don't talk about these things, you risk being misunderstood!" The detestable advice! Is it by keeping quiet that we can get along? Or are there dangerous truths in our religion, truths which must be avoided, truths which, by themselves, are only apt to give rise to false ideas and vain discussions?

God, who has revealed everything, has made his revelation full of grace and truth. If certain points in it are richer in lessons and interest, they must be those which are the most essential to it, as it were, because they speak more expressly of him who is the truth and of the way in which he wishes to dwell in his own. Now, the doctrine of the mystical Christ is one of these; it is even, one might say, the first of these. It is to be expected, therefore, that it will be even more overflowing than the others in life-giving light and comforting teachings.

Could one believe, moreover, that God, who is clarity and who wishes to shine in souls, has not placed all the light they need in this truth, which expresses precisely the communication that He is making to them of His most pure and most splendid Word?

The whole point, we believe, is to seek and want no other light than that which it offers, to resign oneself joyfully to the shadows it wants to leave, to take all the indications it provides, assured that they explain each other and that the sentences of the message, forming little by little a whole, give themselves by their approximation the best commentary.

Christian doctrine, as is well known, has been constantly developing, by a providential progress.

Throughout the Old Testament, and even in the early days of the New Testament, it was enriched with new truths, with revelations that complemented each other.

With the death of the last apostle, this progress by external additions came to an end, but another began, or rather, continued, a progress by more total intellection and by more perfect proposition. It is no longer the revealed that increases, but man who advances in the understanding of the revealed.

We will have to consider this double progress in every page of our work. For the moment, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, we want to say one thing and one thing only. It is that it is, above all, the work of God. Not of God alone:

God uses second causes and human reason. But God, and God alone, remains the source of truth. He, and He alone, reveals; He, and He alone, by watching over the revealed deposit, ensures and guarantees

its perpetual identity.

To study such a complex and challenging subject is an immense task. It is enough to say that, on the point which occupies us, we do not think of fulfilling it entirely. Our intention is only to consider some aspects of it, to write a series of *studies, which are in themselves separate from each other*. Each one will be devoted to one of the moments of doctrinal progress. As the moments they consider seem to us, perhaps wrongly, to be the principal ones, or at least to contain the greatest number of the principal ones, their ensemble will contain the first lineaments of a history.

As was necessary, we have arranged them in chronological order. First, those which have to do with Sacred Scripture, then those which have to do with tradition. In tradition, we have considered first the Greek Fathers, then the Fathers and the ecclesiastical authors of the Western Church. This last division, which was required for the clarity and logic of the presentation, has led us to depart from the chronological order. But by a very short distance. For the point which concerns us, we can consider that, as a whole, the Western tradition follows on from, and is an exact continuation of, the Eastern tradition.

For ancient times, up to the time of St. Augustine, we believe we have discovered, not all the interesting texts, certainly, but at least most of the principal ones. For the times closer to us, we can no longer say the same. The number of authors and works that should have been studied became more and more considerable as we advanced. All we have been able to do is to find a few sections of one of the routes that the tradition followed to reach us. But to record all the routes would have been impractical.

Something similar must be said of our studies as a whole. Even where we believe we have spotted the main milestones, we would not dare to trace the route that links them. The documents are too rare and their indications too occasional.

In the present state of knowledge, it is often difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the totality of a given Father's explicit teaching on this point, to discover from whom and how God wished him to receive this teaching, to detect the influences which God used

to lead him to present it from such and such an angle and with such and such more marked features. It would be foolhardy to try to follow the development of this doctrine from the historical point of view in all its continuity; the path, too often, is lost to our eyes in the night.

All the more reason, obviously, to look with all one's attention at the points which appear in the best light; to note well, at these privileged moments, the particularities and nuances which the doctrine presents; to note, finally, everything which may be an indication of invisible influences or hidden connections.

All the more reason, above all, to consider that, beside this historical order, there is the logical order and the connection that ideas have between them by their very meaning. Has not Providence been able to make use of this second order, as of the first? Is it necessary, in order for one Father to continue the teaching of another, that he should have thought of continuing it, and even that he should have known that other Father? Or would the history of Christian doctrine have unity only in the minds of the men who propose it, and not in itself, and not in the Spirit of God?

We must not lose sight of the fact that the object we are dealing with here is a special one. We say that these are *studies of historical theology*. It is not a question of studying the history of an ordinary doctrine, a doctrine which men have found and enriched in their own way, that is to say, in several stages, by trial and error, by corrections and changes. It is a question of a truth, always the same, which an infinite wisdom, always the same, by a manifestation that continues through the centuries, always more complete, but always the same, gradually lets fall into the souls of men, in proportion as its goodness, always the same, makes their intelligence more limpid.

We did not have to ignore this unwavering identity, this perpetual continuity.

We are counting on it to explain the passages we are going to mention; to complete, by the light brought by all these passages, what the interpretation of one or another of them could be incompletely established; to show, finally, that through these texts, however separated their authors may be by time and distance, what is expressed is the same truth and the same infusion of this truth into men.

We have also chosen to quote extensively. The reason for this is not only that, from the historical point of view, there is nothing like contact with the sources. It is especially because the texts alleged are words of Scripture and of the Fathers and as such have a special value from the theological point of view. They are the very words that God willed; can we not believe that they are, in some way, bearers of light and intelligence, and that, in listening to them, God is heard in a more direct way?

Among our quotations, some may seem very pale, or even almost irrelevant to the subject we are dealing with. We do not deny that this may indeed be the case. However, we ask the reader not to discard them without asking himself if they do not shed light on some of the other texts, without also considering that the "mystery" has many different aspects, and, between these aspects, many connections.

To obviate this inconvenience to a certain extent, as well as to keep the text from becoming too cluttered, we have rejected in the notes what was not part of the development itself. Nevertheless, many repetitions remain. The Scripture

often returns to the same ideas, the Fathers like to underline what other Fathers have already highlighted. In order never to repeat the same thoughts, it would have been necessary not to show the Bible and tradition as they are. The reader will understand that we have been careful not to neglect precious bits of the divine gift.

In the things of God, the mind of man is not at home and it is not for him to judge the message; rather, it is for the message to judge him. There is a need, far more and even in a different way than elsewhere, for respect, reserve and humility. This is enough to say that we submit all that follows, not only to the authority of those who speak in the name of God, as is self-evident, but also to the appreciation of all those who, living in the life of Christ, are competent to know these interior realities: *et in servis suis judicet Christus*.

But if the resources of human intelligence are insufficient, it is all the more necessary to employ them all. When it comes to religious truths, the most scrupulous objectivity is required even more rigorously than elsewhere: the more divine the truth, the more sacred it must be. This means that we shall endeavour to be as exact and as faithful as possible. For such august texts, it would be folly and profanation to make them say anything other than what they say, or to bring out in them anything other than what they themselves bring out, or what is emphasized in the other texts which come to us from the same transcendent origin. Historical theology, without doubt, will only be historical if it is theology, that is, if it treats its object in the only way that is adapted to it and capable of making it understood, we mean, with humility, with respect, with the remembrance also that the one who speaks is the same one who - teaches in all the other documents of the faith. But also, it will be theology only if it is historical, that is, if it aims at all the rigor and precision that can be achieved, out of the conviction that the message, as God has given it, is infinitely better than anything that could be imagined instead, even if only for reasons of prudence.

In order to be closer to the truth, we would have liked to make our quotations in Greek or Latin, when the original is written in these languages. But that would have been to restrict to specialists the

public to which our work would have been addressed.

Now, we want to write for the Christian people in general. It is for them that we have gathered from their holy books and doctors, from their pontiffs and ecclesiastical authors, the passages which speak of the divine life which God has deposited in the Church.

Because of him, we wanted the collection to be quite complete; because of him, we wanted it to be easily accessible.

We therefore give, not the texts themselves, but their translation. Only, in the notes, references, and even sometimes, but rarely and for the main passages only, the transcription of the original, will facilitate the necessary verifications. If, by chance, to better mark the sequence of ideas or to underline connections, a few words of Greek or Latin have remained in the text, they can be passed over without fear. The context gives the translation, or at least it contains the equivalent of it.

With the same aim of being more widely accessible, we have borrowed these quotations from the editions that are most easily found. For the Old Testament, we have used the translation of A. CRAMPON: *la Sainte Bible, traduction d'après les textes originaux*, Paris-Toumai, numerous editions, - for the New Testament, to the *Novum Testamentum graece*, by H. J. VOGELS, Dusseldorf, 1920, to the *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* by E. NESTLE, Stuttgart, 1921, and the *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, by A. MERK, S. J., 2^e edition, Rome, 1935, - for the Fathers of the Church, to the *Patrologiae cursus completus* of MIGNE, Paris, 1844-1856. We designate this last collection by the abbreviation P. G. or P. L., depending on whether we are dealing with the Greek Fathers or the Latin Fathers.

It is true that Migne's Patrology is no longer perfectly up to date; often we have had to look outside of it, not only, as is all too clear, for documents which it does not contain, but also for lessons better established than his own. However, even in this case, even in quoting the more recent editions, we have insisted on maintaining, alongside the other reference, the reference to Migne.

The more recent texts of which we speak are contained especially in the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, edited by the Academy of Vienna, Vienna, 1866 and following years, and in *die*

Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, edited by the Academy of Berlin, Leipzig, since 1897. We quote them respectively by the abbreviations C. V. and C. B.

The works of less ancient authors, those of the scholastics and those of modern and contemporary theologians and ecclesiastical writers, are cited according to the editions which will be found mentioned in the chapters which are devoted to them.

These works, together with the Scripture and the Patrology of Migne, principally the Scripture and the Patrology of Migne, are the sources from which our work was composed. It is by reading and rereading them that we have found almost all the contents of these pages. We can therefore say that, for the most part, we have just indicated our bibliography.

We have undoubtedly been helped by a number of other publications: works of general scope concerning subjects close to our own, works of more limited interest, monographs, detailed studies, and works of approach. At the end of the chapter, we will mention in a note some of those which are related to our work as a whole or to considerable parts of it. Later, in the course of our research, we shall have occasion to point out those which may be useful for particular questions.

The truth is, however, that the help we have been able to draw from studies of this kind by others has been extremely limited. In spite of its great interest, perhaps because of its "mystical" air, the subject we are dealing with has remained very little looked at. Is it not significant, for example, that in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* by VACANT-MANGENOT-AMANN, Paris, 1893 et seq, there is no article dealing ex professo with the mystical body (1); that in the *Catholic encyclopedia*, New-York, 1907-1912, there is only half a column on this subject (2); that the *Kir Miches Handlexikon* of M. BUCH- BERGER, Fribourg, 1907-1912, has nothing (3); that the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, of F. VIGOUROUX, Paris, 1895-1912, with the *Supplement* of L. PIROT, Paris, 1926, ss.; the *Dictionary of the Bible* of J. HASTINGS, Edinburgh, 1898; the *Realency- klopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* of HAUCK, Leipzig, 1894-1904, also have nothing (4).

(1) See, however, the table of contents of volumes I-IX, Paris, 1929, col. 37. Several articles contain good but occasional indications on the mystical body; thus the articles *Augustine*, by E. PORTALIE, vol. I, col. 2424-2426; *Communion of Saints*, by P. BERNARD and R.-S. BOUR, vol. m, pp. 429-480; *Église*, by E. DUBLANCHY, (*l'Église, corps de Jésus-Christ*), vol. iv, pp. 2150-2155; *Jésus-Christ*, by A. MICHEL, vol. v, pp. 1233, 1242, especially pp. 1349-1355; *Jésus chef de son corps mystique; Justification*, by J. RIVIERE, vol. vin, pp. 2074, 2117-2122; *Paul*, by J.-B. COLON, vol. xi, pp. 2460-2467.

(2) T. x, col. 663; article signed J. H. JOYCE; he speaks only of doctrine in Scripture, gives a bibliography of three numbers and that is all. Nothing in W. E. ADDIS's and TH. ARNOLD's *Catholic Dictionary*, 8^e eds. London, 1909- A few words in J. BRICOUT, *Dictionnaire pratique des connaissances religieuses*, Paris, 1924-1925 (however, T. iv, pp. 49-50, half a column).

(3) In the second edition, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg, 1930 ff, the omission is repaired, see vol. m, col. 52 and vol. v, col. 977 (article *Kirche*, by L. KESTERS). - The *Kirchenlexikon*, by J. HERGENRÖTHER, 3^{me}, Freiburg, 1882-1903, also has nothing but a few words in *Kirche*.

(4) Nor in the dictionary *die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, i^{re} edition, Tubingue, 1909-1913; nor in the 2nd edition, Tubingue, 1927, ff.; nor in J. HASTINGS' *Y Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, London, 1908-1926. In J. HASTINGS' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, London, 1923, a few words; in F. LICHTENBERGER's *Y Encyclopedia of Religious Sciences*, Paris, 1877-1882, nothing; a few words in *mystical and body*, in W. F. HOOK's *Church Dictionary*, London, 1887. Nothing in HOLZMANN and ZOEPFFEL, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchenrecht*, Brunswick, 1888.

On the authors and writings we have quoted, we have drawn much information, of a historical, critical, literary and doctrinal nature, from the ordinary collections and directories. In addition to the dictionaries we have just enumerated, let us mention the *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* by O. BARDENHEWER, Freiburg, 5 volumes, t. 1, 2^e edition, 1913; t. II, 2^e edition, 1914; t. III, IV, V, 1912, 1924, 1932, - the *Institutiones Patrologiae* by J. FESSLER-B. JUNGSMANN, Innsbruck, 1890-1895, 2 volumes, - the *Précis de patrologie* by J. FIXERONT, Presb. S.-Sulp., 2^e edition, Paris, 1918, - the *Grundriss der Patrologie* of G. RAUSCHEN, 8^e -9^e edition, Freiburg, 1926, and 10^e -n^e edition, revised by B. ALTANER, *Patrologie*, Freiburg, 1931, - the *Précis de patrologie* of F. CAYRE, A. A., Paris-Tour-nai, 1927-1930, 2 volumes, - the *History of Christian Greek literature* of A. PUECH's HISTOIRE DE LA LITTÉRATURE GRECQUE CHRETIENNE, tomes II et III, Paris, 1928-1929, - J. FIXERONT's *Histoire des dogmes*, 11^e edition, Paris, 1930, - D. PETAU's *Dogmata theologica*, S. J., Paris, 1644, 5 volumes. To this must be added the

Bulletins d'histoire des origines chrétiennes, d'exégèse du Nouveau Testament, de théologie historique, de théologie biblique, d'histoire des doctrines chrétiennes, which Fathers J. LEBRETON, S. J., J. HUBY, S.J., A. D'ALES, S.J., A. LEMONNYER, O.P., M.-D. CHENU, O.P., regularly publish in the *Recherches de science religieuse* and in the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*. Protestant works, such as the *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* by A. HARNACK, Leipzig, 1893-1904, 4 volumes, and F. ZAHN's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestament-lichen Kanons und der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1881-1929, 10 volumes, the other works of A. The other works of A. HARNACK, R. SEEBERG, LOOFS, BETHUNE-RAKFR and DORNER on the history of dogma may provide the professional theologian with some useful information.

The reader who wishes to have more information on the authors we quote will find a bibliography at the end of each chapter. As the reader can see, the works cited represent a variety of trends.

As he will also note, they will be very limited in number: the subject we are dealing with is much too vast for us to do more than indicate, for each point, the books which guide the initial research and which put us on the trail of more abundant references. He will find in this same place the indication of the editions quoted and other - information of the same kind.

It only remains for us, in conclusion, to express our gratitude to Father J. de Ghellinck, for the precious indications he has been kind enough to give us, as well as to all those who have been kind enough to lend us their help and their lights.

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

This second edition contains everything that was in the previous one; except that a number of corrections have been introduced on details.

But it contains more. First, as was necessary, the bibliographies have been completed and updated. Secondly, some passages have been added. Most of these concern Sacred Scripture: some are intended to show clearly how each of the Gospels teaches in its own way the truth of the mystical body; others to expose the role played in the Pauline doctrine of the mystical body by the resurrection of Christ and the divinization of Christians. The rest is distributed somewhat throughout the work: the testimony of the epistle of Bamabé and of *II Clementis* has been studied at greater length, as well as the testimony of the first scholastics, and, above all, the teaching of the last popes on the subject of the union of the faithful with the Lord has been collected with greater attention.

It is not, moreover, the desire to improve the work still further that has been lacking, but time. This second edition had to follow the first one earlier than we thought; and other works in progress, of which we speak in our conclusion and for which this study is only a preparation, did not leave us the necessary leisure.

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XL VIINTRODUCTION

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FIRST PART

Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures

CHAPTER I

FIRST SKETCH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE POINT OF VIEW TO BE TAKEN FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: it is explained by the New Testament. The epistle to the Ephesians says that at the creation God wanted to make a work of union of all men, with Him, in Christ, in Christ who himself is the second Adam, the true Adam; - the epistle to the Galatians teaches that the whole of the ancient covenant is made, in reality, with Christ and with the members of Christ. The mystical body thus begins in the Old Testament; the true descent from Abraham.

THE OLD TESTAMENT. The mystical body, at these first beginnings, shows itself as a work of unity. UNITY OF THE HEBREWS AMONG THEMSELVES. One whole, one living being, one bride, one man, and whom God loves with a great love. UNION OF THE HEBREWS WITH GOD. God dwells in Israel; Israel is an appearance of God in the world; his cause is that of Jahweh; the holiness of Jahweh is reflected in him, so that he is entirely, as the New Testament would later say, a figure of Jesus Christ.

Incorporation into Christ is, above all, a work of unity: the unity of all men with God, the unity of all men among themselves, a unity which is effected by the union of all men with Christ.

It is under this aspect of unity that it shows itself from its origins and from the first documents that speak of it.

These documents are the oldest books of Scripture, the books of the Old Testament. It is with them that we will begin our study. However, Scripture itself warns us that, in order to understand the Old Testament properly, we need the light that the New Testament casts. *Novum in vetere latet, vetus in novo ^atet*, according to the theological adage (i).

(i) Cf. *II Cor.* ni, 13-17.

We will therefore take this detour, or rather this single path. It will show us the horizons in their entirety. Moreover, it is not long. To raise ourselves to the true point of view, it will suffice to read and study two passages of Saint Paul: they form the theological introduction to our study of the Old Testament.

The first of these passages is the prologue of the epistle to the Ephesians; it teaches us that, from the creation of the world, that is to say, from the beginning of God's ways in the finite, it was already the mystical body.

Perhaps it refers to errors which were spreading in Asia Minor and which, with their genealogies of angels and eons and their precepts on the use of material creatures, probably included a doctrine on the first origin of the sensible world, that is, on creation. Still, Paul, in writing to these churches (2), feels the need to give the Christian conception of creation from the beginning.

As far as we can tell, he places himself at the moment of reason when God foresaw original sin (3), and he says what was then God's will for our species.

Now, he declares forcefully, what God wanted then was not to produce a secular humanity in a profane world; it was to raise up the race of those who would be blessed, chosen and loved in Christ, that is to say, the race of those who would be incorporated into the mystical body.

The mode of being willed for man was thus "to be in", to be in Christ; human ontology, considered at its origins, was, in fact, a supernatural ontology, an ontology of members destined to be taken up into a body: we "are", in fact, to be members of the Saviour.

(1) *Col.* 8:23; *Col.* 16:18, 19; *I Tim.* 1:4; *II Tim.* 23. We know that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus.

(2) *Col.* iv, 16; *Eph.* 1, 1: ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is wanting in several mss.

(3) *Eph.* i, 7; *Col.* 1, 14.

Before Tunivers, then, we find ourselves before a grace, before grace, before union with God, which is offered, before Christ, head and body. So, at this spectacle, Paul opens his letter with a song of gratitude (i).

Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints who are [in Ephesus], and to the faithful in Christ Jesus, grace and peace be to you from God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

And the anthem bursts forth immediately:

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing in Christ in heaven, just as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world to be holy and without blemish before him in love, predestining us to be his adopted sons through Jesus Christ, according to the good pleasure of his will.

On this benevolent design, taken before the constitution of the world, *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* (2), he returns elsewhere still, so intrinsically Christian is creation for him. From the beginning, in fact, Christ is the end and centre of everything (3), everything was created in him and everything subsists in him (4).

The role of Christ and the conception of the mystical body that follows are at the same time cosmological and ecclesiological. What makes Christ the firstborn of every creature also constitutes him, as Paul explains (5), the head of every

(1) We usually quote Scripture according to the translation of CRAMPON. For the texts of Saint Paul, when their translation appears in the work of Fr. F. PRAT, S. J., *the Theology of Saint Paul*, Paris, 1923 and 1927, 2 vols, it is this translation that we give.

(2) *Eph.*, i, 4.

(3) *Eph.*, i, 10; cfr n, 22.

(4) *Col.* i, 14-20; he, 8 - ni, 4: in this passage the different errors spread by the false teachers of Colosse are contrasted with our incorporation in Christ. We shall see, moreover, that in order to show what the mystical body is, Paul refers to it as a new creation (chap. vu., pp. 176ff.).

(5) See especially *Col* 1:15-23. The Son is "the firstborn of every creature, because in him all things were created in heaven and on earth, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers; through him and for him all things are created; he is the supernatural unity of all creation, just as he is the Tunité of the supernatural work which God carries on in creation. It was necessary to note, from the beginning, this close solidarity of two conceptions which we will find again in the following.

Here we are at the beginning. What the first verse of Genesis is for the religious knowledge of the universe: *in principio Deus creavit caelum et terram*; what the prologue of the Gospel according to Saint

John is for the knowledge of the Word: *in principio erat Verbum*; these first lines of the epistle to the Ephesians are for the doctrine of the elevation to the supernatural state and of the incorporation in Christ. They say that God, who in the beginning made all things, loved us in the beginning of all his graces, in the Word who was in the beginning.

Just as there is, in God, a pre-existence of Christ with respect to the incarnation and to creation, so there is, in Christ, a pre-existence of the mystical body with respect to all that is created: the two are not separated. Thus, the unity of Christians, as soon as it is outlined in the Old Testament, but even more so when it reaches its conclusion at the end of the centuries, does not arise from the earth so much as it descends from heaven, where it is, as it were, effected in advance. St. John, in the Apocalypse (i), sees it coming from above: it is the new Jerusalem which comes adorned as a bride, and this heavenly Jerusalem, says St. Paul (2), is our mother. Just as the rivers that flow on earth have their first source in the clouds of heaven, the Church of which we live here below always preserves its first beginning in the eternal splendors, in Jesus Christ.

After the eternal decrees - if one can speak of after for an eternal thing - after these decrees, came the fulfillment.

was created. And he is before all things, and in him all things endure. And he is the head of the body of the church, as he is the principle, the firstborn from the dead, having thus the primacy in all things."

(1) *Apoc.* xxi, 2.

(2) *Gai.*, iv, 27,

God created man, and Adam was the preparation and figure of the God-Man who was in fact to come (i).

This, too, should be noted. The parallelism between the two Adams, which Paul already taught (2), has remained a doctrine familiar to tradition (3): is it not expressed by a simple symbol at the foot of each crucifix?

Now, this parallelism compares to Adam, not Christ as being isolated, but Christ as being the life of regenerated humanity, that is to say, the mystical Christ.

He means, therefore, that the inclusion of men in their first father was the prototype and image of the incorporation of men in their only savior.

The divine gifts, in fact, Adam lost them both for himself and for us.

But this decay was foreseen and God's plan continued to develop, but in spite of us, as it were. Only, in our race, now weighed down by evil, it can only be carried out with a slowness and with sufferings that a sinless nature would not have known.

This realization is told in the books of the Old Testament.

But, it must be repeated here, this realization, too, can only be seen clearly in the light of the New Testament, and it is St. Paul, once again, whom God has charged with giving the word.

He gives it in the epistle to the Galatians. Some Jews had come into the young church to cause consternation. They said that God's promises in the old law were for the Jews only and that unless - Christians were circumcised, they would remain excluded.

(1) *Rom.*, v, 14. - E. HOCEDEZ, S. J., *Our solidarity in Jesus Christ and in Adam*, in the *Gregorianum*, vol. xm, 1932 " P- 373-

(2) *Cor.*, xv, 20-22, 45-49; *Rom.*, v, 12-18.

(3) We will find it in Saint Irenaeus, in Saint Augustine and in many others. See the second part, ch. 11 and the third part, ch. iv, etc.

As if, from the time of the ancient covenant, God was not already thinking of his Son who was going to come to earth, and of those whom he would make members of his Son, answers Saint Paul; and he reassures Christians, the mystical body of Christ, by showing that it was already about them in the Old Testament.

The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, announced this good news to Abraham beforehand, "In thee shall all nations be blessed." So that those who are of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

This is what must be further proved; and here is how Paul does it:

Brethren, I speak in the manner of men, a contract, διαθήκη, in good form, though the covenant be made by a man, is not annulled by any man, nor does any man add to it... Now the promises were made to Abraham and his descendants, τῷ σπέρματι. He did not say to the descendants, τοῖς σπέρμασι, as if it were many, but, inasmuch as it is but one: to thy seed, τῷ σπέρματι, which is Christ (i).

The contract, the διαθήκη, to which St. Paul alludes is not exclusively the pact sealed with Abraham; it is, it seems, all the promises made by Jahve to his people, that is, it is the whole of the Old Testament. This whole Testament, in fact, made Israel great; this whole Testament, therefore, was probably what the Jewish zealots objected to; this whole Testament, finally, is what had to be explained. It is therefore the whole of it, we must believe, that Paul considers in what was its most solemn moment, that is, in the promises made to Abraham (2).

(1) *Gai.* ni, 8-9, 15-16. - XAV. A VALLISOLETO, O. Cap, "*Et semini tuo, quod est Christus,*" in *Verbum Domini*, t. χυ, 1932, p. 327.

(2) Compare Stephen's discourse, *Acts*, vu, 3-53, and Paul's discourse at Antioch of Pisidia, *Acts*, xni, 16. See also Epistle to the Romans, x; iv; π and ni, and *Gai.*, iv, 24.

This whole Testament, he explains, goes to the Christians, because they are the true descendants of Abraham.

For the covenant is made, in the first place, with Christ, and they are connected with Christ. Is not Christ the end to which the whole law tends and towards which it pushes souls by its predictions as well as by its rigours?

In the epistle to the Galatians, the Apostle demonstrates this point with a rapidity that one would be tempted to find cavalier, if the very pace of the reasoning were not the indication of an intuition given by the inspiring Spirit.

The seed of Abraham, Paul declares, Scripture designates by one word, σπέρμα, which it insists on always putting in the singular. It is, therefore, that this offspring comprises only one man, and this one man can only be Christ. It is therefore with Christ, and with him alone, that the covenant is made (2).

Yes, without doubt, one may say, but what does a word that always remains in the singular prove, if not a lexicographical peculiarity of Hebrew? Surely, but God, who creates language as well as everything else, can speak to us, if He pleases, even through grammar and lexicon. If He tells us that He was thinking of such and such a thing, even if it is immense, by taking one word rather than another to address us, and even by presiding over the formation of this word, He knows it well, and we know it too, since He warns us of it. Or does the history of words have the right to remain totally profane?

Besides, the Apostle does not linger on his reasoning. He goes straight to the consequences. If Christ is the only heir of the promises, he says, then we are also heirs, since we are in Christ.

(1) Romans, x, 4. It is known that the epistle to the Romans is closely connected with that to the Galatians.

(2) Cfr *J oh.*, v, 39, 46.

(3) St. Augustine comments on this passage in *Sermo CXLIV*, "*Et semini tuo, quod est Christus*". And since we are part of what Christ is (*et nos ad id pertinemus quod Christus est*), when we are all incorporated with him and joined together as with a head, it is one Christ. It is

This statement is full of doctrine, and we will have to come back to it when we come to explain the teaching of Saint Paul himself on the mystical body. All Christians, he says, have put on Christ; they are taken up in him; they are mystically him. It is therefore to them, as to him, that the promises go (1). Now, they and he, they in him, is the mystical body. It is thus towards the mystical body that the whole of the Old Testament moves (2).

This is an idea dear to the Apostle, and one which tradition has not lost. As creation is Christian, so is the Old Testament. The mystical body began in Abel, and even in Adam, the scholastics will explain, and all the pages of the ancient covenant tell how, little by little, it was formed.

This is the principle that should have been brought to light in our first pages. The entire Old Testament is concerned only with Christ, and with us in Christ.

Such a principle, of course, if it were an ordinary book, would be unacceptable: are we to look for the meaning intended by one author, in another author who wrote centuries later? Are we, - it is striking in the case of the word descent, σπέρμα - are we to seek the explanation of a term, in

What the Apostle tells us: "Therefore you are Abraham's descendants, heirs of the promise. (*Gai.*, m, 29). If, indeed, there is but one descendant of Abraham, and that one descendant, it must be understood, is Christ, that one descendant, so are we also, that is, that whole which is the head and the body and makes the one Christ." P.L., xxxviii, 790. It., *De doctrina Christiana*, ni, P.L., xxxiv, 82, quoted t. 11, p. 98.

(1) "Abraham, our father," he likes to say, even to Christians: *Rom*, iv, 16, 12. Cfr *Gai.*, iv, 22, ff.

(2) "The law, when understood in the spiritual sense, becomes the gospel." S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* xxv, P.L., xxxviii, 168.

(3) Cw. x> H. - *In omnibus enim Christi meditabatur adventus*, S. HILARY, *In Mt.* xxiv, 1, P.L., ix, 1048. - "The very thing which now is called the Christian religion existed in former times, and from the beginning of the human race it has never failed." S. AUGUSTINE, *Retractions*, 1, 13, P.L., xxxii, 603, C.V., xxxvi, 58. - "The prophets spoke less clearly of Christ than of the Church," says St. Augustine, "almost everywhere Christ was announced by the prophets under the veil of some figure, and the Church manifestly. In *Psalmum* xxx, 2^o *enarratio*, P.L., xxxvi, 244. Cfr A. CHARUE, *l* Interprétation chrétienne de la Genèse*, in *Collationes Namurcenses*, t. xxvii, 1934, PP- 386, ss. a work published some two thousand years after this term was used?

Certainly not. But Scripture is not an ordinary book. It is inspired, that is to say, it has only one principal author, and that this author

can always, when necessary, complete and explain himself, and that he even remains unceasingly in the Church, to comment on himself.

Now, it is precisely as inspired that Scripture has its value for us; and it is as inspired that it is competent to speak of something so mysterious as Christ living in us by grace.

We therefore take it, and we want to take it, with the lights that it enlightens itself. Without this help, we would not understand it.

*

* *

It remains now to see, with the help of the lights we have gathered, how in fact the Old Testament already speaks of Christ and how it represents the union which, from that time on, God was preparing between man and himself in his beloved Son.

Alas, it must be said immediately, despite the thread that we have, what we have found is reduced to little. It would require a science of these remote times, which it is difficult to have in our time where we are still in full research, and that, for our part, we do not have. There would also be a lot of work and meditation, which we preferred to do on the New Testament, *Vetus in Novo patet*. In the New Testament the search is easier and more fruitful, and all that we would have - discovered with difficulty in the law and the prophets is said there more clearly and completely.

A quick sketch will therefore suffice. But this sketch is necessary. By the will of God, the law and the prophets are the introduction to the Gospel, and we understand better what

What is the union of Christians with each other and with God in Christ, when we first remember how this union was prepared.

Now, what prepared this union, or rather what began it, is the union that God placed, from the time of the ancient covenant, first between his faithful, the children of Abraham, and then between him and all of them. It is of this double union that we will now speak.

First, the union of the faithful among themselves.

Those who believe, as the Scripture shows, are at first only one family. If they are to become a people later on, they must remain united as one household. To God they are one, one whole, one inheritance, one field.

They are even one living organism, one vine, according to the image of Scripture.

I will sing," said Isaiah, "for my beloved, the song of
my beloved concerning his vineyard. My beloved had
a vineyard
On a fertile hillside.
... He waited for her to give grapes, But she gave verjuice.
... The house of Israel is the vineyard of the LORD of hosts
And the men of Judah are the plant which he cherished (2).

The image of a vineyard is common and traditional. It has even passed from the Old Testament into the New. Israel is still for us the vineyard of Yahweh, the vineyard that did not bear fruit, where the Father sent his Son, in vain... or rather, not in vain, since he was killed. And the Church, the new

(1) *Eccli.*, XLV, 27; *Ps.* xxxn, 12; LXXVII, 60-72; cxxm, 1, ff; etc.

(2) *Is.*, y, i et seq. and *Ps.* LXXIX, 9-20; *Hos.* x, 1-2; *Is.* xxvn, 2; *Jev.* n, 21, xii, 10; *Ezek.* XV, 6; xix, 10-14. Other peoples are also represented by the vine: *Jer.* XLVIII, 32. The Jewish people are also a cedar: *Ezek.* xvii, 22; or an olive tree: *Jer.* xi, 16.

Israel, in turn, still considers itself the vine.

Israel, the scripture says, is the flock of Jahveh:

Like the cattle that go down into the valley, the spirit of the LORD has led them to rest.

The whole people is a sheep that God loves (2), a little worm that he has mercy on (3).

More than that, he is a unique person. All together, the children of Israel are the bride of Yahweh. They are the woman he has chosen, whom he has adorned with his gifts (4).

And as the bride makes the bridegroom happy.
She will bring joy to her God (5).

And this is how the LORD of hosts speaks: I have a great love of jealousy for Zion; I am jealous of her with great wrath.

The prophet Ezekiel will have to say to Jerusalem from Jahveh:

Thy father was the Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite... When thou wast born, they cast thee upon the face of the field in disgust. And I passed by thee, and saw thee, and made thee grow like the grass of the field; and thou didst grow, and waxed exceeding beautiful.

(1) *Is.* LXIII, 14; cfr. *Jer.* xxm, 1; L, 6; *Ezek.* xxxiv; *Mic.* 11, 12; iv, 6; *Zech.* xi, 3; xii, 7-9.

(2) *Jeremiah*, L. 17 - He is like a horse: *Isaiah*, LXIII, 13.

(3) *Is.*, XLI, 14.

(4) *Hos.* i, 2-3; *Is.* i, 21; XLIX, 14 ff; LI, 17; LIV. I, 4, 11; LX, I; LXII, 4; *Jer.* n, 2; in, 1; xxx, 17; *Bar.* iv, 10. especially *Ezek.* xvi and xxm. See the numerous passages where Jerusalem is called daughter of Zion, virgin daughter of Zion: *Ps.* LXXII, 28 (in the Vulgate); *Is.* 1:8; x, 32; xvi, 1; xxn, 4; xxxvii, 22; LU, 2; LXII, II. Jeremiah has the expression about ten times, and seventeen times in Lamentations, Micah, five times, Zephaniah, twice, Zechariah, three times. Isaiah and Jeremiah will also say, for the enemies of Israel: daughter of Babylon or daughter of Egypt.

(5) *Is.*, LXII, 5.

(6) *Zech.* wine 2; cfr. 1:14.

(7) *Ezek.* xvi.

And the apologue continues. God adorns his bride; but she is unfaithful. Jerusalem abandons Yahweh; she forgets the love of her youth to give herself up to the idols of the nations. So Yahweh abandons her; he punishes her; he delivers her to devastation and ruin. But his anger will be short-lived: he will return to call back his bride, forever.

For a moment I have forsaken thee: but with great mercy will I gather thee.

In an outpouring of anger I hid my face for a moment, But with eternal love I had compassion on you, Says your redeemer, Jahve (i).

As he swore to Noah, Jahve swore a second time:

I have sworn that I will not be angry with you, nor threaten you. Though the mountains should withdraw, and the hills be moved, yet shall my love not depart from thee, neither shall my covenant of peace be moved, saith he that hath mercy on thee, O Jehovah (2).

Jewish piety, and after it Christian piety, has been nourished by this magnificent certainty. It has meditated especially on the book in which God confesses his tenderness towards humanity, towards the Church, towards each soul, and in which humanity too, in an authentic and inspired way, affirms its close union with its God: the Song of Songs:

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth...

Like a lily among thorns, Such is my beloved among the maidens...

This is the voice of my beloved!

Here he comes,

Leaping over the mountains...

(1) *Is*, Liv, 7 and following.

(2) *Ibid*.

Come with me from Lebanon, my bride, Come with me from Lebanon.

You have ravished my heart, my engaged sister.

You have ravished my heart with a single glance of yours (1).

These verses, even for Christians who know how much God has loved the world, remain a moving revelation of the Lord's love and desire to be close to and one with his creature.

In other passages, the people are considered as a widow (2), or as a fertile mother, who gives Jahve many children. We know Isaiah's magnificent apostrophe:

Arise in the light, O Jerusalem, for your light shines, and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you.

Look around and see:

They all gather, they come to you.

Your sons come from afar, And your daughters are carried on your arms (3).

Often, too, Scripture shows the chosen people as one man (4), one chosen of Jehovah (5), one servant (6). God said to them:

(1) *Cant.* i, 2; π , 2, 8; iv, 8, 9.

(2) *Bar.* iv, 10.

(3) *Is.* LX, i and XLix, 17 and LI, 18.

(4) *Is.* i, 2ff. Often the people are called by the name of a single man, Jacob or Israel or Ephraim.

(5) *Is.* XLIII, 20, cfr 22.

(6) *Jer.* XLVI. 27 (xxx. 10). Often in Isaiah: XLI, 8; XLIII, 10; XLIV, 21. These passages are close to the prophecies about the *servant Jahve*, which apply to our Lord. It is instructive to note the connection; on the one hand the whole people are servants of Jahve, and on the other the one awaited, the Messiah, will also be a servant of Jahve. This is because, united to this Messiah, to this servant par excellence, all the faithful will be one servant of God. Here is one of those passages, where the whole people are for Jahve a servant (*Is.*, XLIV, 1):

And now listen, Jacob, my servant,

And you, O Israel, whom I have chosen:

You, Israel, are my servant,
 Jacob I chose,
 Race of Abraham, my friend;
 You whom I took by the hand from the ends of the earth, and
 called from the far corners of the earth; you to whom I said, 'You
 are my servant; I have chosen you, and have not rejected you;
 Fear not, for I am with thee: be not dismayed, for I am thy God.
 ...They shall be put to shame and confounded that are set on fire
 against thee: they shall be as nothing, they shall perish that strive
 against thee.
 ...For I, Yahweh, your God,
 I will take thee by the right hand, and say unto thee, Fear not. I will
 help you; do not be afraid, O worm of Jacob, O weak remnant of
 Israel.
 I am the one who helps you, says the LORD, and your redeemer is
 the Holy One of Israel.

The Israelites, all together, are for Jahve a son (2). Sometimes the
 name son is reserved for the king, as the representative of the people
 (3). But often it is the people considered as a whole who are the son
 of Jahve; they are the beloved, the infant, the firstborn, the cherished
 child, the spoiled child even (4). (4) Jahweh has a love for him as
 susceptible as that of a father for his son. This is the message he gives
 to

Thus says the LORD who made you
 And who formed you from your mother's womb, and who is your support.
 Fear not, O Jacob, my servant, my Israel, whom I have chosen.

(1) *Is.*, xli, 8, ff.

(2) Cfr LAGRANGE, *la Paternité de Dieu dans V Ancien Testament*, in *Revue
 biblique*, t. xvi, 1908, pp. 482, ff. - The Babylonians also called themselves sons of
 their gods. The idea is quite common among many peoples. The Bible itself calls a
 foreigner, "daughter of a foreign God," *Mal.* il, il. The ungodly say "Father" to their
 idols, *Jer.* 11, 27.

(3) *U Reg-* "vu, 14-15. - *Ps.*, il, 7; LXXXVIII, 27.

(4) *Hos.* xi, i, 3, 9; *Is.* XLix, 14; LXIII, 16; LXIV, 8; especially *Jer.* in, 4, 19; xxxi,
 18, 20; *Mal.* ii, 10, 11; *Sap.* xii, 21; *Sch.* xxxvi, 12.

Moses for the king of Egypt; Pharaoh's son shall answer for his son,
 who is Israel:

And you shall say to him, "Thus says the LORD, 'Israel is my son, my
 firstborn. I say to you, 'Let my son go, that he may serve me. If you refuse
 to let him go, I will destroy your son, your firstborn.

This son is often rebellious. But such is God's love for him that he does not manage to hold him in contempt. God forgives, God always forgets. From the exile where they were brought for their faults, here he brings them all back.

A great multitude cometh hither, and cometh forth with cries and prayers. I will lead them, I will lead them to the watercourses, by a straight road, where they shall not stumble. I will be a father to Israel again: Ephraim is my firstborn (2).

It was enough for God to hear "Ephraim groaning in exile," for Him to feel compelled to call him back:

Is Ephraim such a dear son to me, a spoiled child?
Whenever I threaten him, I still remember him.
Therefore my heart is moved for him: I will
have mercy on him, says the LORD (3).

This is the unity of the people who make up the Church. It is one, one whole, one living, one man.

The unity of this people with God is also very perfect. It is of her that we must now speak. It too is a

(1) *Exodus*, iv, 22-23.

(2) *Jer-*, xxxi, 9, 10 (trans. A. CONDAMIN).

(3) XXXI, 20 (trans. A. CONDAMIN).

It is a beginning and an image of the union we have with God as members of the Mystical Body. So we have already had to speak of it, to show how the whole people, by the grace of God, are united to themselves.

The people, then, the whole people, are the tabernacle of Jahve. Jahve dwells in them (i), and so much so that the Hebrews are like his appearance on the earth. Seeing them triumph over their enemies, the nations will know that God is in Israel (2).

Jahve is in solidarity with his people, and he takes to his account the outrages to which "his son" is subjected. In the persecutions, the Jews ask Yahweh to remember that their interests are his own: "Arise, O Lord," they cry, "and come to judge your cause.

And Jahve answers:

Yes, I will take up your cause. And I will avenge you (4).

For the cause of Israel is the cause of Yahweh, and he who lays hands on Israel wounds him in the apple of his eye.

(1) *Lev.* xxvi. 12; *Ezek.* xxxvn. 27, interpreted by St. Paul: *II Cor.* vi. 16 - *Is.* LX. 19; *Zech.* n. 10-13.

(2) *Is.* XLV, 14; *Lxii*, II; *Jer.* xvi, 19; *Is.* n, 2-4 and *Mic.* iv, 1-5; *Ezek.* xxxix, 27.

(3) *Ps.* Lxxiii, 22; *Jer.* xiv, 21. Prayer of Esther (xiv, 3-19; it. xiii, 9-17); *Ps.* LXXXVIII, 9, 12 :

Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of Your name. Deliver us, and forgive our sins for your name's sake. Why should the nations say, "Where is their God? Let it be known among the nations, and let our eyes be witnesses, that thou wilt avenge the blood of thy servants, the blood that is shed; let the groaning of the captives come up unto thee; let the greatness of thy arm save them that are about to perish.

Bring back seven times into the bosom of our neighbours the offences they have done to you, O Lord.

(4) *Jw-*, Li, 36 (trans. A. CONDAMIN); cfr 24.

(5) *Zech.* π, 8; *Deut.* xxxn, 10; *Is.* LU, 5, 6; *LXIII*, 7-9:

I will declare his lovingkindness toward the house of Israel, which he hath showed them according to his mercies, and according to the greatness of his mercies.

Edom and Moab (1) will know one day: by insulting Israel, they have insulted him. He will come to take up the challenge; he will enter into judgment with the nations concerning his own people and his inheritance (2). (2) They will see that he, Yahweh, has heard the insults of the mountains of Israel and has defied him (3).

Moab and Seir said:

The house of Judah is like the nations.

Because of this I will open the side of Moab (4).

By avenging his people, Jahve will restore his own honor.

For I have spoken, says the Lord GOD, that I will send fire into the land of Magog, and to those who dwell safely in the isles. And they shall know that I am Jehovah, and I will make known my holy name among my people Israel, and I will not profane my holy name any more.

And the nations will know that I am Yahweh, the holy one in Israel.

... Now will I bring back the captivity of Jacob, and have compassion on all the house of Israel, and will be jealous for my name.

This will not be a simple extrinsic solidarity. Israel is not only related to Yahweh; Israel is similar to Yahweh, since he is his son and a son is semen.

He said, "Yes, they are my people, sons who will not be unfaithful to me." In their distresses he was in anguish, And the angel of his face saved them.

In his love and forgiveness, he himself redeemed them.

He sustained and bore them all the days of old. (1) *Ezek.* xxxv, 12.

(2) *Joel*, in, 2; cfr π , 18.

(3) *Zephaniah*, II, 10; cf. *Zech.* 1, 14, 15; *Is.* LIT, 4; *Jer.* 11, 3.

(4) *Ezek.* xxv, 8.

(5) By leaving Israel in adversity.

(6) *Ezek.* xxxix, 6, 7.

similar to his father. Since Yahweh is a different God from the others, or rather, since he is the only God and the holy God, Israel is a people apart and a holy people. The law says it again and again:

I am the LORD your God; you shall sanctify yourselves and be holy, for I am holy; and you shall not defile yourselves with all the creeping things that creep upon the earth [by eating them]. For I am the LORD who brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God. You shall be holy, because I am holy.

Legal sanctity, first of all, but also sanctity of soul, as the law repeats (2), as the prophets inculcate (3).

There is even more: this holiness makes of the whole people as well as of its principal members an image and a figure of the Holy One of God, who is going to come here below. The whole of the old covenant, as St. Paul and the whole of tradition affirm (4), is an immense symbol, and the virtues which blossom in it, the prescriptions which are enacted in it, the very gestures which are sketched out in it, have the mission of representing Christ and his people beforehand.

It would take a long time to research and show this figurative economy. We will content ourselves with having mentioned it.

It represents well what the whole of the ancient law is: a plan, a reality, a mystery that begins, and this mystery is Christ, Christ coming to live in his own.

We have given a few clues to this, very few, no doubt, and the sheaf could have been enlarged.

Still, it would have seemed small. If we look at the Old Testament in itself and consider it only from the outside, could we not even say that the ideal of union which is expressed in it, union with God, union of all

(1) *Lev.*, xi, 44, 45 and passim.

(2) *Lev.* xix, 2; xx, 7.

(3) [^]- " xxxix, 7, 27, ff; xxxvi, 26; *Jer.*, xxx, 21; xxxi, 31, ff; xxxn, 28, ff; iv, 2, ff.

(4) *Rom.* x, 4; / *Cor.* x, n, etc.

Does not the unity of the Hebrews with one another differ - significantly from the ideal of unity that all peoples carry within them?

But the Old Testament alone cannot be looked at: it is only the

beginning of a message, and it is the continuation that gives the beginning its true meaning.

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CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE MYSTICAL BODY IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The great stages of intelligence of the mystical body in the New Testament writings. There is nothing to prevent a progress being made in these, either expressly reported, or suggested by hints.

THE SYNOPTICS, TRANSITION BETWEEN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW. What the synoptics are, and how they speak of the mystical body accordingly:

I. IN THE VERY ACCOUNT OF THE FACTS, AS FOUND IN SAINT MARK. It has its center, its summary, its explanation, in the death of Christ and in the arrival of a more plenary human life of Christ, which is his life in the mystical body. The Church, the fullness of Christ.

II. IN THE PREACHING OF THE KINGDOM, AS FOUND ESPECIALLY IN MATTHEW. The kingdom, the expected kingdom, the kingdom in the teaching of Jesus. It is presented as very much united to the person of Jesus. The stages of his preaching are the stages of Jesus' ministry. In itself, the kingdom is a living whole that has its "mystery". Moreover, it has a great unity with God and with Christ. Jesus will be there with his own every day, in their prayers, in the ecclesiastical sentences, always teaching the Christians, and receiving as done to him what is done to the least of his own. Unity of Christ with us, prolonging his unity with God. Capital text: sentence of the last judgment. The second coming in the synoptics and in St. John. - Conclusion.

III. THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE. It is the introduction to Acts, where Luke's teaching on the mystical body is found.

What was in the Old Testament is in full in the New (i). In examining the latter, we

(i) *Col. II, 17.*

We will therefore find the same covenant, the same promises, the same oaths, as we saw in the Old Testament. Only the oaths are carried out, the promises take shape in their fulfillment, and the covenant finally between God and men becomes the very person of the God-Man.

But the fulfilment is like the proclamation: God does not know feverish haste; what he gives, he gives gently and the revelation of the gift, like the gift itself, goes on without rushing.

It will be full in the time of Paul and John. Only then will the divine unity that God has in store for them be fully revealed and explained to men. Before that, the Acts of the Apostles will have shown it taking root in humanity. Even before that, the Synoptic Gospels will have made the transition, as it were. The idea which the Old Testament had suggested to many Jews, the idea of a brilliant and triumphant kingdom which manifests itself in a blaze of glory, they will have shown which becomes the exact and Christian idea of an interior and hidden kingdom, at the same time as visible and empirical, the idea of a supernatural and mystical kingdom, whose king comes in us and dies for us. Such, in our opinion, would be, in their broad outlines, the stages followed by revelation; such will be the plan of our chapters.

Even in the books of the New Testament, in fact, there is nothing to prevent doctrinal progress being noted. Whether this progress is an enrichment of the revelation itself, or whether it consists only in a better understanding and a better proposal of this revelation, it is of little importance for our subject to make the discernment. What is certain is that both are possible, that revelation was able to increase in new truths until the death of the last apostle, and that the apostles themselves, without new revelation, were able to grow, during their whole life, in the understanding of their message (1). (1) Should we not even say that they had to? For, after all, to suppose the contrary, to suppose

(1) *Joh.* xiv, 26; xvi, 12, 13; xiv, 9. To suppose that they had at once realised all the aspects of transcendent truth, to suppose that they had at once found adequate expressions which accurately expressed its immeasurable richness, is to demand a profusion of psychological

miracles such as God is not wont to perform. The marvel of Christianity is that God seeks the society and cooperation of men. Will he do otherwise for those whom he himself chooses as the first witnesses of his condescensions; will he prevent them, by means of prodigies, from contributing in their imperfect way - they have no other - to his own work?

He will help them more, but it will be to direct their work and not to substitute it. He will assist them more in their acts of thought and reflection (i), but it will be to make them more ardent, not to make them more sluggish and passive. Are we to think that he exempted them from all trial and error? Their effort, then, would not have been a human effort. Is it not more just to believe that, without taking them away from what is our mode of understanding and seeking, He watched over them more carefully, He made them more clear-sighted and prudent, so that the imperfections inherent in our nature could not introduce anything inaccurate or uncertain into the treasure which they carried in fragile vessels? Thus they were able to progress, men that they were, in the manner of men. And yet their progress was sure and divine, because through them the one who communicated to men, the one who revealed, the one who inspired, the one who assisted, was always God and God alone.

Let us continue. This progress, whatever it was, God may have seen fit to make it known to us through his Scripture. He who wished to tell us, in his holy books, about the tunics that Dorcas made and the wine that Timothy had to take, why would he not have wished to teach us something else-

(1) Cfr *Act*, x, II, 15.

The truth of the matter is not only important, but also instructive of its revealing economy: how, little by little, its truth had pierced our fogs and how, little by little, we had blossomed into its clarity?

Moreover, this instruction that nothing could prevent him from giving us, nothing could prevent him either from giving it in the way he preferred. Not only was he able to do it in express statements that we only have to collect; but he was also able to proceed by covered words, by clues that must be discovered and interpreted. He alone is the judge, and the best way will be the one he takes.

Is there anything in either of these procedures that is unworthy of its Scripture? In particular, has it not always been believed that the Bible may contain hidden meanings, and even that it is full of them, and that everything in it is overflowing with meaning, the choice and place of words, and even its iotas and commas? Is it for us to decide, according to the ideas we form a priori about literary genres and God's providence, how an inspired writing should be written? It is as God willed, and that is enough: God moved the human author to write such and such a work; He assisted him while he was working on it, so that it would be exactly as He willed; He approved the work when it was finished, and He has authentically given it to us as His own work through the Church. If there are any hints in this work now, which only a careful examination can pick up and understand, all that can be said is that they are inspired like the rest, and therefore deserve as much respectful study as the rest. Whether these clues were expressly known and intended by the human author, we would not dare to say that they were necessary. In all the writings of men, a thousand things betray themselves without the author's knowledge. Why should an inspired author have a clear and unmanly consciousness of all that is in any way attested in his work? If he has not thought so far, God has, and it is God, after all, who is the principal author.

Whether Scripture does indeed contain such clues can only be decided by considering Scripture itself. This is what we shall now do.



The books of Scripture we have to study now are those that open the New Testament, we mean, the synoptic Gospels.

Not that they are the earliest of the inspired writings: the epistles of St. James and St. Jude, as well as most of the epistles of St. Paul, antedate them by many years. But the facts which they relate are older than the exhortations and preachings of which the epistles are made, and the very narratives of which they are composed must have pre-existed, in oral or written form, and in a tenor quite similar to that which they have in the Gospels, from the earliest beginnings of Christian teaching.

Generally speaking, they contain little about the mystical body. This is understandable. The Gospels are not a methodical exposition of the master's doctrine, nor are they a biography properly speaking of Jesus Christ. They are the testimony given to Christ by his witnesses, that is to say, a set of features intended to make known what Christ is and what it is to be of Christ, to make known also what the messengers sent by Christ and who are qualified to announce him are (i).

The messengers of Christianity, in fact, had to allege their titles, and their titles were, not in themselves, but in the master. They were only witnesses. What they had to do, therefore, was to make the master known, to give those who heard or read them the same direct and living contact with him that had taken them and won them over. This is what they did tirelessly in the course of their missions, on the Roman roads, in the hearth of Maya, in the city of Rome, and in the city of Rome.

(i) Cf. *Mt*, xxviii, 20; *Mk*, 1, 15; xvi, 20; *Le*, 1, 4. This character is most visible in the Gospel of St. Mark.

friendly sounds, in the quiet or the hubbub of the synagogues (i). They said, in the short and expressive formula of Acts, τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ (2), a set of traits concerning Jesus. At first, presumably, these traits were chosen somewhat at random from their memories; but soon, by dint of repetition, they took on a certain order. The teachings were mingled with the stories, in this good news that they reported; but the whole was first of all a kind of portrait, intended to show very much alive the one who always remains the unique teacher and introducer of his message and his messengers.

Gradually, according to the audience, the concerns of each apostle and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the choice of features became different, the emphasis was placed on one aspect or another of Christ's physiognomy, and particular nuances and special concerns were expressed in each narrative. Thus were formed our first three Gospels. Each has its own characteristics. But all of them remain, in essence, the same thing, the testimony given to Christ by his witnesses.

This special structure of the Gospels explains the way they speak of the mystical body. They do not speak of it directly; directly, they speak only of Christ. But precisely, Christ as they show him is not a Christ who would be all imprisoned in his brief appearance on the scene of the world; it is a Christ who, in that very thing which is historical, is mystical.

Now, each of the evangelists says this in his own way.

Saint Mark - to begin with the interpreter of Peter -

(1) See, for example, the beginning of St. Peter's speech to Cornelius, *Acts* x, 34-39.

(2) *Acts*, xxviii, 23, 31; xviii, 25. - Cfr 1, 3; vin, 12; xix, 8; xxiv, 24, and *Le.*, xxiv, 19; *Mk*, v, 27. Jesus said, τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ, *Act*, xxin, 11; *Lk.*, xxii, 37. Ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ: *Le.*, v, 15; vu, 3, 17.

says this in the very fabric of his story, in the way he centers it, leads it, delineates it and ends it.

The statement may seem surprising at first sight, but it is no less rigorously correct. Mark, in spite of his popular rudeness, in spite of

his accent of a sincere craftsman (i), in spite of the peculiarity which he has, so marked, of showing Christ as he appeared on the outside in the concreteness of the facts, bears witness in his own way (2), and a very energetic witness, to the Christ who lives within in the mystery of souls.

Or rather, it is not "in spite of" that should be said, but "by" and "in". The attestation is part of the narrative itself, it is the narrative that is circumstantiated and lived, it is the narrative itself insofar as it has a meaning.

So true is it, as we shall see more and more in the course of these pages, that each inspired author speaks of the mystical Christ precisely through what is most characteristic and proper to him.

It is also true that the doctrine of the mystical body is not separated from what constitutes the most banal reality of Christian life: it is our prosaic humanity that God has united to himself in his Son.

So true, finally, is it that Christian doctrine is not merely an abstract teaching which could only be given in theorems and theses. It is, above all, Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ teaches it not only by speaking, but by being.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in order to know the message of Christ, one should limit oneself to contemplating his person and his way of acting and reacting. This is not an abandonment of the scientific method, nor is it a forgetting of the goal for which we are seeking.

(1) J. HUBY, *Évangile selon saint Marc (Verbum salutis, π)*, Paris, 1924, p. XII.

(2) He also speaks of it, moreover, in the manner of the other Gospels, see *Mk.* ix, 37, 41. This will be seen clearly in the references to be given about them.

It is a concern to take Christian truth from where it was first found and where it remains in fullness, in the person of the teacher and in his life.

Theology is special in that it studies a doctrine which is at the same time a fact and which holds everything in a person. Its own method, its rigorous method, therefore involves the meditation of this fact and the contemplation of this person. Even insofar as it is science, it must therefore, in the first place, examine the Gospel narrative insofar as it is a narrative. That is to say, it must relive this narrative, immerse

itself in it and be nourished by it, it must reflect on the presuppositions it implies and on the meaning it expresses, it must draw out the tacit testimony that is contained in it and which is, in a way, its soul and life.

It is a delicate task, certainly, for the control procedures provided by philology and dialectics can hardly be used. There is no longer any need to criticize texts or to weigh syllogisms; there is only the need to let the facts group themselves in one's mind and soul, and to keep silent to let them speak. Obviously, such a work inevitably retains something subjective and conjectural, and one must be very circumspect, if one does not want to take one's own preferences for the language of events, or simple probabilities for established certainties.

But it is a necessary work. Gospel history as such is a great theological fact; it is even the great theological fact. There is no theology that is truly scientific, truly theological, except that which is built up in perpetual contact with and in meditation and contemplation of its narrative.

In the Gospel of St. Mark (1), the first thing to note

(1) The following pages reproduce, except for a few details of adaptation*, an article which appeared in the *Nouvelle revue théologique*, t. LX, 1933" PP- 5^{*ss} - - *the historical life of Jesus and his mystical life*.

For the subject at hand, it is the way in which it is centered. Everything in it - as in the other Synoptics, who have taken his plan, and as also in St. John, but in them in a less marked way - everything in it converges on the death of Christ. Not only is this death recounted in far greater detail than any part of the public or hidden life (i); but also, from the very beginning, the narrative is directed towards the drama of Calvary. It seems as if this death, which is nevertheless the disappearance of the historical Jesus, is the main part of the story, and that the only thing that matters is to explain well how the Saviour spoken of is no longer there.

In St. Mark especially, the perspectives are extremely clear. From the first episode, which is a little detailed, what we see is the battle which is being prepared; two camps are taking shape: that of Jesus and his disciples (2), and that of the enemies (3). Of the latter, almost nothing is said yet, except that they are lesser figures (4). But this is precisely what will set everything in motion: wounded self-esteem so quickly becomes jealousy and hostility! In fact, in the following episodes, we see the first skirmishes of what will be the great battle. First, the Pharisees criticize the conduct of the teacher who forgives sins (5), without saying anything about it; then they openly attack the apostles of Jesus (6); finally, Jesus himself (7), concerning fasting and work on the Sabbath. Already at this point, Jesus, in his defensiveness, lets us see what his last and great blow will be: he speaks of his mission (8), he speaks of his power (9), but above all,

(1) About one-ninth of the book in the Synoptics, and one-third in St. John, including the discourse after the Last Supper.

(2) *Mk*, i,16, ss., 29.

(3) *Mk*, i,22.

(4) *Mk*, i,22, 27.

(5) *Mk.*,H,6; cfri , 44, 45.

(6) *Mk.*, π, 16.

(7) *Mk.*, π, 18, 24.

(8) *Mk.*, 10, 17-19, 27.

(9) *Mk.*, II, II.

He speaks of the redemptive plan that will make his death the source of life (1).

His death, yes: that is what we are going to talk about right away. Immediately after the accounts which have just been recalled, the healing of the man with the withered hand is recounted. The same parties are present: Jesus and the Pharisees who spy on Him (2). (2) As a bait from which they hope to take His goodness, there is a poor cripple there: will He dare, in the middle of the Sabbath day, to heal him? Jesus goes straight to this act of mercy (3): he performs a miracle, saving this life (4) and risking his own. They, the story goes on, "went out immediately to take counsel against him with Herod's people on how to destroy him" (5). Now we know where we are going: all that precedes has served to fix this orientation of the narrative: Jesus is here to die, and the story of his life consists in showing how he goes towards death. This is "the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (6).

In the other synoptics, which reproduce the Gospel of St. Mark and the main lines of its plan, we might note the indication, though less apparent, of a similar orientation. Consider, for example, in the case of Matthew's Gospel, the opposition of Herod which is immediately apparent, and the massacre of the Innocents which follows closely on the heels of the nativity (7), and in the case of Luke's Gospel, the - prophecy of Simeon at the time of Jesus' first coming to the temple (8), and also the attempt at murder at the time of the first preaching at Nazareth (9). This last passage is especially suggestive,

(1) *Mk.* II, 17, 19-22; cf. an allusion (?) in II, 25-28.

(2) *Mk.* in, 2.

(3) *Mk.* in, 3-5.

(4) *Mk.* in, 4.

(5) *Mk.* in, 6.

(6) *Mc.*, I, I.

(7) *Mt.* II, 3, ff.

(8) *Le.*, II, 33, 35, cfr 48.

(9) *Le.*, IV, 28-30.

and it must be compared with the two chapters which open the Gospel of Saint Mark. In fact, in the Gospel of Saint Luke, it constitutes a preface to the public ministry and it is, without a doubt, an announcement of the passion. Jesus has just shown, in a text from Isaiah, the summary of his mission: to preach, to heal, to comfort (i). The Jews, "his own people" (2), respond by sketching out the gesture that they will carry out later, in Jerusalem. They throw him out of the city and drag him up a mountain - everything is there - to kill him.

Et sui eum non receperunt. This is exactly what Saint John says in his preface, in his prologue: Jesus comes to be suppressed. God, through all his heralds, through all his evangelists, from the very first pages of the story of Jesus, directs our eyes to the cross.

We are not surprised by this, because we have been used to it since childhood. But the thing is no less singular. We are going to tell a life story, and from the outset we put the centre of it in what makes it cease; we want to show someone, and we bring to light what hides him; we begin a story, and we order it as if it were only to be interesting when it is finished. It is this narrative that is to accredit the preaching of the apostles, and it insists, from the very first lines, on the failure of the one who sent them; it is the gospel, the good news, that is to bring life to the world, and it opens with a funeral declaration, summing up at once in a death. Such a direction, given to such a story, and so early, and so strongly, cannot, on reflection, fail to seem paradoxical.

But it is perfectly explained, and everything becomes clear, as soon as we comment on it by the doctrine of the mystical body. The life of Christ on earth has two stages: one visible and historical, the other invisible and mystical; the first is the preparation of the second, and the second is the fulfillment of the first. In the second, in his mysterious existence in the depths of souls, the

(1) *Le.*, IV, 17-21.

(2) *Le.*, iv, 24.

Christ is much more active, much more alive on earth, than He was in the days of His apostolic journeys and His preaching. Nothing could be more natural, therefore, or more in keeping with the supernatural economy of the divine plan, than to conceive of His life as directed towards His death, since His death is the climax of His life. Can we not say that this commentary is required by sacred history, and that it thus suggests the doctrine of the mystical body (i)?

In the light of this doctrine, the death of Christ, far from appearing as a removal from this world, appears as a deeper penetration. Jesus will continue mystically to be of this earth, to act, to suffer, to intervene in history, but he will do so in a different way: he will no longer have his own separate history, but he will be, at the heart of humanity, the very leaven of history.

It is therefore conceivable that when God, through the inspired authors, shows history as it appears in the true light, He places, in the most enlightened centre of the narrative, the place where it ends with such a magnificent beginning.

What has just been said about the centre where everything converges must be repeated about the content: it too suggests, as a commentary that makes its intelligibility apparent, the doctrine of the mystical body.

So let's look at the broad outlines, and here again,

(i) When we reflect on the redemptive value of this death of Christ, when we meditate on the supreme act of religion, of charity, of justice that it was, we soon see that this place, so prominent, belongs to it. But this becomes even clearer if we consider this redemption and this supreme worship in terms of the doctrine of the mystical body. And what are they, indeed, but the operation of grace which has raised this body? What is redemption but the act by which Christ, destroying sin in us, has united us all into one body in Him? What is the supreme sacrifice of Christ, his love and his gift, if not this supernatural marvel by which, giving himself entirely to us by giving himself to God, he united us together by uniting us to God in the unity of the mystical body?

Let us see them in the one of the evangelists who has the reputation of being the most external, the most empirical, the most positive, in Saint Mark. Once again, as soon as we look closely, we see, behind

the empirical life of the Savior, the invisible extension of that life, which gives it the fullness of its human meaning. We have already gone through the very first episodes. Jesus, as we have seen, has just been condemned to death. But what will he do now? Win over the enemy, we may think; proclaim the good news so loudly that it is too late to quell it; light the fire he brings in so many places that it cannot be extinguished? No. *Quod in aure auditis*; his action becomes more silent; far from extending it, he tightens it; far from spreading it, he internalizes it.

No doubt he continues to preach to the crowds (1), but most often in parables (2); no doubt also, when he meets an audience more capable of understanding him, he does not refuse to instruct them (3). (3) But it is to the apostles alone that he explains everything (4).

In Saint Mark (5) and Saint Luke (6), a coincidence is so clearly marked in the narrative that it seems to have been real in fact and desired by Jesus: it is immediately after the conciliabulary of the Pharisees and Herodians of which we have spoken (7) that the college of apostles is definitively constituted; the assembly which decided the death of Jesus is placed in front of the Church in which Jesus will live again forever.

The Master's tactics do not deviate. He had chosen them from the beginning (8); he only takes them to himself more. So true is it that, even when his enemies seem to be imposing steps on him, his life develops along his own lines.

(1) *Mk.*, in, 23; iv, i; v, 27; vi, 2, 34, etc.

(2) *Mk.*, ni, 23; iv, il, 33; vu, 14.

(3) This is shown especially by St. John.

(4) *Mk.* iv, 34, ii. Cfr *Mt.*, xni, 11; *Le.*, vin, 10.

(5) *Mk.* in, 6*10.

(6) *Le.*, vi, 1-6.

(7) *Mk.* in, 6. See above, p. 31.

(8) *Mk.* i, 16ff. Cfr. parallels and *Joh.*, 1, 35.

So, for many months, Jesus devoted himself to his disciples. Under the blows of his miracles (1), under the action of his words (2), by the slow penetration of a long life of intimacy with him, little by little, their incomprehension gave way: they began to guess the mystery which he carried in his soul.

For it would seem, reading the Gospel, that he did not want to tell them this divine secret in words: it was he himself who was the manifestation of himself; it was by dint of living with him that they had to catch a glimpse, with God's help, of who he was within himself.

So there came a day when Jesus saw that hearts were ready. He was on his way with the twelve near Caesarea Philippi. Suddenly, turning to them, he asked the question, "Who do people say that I am?" The answers came out, many as the hesitations of the crowd. But this was not what the Master wanted; he insisted, "But who do you say that I am?" And answering, Peter said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God."

This confession of Peter marks one of the peaks, the summit, we might say, in public life. Jesus had come to establish in the world the faith that works through charity. And here at last was someone publicly professing this faith. Now, Scripture tells us, through faith, Christ himself comes to dwell in the heart.

No doubt others had already believed before; no doubt the apostles had been living in a state of grace for a long time; no doubt, above all, for many years, a blessed creature among all had a magnificent faith: "Blessed are you who have believed", it is written of the Virgin (4). (4) But all of this took place in the secret of souls. Now the mystery within is finally expressed outside. Now, through faith, let us repeat, Christ dwells in us. He will therefore no longer dwell only in the secret

(1) *Mk*, IV, 41; VI, 51, 52.

(2) *Mk.*, iv, 13; vu, 18.

(3) *Mk.*, 27-30.

(4) *Le.*, i, 45-

of souls; it will reside in a visible organism - in a magisterium - and it will be able, in a visible manner, to continue its work mystically. Of the Church, as a mystical body, the first stone, the foundation stone,

is laid.

It is for the Lord like a second birth. At His first birth, some thirty years earlier, He had taken His visible flesh, all at once, from the most pure Virgin. This time, He takes, for His mystical body, the visible element; He takes it by an action that will last a long time, as long as our humanity; He takes it, no longer in the most pure Virgin, but in our sinful humanity. But on both sides, God is at work: it is his power that descends into us, it is the Father of heaven who assists and reveals. Mary's faith at the Annunciation was answered by the incarnation of the Word; Peter's faith near Tiberias in pagan lands was answered by the Word establishing the Church.

Jesus' gestures are perpetual. From the very beginning of his public life, he has had a relationship with Peter and he displays himself with him. We see him, from the very first preaching, coming to stay with Peter and performing his miracles (1), and we see Peter, very early on, considering Jesus as his own (2). This was not to cease; nor will it ever cease. Now, in the midst of the public ministry, Jesus still comes to Peter's house, but in a different way, no longer under his roof, but in his soul, no longer to perform a few miracles, but to lead all men.

To Peter who gave himself, Jesus responds by giving himself. To Peter's act of faith, so total, Jesus responds with an act of trust and abandonment - of faith - also total. May Peter, now more than ever, look upon Jesus as his own; may Peter be the rock that supports the whole Church; may Peter hold the keys, bind and loose, and know that in heaven God ratifies all the sentences he carries on earth.

In truth, what is the best thing about Christ and what is the

(1) *Mk*, i, 29-35.

(2) *Mk*., 1, 36.

What more can he do? If not that Peter can do nothing but through Christ, if not that, in Peter, it is Christ alone who can do everything.

For this Church which has just begun in Peter is still Christ, the mystical Christ. It is even Christ, for us at least, in a more perfect manner, for it is Christ inasmuch as he is one body with us. And, since it is for us that Christ is here below, can we not say that where he appears better for us, he appears better as he is? Here again, therefore, the narrative bears witness in its own way to the doctrine of the mystical body.

But we must continue. If Peter's confession is a high point in the history of the Gospel, it is also a high point which divides it into two sides. Since Christ begins to live in his own people, it is no longer necessary for him to live alongside them; since it is in the Church and in Peter that he will henceforth be everything for them, he must pass into this Church. He can therefore now, leaving the external scene of history, enter where its source is, in the interior of humanity.

Thus, the promises made to the apostle end in the announcement of a departure. It is the *noli me tangere* of the Synoptics: why should we pretend to hold him back before us, when he wants to enter us? The Gospels also note that it was from this moment (1) that he began to teach (2), telling them (3) that the Son of Man must be rejected, be tormented, be killed.

One would have thought that, after Peter's confession, seeing souls open at last, he would be concerned above all with letting the truth fall into them; that he would retire to a secluded place, and, in

(1) Απο τότε ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς δεικνύει, St. Matthew immediately continues (xvi, 21).

(2) Καί ἤρξατο διδάσκει αὐτούς, says St. Mark immediately after reporting the fact (vin, 31).

(3) St. Luke brings the connection into the narrative itself: the same sentence which ends this one brings in the prediction: ὁ δὲ ἐπιτιμήσας αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ λέγε^ν τοῦτο, εἰπών οτι δει, etc. (ιχ, 21-22).

He is in a hurry to give his apostles as many teachings as possible. No; as we shall see, it is himself that he is in a hurry to put into his own: is not the truth, in the first place, himself?

Obviously, during the few months that are still to come, he has

been able to tell them, and he has certainly told them many things. But they, judging by their lack of understanding in the last few days (i), will certainly not have understood everything. So little, then, for such lofty lessons, are outward words!

In any case, God did not want much to remain of these talks in Scripture. But what Scripture repeats from now on without tiring is that Jesus is here to die. The terrible prophecy (2) returns unceasingly: Christ must die (3). This death, from now on, closes all the doors.

But there is more. If Christ comes into us, and if he comes to die, it is therefore a life of pain and cross that he comes to implant in our souls. The announcement of his death cannot go without the exhortation to mortification for his own.

In fact, the closeness of the two teachings is noted by the three synoptics: as soon as he first predicted his passion, he predicted suffering and contradictions for his members (4). (4) Never before in the Gospel of St. Mark had Jesus spoken in this way (5), and the same is true in the Gospel of St. Luke (6). (6) Even in the Gospel of St. Matthew, as it would be easy but time-consuming to show, there is something quite new about these words.

And, in the three Gospels, the thought is now often

(1) *Mk.* x, 21, 31; *Joh.* xvii, 12.

(2) Cfr *Mk.*, ix, 32; x, 32.

(3) *Mk.* ix, 9, 12, [19,] 31; x, 32-34, 38, 45.

(4) *Mk.* vin. 34, after vm. 31-33, and parallels. The same union, but less marked, is again found in the verses which follow; see *Mk.* ix, 2, 3, 7; ix, 9-13, to be compared with ix, 29, and parallels; likewise, *Mk.* ix, 32, to be compared with ix, 35, and parallels.

(5) See H, 20-22.

(6) See *Le.*, vi, 22.

It is, it can be said, at least underlying all the teachings of this last period (i).

Soon, when the passion is close at hand, the prediction of anguish and persecution will become clearer and more vehement. We find it in the eschatological discourse (2). We will have to speak of this prophecy at the end of the chapter; let us say here only that it completes the task of showing how much the destiny of the mystical

body is linked to the destiny of Christ: Jesus must die, and we must die with him. What does this mean if not that, from now on, we are part of him?

Let us now consider the death of Christ itself. The doctrine of the mystical body helped us to understand why it was announced so early and why it had such a prominent place in the outline of the narrative; it will now show what it is in itself in relation to the life of Christ.

Then came the last week. It was the week in which the Passover lamb was to be slain. Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Everything was accomplished.

Now, on the eve of the day on which he was to die, he instituted the sacrament and the sacrifice of the eucharist, giving beforehand his life, which was to be finished, and coming to live in his own people before the Jews put him to death in himself. This communion in the cenacle, together with the oblation of the cross, shows the double aspect of his death. His visible existence is completed in the act which founds the sacrament of his mystical existence, and, so that there is no break in continuity, the second comes before the first; he gives his immolated body, he sacramentally and mystically immolates his body before the historical immolation, in such a way that, in the reality of things, the rite which communicates him, living and source of life, and the act in which he lays down his life, make only one complete act: every time the Mass is offered, the sacrifice of Calvary will be present again.

(1) *Mk*, IX, 20, 33, 42-50; x, 6, 21, 29, 38, 42.

(2) *Mk*. xiii, 5ff. and parallels. See pp. 60 ff,

He dies, therefore, and he does not die. For his death, through his Eucharist, that is to say, through himself, is prolonged in the Masses, and the Masses in the sacramental and spiritual communions, and the communions in the whole interior and exterior Christian life. His death thus becomes the origin of all supernatural vigour, and is therefore his life, his true, full and universal human life, and it is understandable that, in the authentic account of his existence, it should have the greatest place, indeed all the place.

Just as the water that falls on dry ground appears for a few moments, trembling and clear, on the surface, to be soon absorbed and become vegetation and fecundity in the earth, freshness in the foliage and strength in the branches, so he, on the face of our world, appears for a few moments, and then he leaves. He does not have to show himself any more: only time to prepare his departure. His departure will be an entrance, but an entrance to the very depths of life.

His historical life, therefore, being a preparation for a much wider life, for a mystical life, can be seen as a preparation; rapid and unfinished. This is the last thing that remains to be said. More general considerations will be needed, and these will no longer concern a chapter or a special verse of the Gospel, but the particularities of the whole, either of the inspired narrative or of the life of Christ as it is related there.

The first of these is that the life of Jesus, when we consider it without thinking of the mystical body in which it is prolonged, seems to come to nothing.

God himself became flesh for the salvation of men. For many years He has been working to draw them away from sin and towards Himself; He spares no effort in His prayers, His preaching or His miracles. And what did he obtain? A few disciples, but they were timid and unsteady; a group of a few faithful who followed him to the cross, but they were women; crowds that were sometimes enthusiastic, but always changeable, and who abandoned him as soon as things became serious. The baptism conferred on every creature, the conversion of the universe, his goal however,

that he is far from having succeeded! We must admit that it is not he, it is the Church that has accomplished his work, and that continues to accomplish it. He, when he left, left on a failure.

Views too short, explains the doctrine of the mystical body. He did not leave on a failure, because in truth he did not leave. What the Church has done, it is He who has done it, but in her, and the work is all the more admirable and more divine because He was able to accomplish it, so delicate yet so pure, by our heavy and soiled hands. Showing itself to be more divine, showing itself to be more human, the work only appears more as the work of the Man-God. Once again, the doctrine of the mystical body is implied in the account of the apostolic life of Jesus.

A similar thing could be said about the teaching of Jesus as it appears in the Gospels. Jesus is the ultimate wisdom, the light that enlightens every man; he came to shine in our darkness, and what does he leave behind when he dies? Almost nothing: a few sermons, a few parables, a few talks, unparalleled for sure, full of meaning and eternally moving. But nothing of a complete exposition, of a doctrine formulated didactically. His lessons are fragmentary, and the apostles themselves did not understand them. After his death, it will take centuries to give Christian dogmas their rigorous definition, and who will say how many controversies arose? Could he not have expressed himself clearly? Could he not have spared his people so many painful discussions, so many heresies, so many tears, so much pain? Will it be true, finally, that it was not he who synthesized his doctrine, the sum of it, the catechism, but the Church?

No, it is necessary to answer here again, because what the Church will do, it is he and he alone who will do it in her. In her as in Him, He is the only teacher, but He has two teachings. Firstly, he speaks to men by dwelling beside them; secondly, he speaks to them by dwelling in them: in the conscience of each one, and in an infallible human magisterium. His first teaching, considered alone, seems incomplete; but it is precisely because he is not alone. It is a beginning, the beginning of a lesson which must last until the end of time; far from lacking something, it has, on the contrary, a superabundant fullness. All the tradition in which he will be prolonged will show the richness of meaning in his every word; just

as his words will show all that there is of life, holiness and sweetness in the least of the theological theses.

Thus, one could go through all the activities of his mortal life, what he did to direct, to set an example, to expiate; always the same incompleteness would appear in the same fullness: incompleteness when, in his life, one wants to see only his thirty years, fullness when, in his life, one sees the unique germ from which all life and all supernatural activity came.

God can be brief in telling this life. He, who disposes of his children in the best possible way, can be satisfied with summary accounts that repeat one another. And yet, there was enough material for many volumes (i).

And yet, isn't knowing this life the most important thing for us (2)? (2) Where else can we see, except in him, what we should be in him and how we should act in him?

No doubt. But precisely because he is the life of men, the picture of his existence can be seen elsewhere than in the pages of the Gospel. His work is not only a vestige of what he was, it is the persistence, until the consummation of the centuries, of all that he is. Everything in it speaks only of him, because it holds only in him. Now, for every soul, it is contemporary, close, interior; it has a hundred different forms, a thousand aspects which show themselves, sometimes one, sometimes the other, and show only him, if one knows how to look. The history of the Church, the history of the saints, our own history of the soul, the spectacle of Christian charity, of the needs of the universe, of liturgical ceremonies, the meditation of Christian asceticism, the contemplation of dogmas, all this must make up for the gaps in the Gospel, or rather, it must show all that it

(1) *Joh.* xxi, 25.

(2) *Joh.* xvii, 3. There are hidden meanings in narratives at first sight so short. Their smallness is that of seeds: the outer mass is small, but within it there is boundless power to germinate and grow. Thus the least of its gestures; in the light of the life which derives from it in the Church, it appears to carry the whole future. But its exterior remains limited: a beginning can present itself only as a beginning, and there is no need for the introduction to exhaust the subject for a story to be well done.

It is the same doctrine of the total Christ, of the mystical Christ, which is still suggested, as the only possible explanation, by the whole of the life of Jesus insofar as it is historical, that is, insofar as it had a limited duration in time. How can we understand, if not by it, that God made the unheard-of gesture of coming down to our earth, and that such a formidable step resulted in a stay of only a few years here below? Thirty years, and among them so many hidden years, what is that compared to the millennia of our history?

Will the Etemal, if one dares to say so, mobilize all its power and all its love, will it overthrow all obstacles and bridge all distances, only to produce such a fleeting result? What is the use of showing oneself - let us be forgiven for speaking in this way - if it is to leave before even being seen?

Obviously, this instant of contact, this quick brush with the earth is infinitely more than we could have hoped for. But is it enough to exhaust a munificence such as his, and to satisfy what he himself calls an etemal charity (1)? (1) Will he, whose gifts are without repentance when he gives himself, be in such a hurry to take himself back?

Again, that all this requires a comment! But also, that all this becomes clear, when the caption is given!

He did not recover, nor did he die altogether: all in him was increasing, like that path of the righteous of which

(1) *Jer.* xxxi, 3.

Scripture. His life and gift to mankind was first promised and prepared in the Old Testament; then it was fully realized in the days of His mortal life, in His theandrous person; finally, from its fullness, it has been infused into mankind through all time. And all this makes but one Christ, the same Christ of yesterday, the same Christ of today, the same Christ of all time, but one man, spread over the whole globe and growing as the centuries pass, *unus homo diffusus toto orbe terrarum et succrescens per volumina saeculorum*. After the historical body was born and grew, the mystical body was born and grew. The death of the one established the coming of the other, and it does not cease to establish it, since the sacrifice of the cross,

prolonged in the Masses, is the ever gushing source which brings forth without end, from the one Christ, the immense unity of Christianity.

As the two lives pass into each other, their two stories pass into each other, and one must think of the second to see, in all its truth and intelligibility, the first.

Thus we can say that Jesus, by the way he arranged his life, as well as by the way he had it recounted by the authors of the synoptics and particularly by Saint Mark, gives Christians the idea that this historical life is only the preparation and introduction of another life, his mystical life.

This is undoubtedly only an uncertain hypothesis, but the continuation of the present study, and above all - the encounter is singular, and yet real - the examination of the Johannine Gospel will confirm it.

Jesus, then, teaches his union to Christians, not only by words, but also by the very order of his life. Moreover, is it not a truth which the Fathers love to repeat, that all his actions are teachings, *etiam factum Verbi, verbum nobis est?* (2) If this is the case with his lesser works, then it is not

(1) S AUGUSTINE, *In Psalmum cxviii, sermo xvn*, P.L., xxxviii, 1547.

(2) ID, *Tractatus in Johannem*, *xxiv*, 2, P.L., xxxv, 1593.

It is not the same thing as the whole of his life, the whole of his gestures. Is it too much to think that it is his entire lesson, and that it expresses in its own way the whole^e mystery of Christianity, of God who gives himself to men in Christ, that is, the mystery of the mystical Christ?

* *

What Jesus taught in this way by his way of acting, living and dying, he also taught in express statements. It is these that we must now gather.

Now, it should be noted that these affirmations are not detached words that have nothing to do with each other or with the one who pronounces them. On the contrary, as we will see, they all hold

together by holding to a single reality, which itself holds to the Savior very closely, as its extension and its fullness. Thus, we can say that this preaching of the mystical body, such as it is found in the Synoptics, is exactly what the life of Jesus as it is narrated in these same Synoptics predicted.

This unique reality, which is so closely related to the Saviour and to which the teaching he gave on the mystical body refers, is "the kingdom", "the kingdom" of heaven, "the kingdom" of God (i).

The kingdom is certainly not absolutely the same thing as the mystical body. But as we shall see, the mystical body is one of the elements that integrate this rich notion, and even the most intimate, essential, and mysterious element, and the one that is the centre, the explanation and the supreme realisation of all the others.

The proclamation of the kingdom is linked to the prophecies and

(1) The two words kingdom and reign translate the same word βασιλεία, *regnum*, emphasizing various aspects: either the concrete aspect of the thing, or its relation to a concrete master. A delicate analysis of the notion of the kingdom can be found in P. DE GRANDMAISON's *Jésus- Christ*, Paris, 1928, t. 1, pp. 376-388.

The whole economy of the Old Testament. When Jesus preached it, everyone recognized in it the old hopes of Israel, and if Jesus corrected the ideas and raised the desires, he did not repudiate the heritage: he himself, it is useful to state this obvious fact, made his doctrine of the kingdom - and of the mystical body, we dare to comment - the continuation of the pages of the ancient covenant (i).

At that time the thought of the kingdom haunted the prayers and aspirations of the Jews. They too, instructed by the holy books, when they thought of the promised Messiah, did not picture Him alone. Alongside him, inseparable from him as his shadow and extension, they saw, and with exaltation, the messianic reign which he would establish. The Kingdom of God, the reign of Israel and of the son of David, the day of the Messiah, the day of rejoicing, were all mixed up in their minds. In different ways, no doubt, and unequally candid, each one had interpreted the oracles of the prophets in the direction of his inner dream. But to all of them the Messiah appeared nimbed with something often brighter and more brilliant than himself, which

would be the exaltation of the children of Israel through him.

In this expectation, not everything was wrong, far from it; but everything, too often, was understood in a material way. It will therefore be necessary for Jesus, in his preaching of the kingdom, to turn the desires around, (2) so to speak, and instead of a kingdom of this world, to give a glimpse of a celestial and spiritual kingdom, where, no doubt, the glory of the Messiah will always shine upon those who believe in him; but where this glory will be more than a transitory radiance; where it will be the communication of a supernatural greatness and of an eternal life, the communication of his life to the members of his mystical body.

Thus the notion of the mystical body, which remained unclear in the Old Testament, will be completed and clarified. The Gospels, by showing who the Messiah really is, the Messiah who is much more

(1) *Mt*, VIII, 11-12; XI, 12; xxi, 33-43; xxv, 34; cfr *Le*, 1, 33; *Mk*, xi, 10.

(2) See *ML*, xxi, 42-44, and parallels.

This humble, but much more glorious than we thought, will show at the same time what is the kingdom that he brings, much more hidden, but much more splendid than we thought, since he is, in part, the mystical body of this Messiah.

In fact, as we see in the Synoptic Gospels, the preaching of the reign holds a central place in the teaching of Jesus. Moreover, the reign is shown to be so united with Jesus and so integral to him that the main periods that can be discerned in the public life of Christ also mark the main ways in which the reign is presented.

The gospel of Jesus is the gospel of the kingdom:

After John had been betrayed, says St. Mark, Jesus went into Galilee, proclaiming the gospel of God and saying, "The time is fulfilled! And the kingdom of God is at hand! Do penance and believe in the gospel" (i).

He spread the word of the kingdom, as St. Matthew says; he evangelized the kingdom of God, as St. Luke says (2). Later still, when the disciples were sent on mission, Jesus himself condensed the teaching to be given into a brief formula: "Say that the kingdom of God is near" (3).

This seems to have been the preaching at the beginning. Jesus - presents himself to the world as the one sent by God, and at the same time he presents the reign of God which he is coming to establish (4).

(1) *Mk. i, 14-15*. We give the translation according to C. LAVERGNE, O.P., *Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français d'après la synopse grecque du P. - Lagrange*, Paris, 1927. From Fr. Lagrange's commentary, we borrow a few elements of chronology, which serve only to situate our texts; so we do not stop to say on what considerations they are based.

(2) *Mt, rv, 23*; cfr *ni, 2*; *Le, iv, 43*; *vin, 1*.

(3) *Le., x, 9*.

(4) See the beginning of the synoptics. Jesus manifests Himself: *Mk. 1,9* and - parallels. And he announces the kingdom: *Mk. 1,14* and parallels. John the Baptist announces the Messiah and the kingdom at the same time: *Mt., 1, 7-1^{on}* compared to *in, 1, 12*.

But this simple and confident preaching could not last long. Soon hostilities began to emerge. Jesus had to hide from the scribes and Pharisees; he kept himself to himself in deserted places, devoting himself especially to his apostles. At the same time, His preaching of the kingdom became more hidden, and the kingdom was usually shown to the crowds only under the veil of parables. But to the disciples to whom he manifests himself, the Master also reveals the mystery of the kingdom (i).

Finally, instructed by their conversations with Jesus, the apostles begin to understand. One day, the first of them, Peter, enlightened by God, sees clearly: he confesses who the Christ is, "the Son of the living God", and Jesus responds by promising him the keys of the kingdom (2).

Immediately, the profound change mentioned above (3) in the way Jesus speaks of himself and of the kingdom is evident. He himself, he announces, is going to death: he will be handed over to the Gentiles and crucified, then on the third day he will rise again. And the kingdom will also enter a period of tribulation: it will have to renounce everything, all the dreams of Israel, all human ambitions; it will have to carry the cross and climb Calvary, abandoning everything to be with him. In short, for Jesus as for the kingdom, a catastrophe is imminent. Some of the disciples here will not taste death until the kingdom arrives (4).

We see that in the synoptics, especially in St. Mark, the king and his wife are manifested in a parallel movement.

(1) See *Mk.*, iv, after what he has said in his previous chapters about the opposition that is emerging against Jesus. It is especially later on, v. 24, etc., that we see Jesus hiding. But already in 1, 45, just before the accounts that show the growing opposition, Jesus withdraws to the desert.

(2) *Mt.* xvi, 16-19. The recognition of Christ as the Son of the living God leads to the statement about the divine power (*Mk.*, 11, 7) to forgive sins, which will be in the kingdom.

(3) Pp. 37 ff.

(4) *Mk.*, ix, i and parallels and passim.

his kingdom (i). The two, it is felt, must be closely united realities.

Indeed, let us consider the kingdom itself. As Jesus himself says, and as all three synoptics have reported, it constitutes a mystery (2), and a mystery entrusted especially to the apostles (3). (3) We shall see what this mystery is.

First of all, the kingdom has a great unity: it is like a flock whose shepherd keeps it together; the sheep do not go astray, and if one goes astray, the shepherd follows it, seeks it out and brings it back joyfully. At times he appears like a living person, or like a plant (4).

Like a living being, it has within it, hidden, its principle of growth. At first small and imperceptible, it must grow under inner pressures. It is like a leaven, like a seed.

And he said, "The kingdom of God is like a man who has cast seed into the earth and sleeps and wakes night and day, and the seed grows and flourishes without his knowing how. For of itself the earth produces: first a grass and then the ear, then wheat full of the ear. And when the fruit is ready, immediately he puts the sickle into it, because the harvest is ready."

And he said, "To what shall we compare the kingdom of God, or in what parable shall we put it? It is like a mustard seed that when it is sown on the earth - being the smallest of all the seeds that are on the earth - and when it is sown, it rises and becomes greater than all the herbs. And it makes great branches, so that the birds of the air can make their nests under its shade.

(1) Jesus was condemned to death for having solemnly affirmed that the kingdom was coming: *Mt.* xxvi, 64 and parallels, cfr. xxiv, 30, ff. and parallels; *Le.* xxiii, 2; *Mt.* xxvn, 11 and parallels. On the cross, the king and the kingdom seemed to fail definitively both: *Mt.* xxvn, 29 ff. and parallels; *Le.* xxiii, 42.

(2) *Mk.* iv, 11; *Le.* vin, 10; *Mk.* xm, 11. Luke and Matthew have μυστήρια in the plural. The meaning of the word, according to Fr. Lagrange, is "purpose of God, hidden."

(3) *Mt.* xm, 10; *Le.* vin, 9. *Mk.* iv, 10 says οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν συν τοῖς δώδεκα.

(4) *Le.*, χv, 1-7; *Mt.*, χvii, 12-14. - *Af.*., xm, 3> IL *9^{et} parallels, etc.

(5) *Mk.* iv, 26-32. Cfr D. BUZY, S. C. J., *Les Paraboles (Verbum salutis, vi)*, 6^e ed., Paris, 1932, p. 48.

Life, the mystery of life itself, the kingdom will also be a union and a mystery of union. Just as a living person embraces himself, the kingdom will embrace those who constitute it so tightly that it will be as if they were one. Their gentleness will be boundless, their meekness for their brethren will be modelled on that of Christ, their willingness to forgive will be untiring, their love for one another will be perpetual, unconditional, generous, and like the master, but through him, they will be the light of the world (1). It is not a morality of contracts, of rivalries, of divisions, that Jesus Christ announces, but a morality of union. Each one will have his own good, no doubt; but, above all, each one must be willing to give. This, it may be said, is the great lesson of the discourse on the mount. Jesus, of course, gave other precepts there, and He taught elsewhere as well; but there, as everywhere, the foundation on which everything must stand is union and love. He repeated it often enough:

But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.

You therefore must be perfect, just as your heavenly Father is perfect (2).

Brotherly love, then, but love that comes from God; this is a matter of worship and religion.

If you present your offering at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your offering there before the altar and go first to be reconciled with your brother. Then come back and offer your offering (3).

(1) *Mt.* v, 14, compared to *Joh.* vm, 12. Cfr *Le.* xi, 33-36 and *Joh.* ni, 19-21.

(2) *Mt.* 44, 45, 48; cfr. 19, 20, for the link with the kingdom. From this point of view, the comparison of the Sermon on the Mount and the discourse after the Last Supper in St. John is instructive: both are indictments of selfishness and claims to charity.

(3) *Mt.* v. 23; cfr. 19:20.

This is the condition required to enter the kingdom of God: justice must overflow, and it must overflow in the form of charity. This is the price God pays for his favours: if you give, he will also give; if you forgive, he will also forgive; if you forgive, he will also forgive.

Peace with God, union with God, is a second grace that those in the kingdom will receive, and this grace is more important and more characteristic than the first.

The little flock to which it has pleased God to give the kingdom is the object of a special providence. God, who adorns the lilies of the field with splendor, knows their needs and wants to provide for them: to those who seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, all the rest is given in addition.

A series of parables contain, in one way or another, the same - statement, in which later tradition has even found a symbol of the sacrament of perfect union, the Eucharist, and in which Jesus, certainly, was not short-sighted. The parables of the feast, of the seed, of the lost sheep that the good shepherd brings back on his shoulders (3) should be studied in this sense. But these texts would require a long commentary, which only came after them. So it is better to leave them aside and confine ourselves to a few words that are clear in themselves.

These are found especially in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.

When this Gospel is studied from the point of view of the doctrine of the mystical body, the verse which gives the word of the whole is the one which serves as the conclusion of the narrative. It is a word of Jesus, perhaps the last one he uttered before his

(1) *Le.*, VI, 37; XI, 4; *Mt.*, vu, 1; vi, 12, 14; xviii, 35; *Mk.*, xi, 25.

(2) *Mt.* vi, 33; *Le.* xii, 31, 32.

(3) *Le.* xv, 5; *Mt.* xxii, 2; *Mk.* iv, 3; cfr, for the feast, *Mt.* xxii, 2. Let us also mention *Mt.* xi, 25-30. Cf. T. ARVEDSON, *Das Mysterion Christi*, Upsala, 1937; and *Le.*, xxii, 15ff. Cfr L. DELPORTE, *Un texte de saint Luc sur notre solidarité avec le Christ*, in *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, t. III, 1926, p. 475.

ascension. His supreme gesture - a gesture of blessing (i) - is to entrust all his power to the Church; more than that, it is to pass himself into her.

All power has been given to me, he says, in heaven and on earth.

Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to do all that I have commanded you.

And behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the age.

He is with them every day, as the Vulgate translates. In these terms, in the past, when he sent a prophet, Jahve was in solidarity with him. Now, when he sends the Church, Jesus, taking the place of God, is in solidarity with it. He gives her all her powers and all her rights, the right to teach, the right to command, the right to sanctify. And the explanation of this supernatural power comes at the end: the Church can do what Christ can do, because Christ is in her: through her, it is he who continues to have all power (3).

(1) Can we not think, in fact, that this word makes explicit the *dum benediceret illis* of Saint Luke in his penultimate verse?

(2) *Mt.* xxviii, 20. A long explanation of this passage may be found, and one given by Jesus Christ Himself, in the discourse after the supper. There He tells how, in spite of His departure, He will remain near. We shall return to this discourse when we study the fourth Gospel. From *Mt.* xxviii, 20, we must compare especially the: "And I in them", *Joh.* xvii, 26.

(3) We shall see this in what concerns the reception of the sacraments. Of this text St. Augustine says: "There is yet another divine presence, not suspected by our mortal senses, of which Christ said, 'I am with you all the days,' etc." *Tract, in Joh.*, LXIV, P.L., xxxv, 1806. Spiritual presence which makes Him present everywhere with His own (*Ibid.*). The same doctor uses this text to prove that Jesus Christ resides in the hearts of the faithful (*In Psalmum CXL*, P.L., xxxvii, 1819 and *passim*). He even speaks to this interior Christ: "Let him listen to me, I know that he is present, I do not doubt it in the least. He himself said: "Behold, I am, etc.". *Tract, in Joh.*, xxviii, 10 P. L., xxxv, 1679. - Papyri and apocrypha lend to Our Lord some other words of the same meaning. We shall quote these as documents, according to A. RESCH, *Agrapha, ausser-kanonische Schriffsfragmente (Texte und Untersuchungen, neue Folge*, xv, 3-4),

If the verse were isolated, it would certainly be foolhardy to try to find such a fullness of meaning in it. But it is far from being isolated; one can even say that it is only the final summary of a whole teaching given in several places in the Gospel, but taken up again in its entirety, as it were, in a long discourse by the master.

This discourse, contained in chapter XV, could be called the ecclesiological discourse, since it contains so many teachings about the Church. Saint Matthew, moreover, is, as we know, the most ecclesiological of the evangelists. It seems that he wrote for Judeo-Christian communities, to whom it was necessary to show that the Church of Christ is the true home of God.

Now, it is in this discourse that we find the main part of his - doctrine on the mystical body. Here again, this is given by the holy books in their most characteristic form.

(2^e ed.), Leipzig, 1906. "Jesus said: "Where two are together, they are not without God; where one is alone, I tell you, I am with him. Strike the stone and you will find me; split the wood and I am there"; no. 50. Heavily damaged text in papyrus: [Λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς δπ]ου ἐάν ὥσιν... ε... θ(?)εοι καί... πο(?)... ε[ἷς] ἐστὶν μόνος ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]. Ἐγει[ρ]ον τον λίθον, κάκει εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τά ξύλον κάγώ ἐκεῖ εἰμι. - St. Ephrem reports the same word, but in a more developed form: *Sicut in omnibus indigentis gregi suo Christus consuluit, ita et vitam solitariam agentes, in hac tristi conditione consolatus est, dicens: Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum, ne quisquam ex solitariis contristaretur, quia ipse est gaudium nostrum, et ipse nobiscum. Et ubi duo sunt, ibi et ego ero, quia misericordia et gratia ejus nos obumbrat. At quando tres sumus, jam in Ecclesiam coimus quae est corpus Christi perfectum et imago ejus expressa.* RESCH, no. 175. - Here is another logion, of Johannine aspect it: Καὶ ἡ σὰν ἐν πάντες, καθὼς γέγραπται - ἡ σὰν ἐν πάντες, ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ μόν<ρ. RESCH, no. 115. - Again, on Tunion between Christians: Κολλάσθε τοῖς ἀγίοις διὰ οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιασθήσονται. RESCH, no. 67. - The kingdom of God is within you, and he who knows himself will find it (Christ's saying, *Le., xm, 21*, altered in a pantheistic sense, says Resch). - Here is another, in the same sense, surely inauthentic: Ἐγὼ σύ καὶ σύ ἐγὼ- καὶ δπου ἐάν ἡς ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι, καὶ ἐν ἀπασίν εἰμι- ἐσπαρμένος δθεν ἐάν θέλης συλλέγεις με, ἐμέ δέ συλλέγων ἑαυτον συλλέγεις. RESCH, *Apokryphon*, 52, p. 266. - Let us quote again this less characteristic logion, See me in yourselves, as one sees himself in water or in a mirror. RESCH, no. 93.

The very circumstances in which the discourse takes place are instructive. Jesus often spoke of the kingdom, and in this connection, small ambitions were asserted among the twelve, and each one of them set his or her sights on the best place. One day, during an

apostolic journey, the depths of their souls were revealed, and the apostles, along the way, discussed precedence. When they arrived home, Jesus asked them what they had been arguing about on the road. The question led to silence. Then the teacher called a child to him, and holding him in his arms, he spoke to them about the kingdom, about harmony, about humility, and above all about the unity that should inspire all their actions (i).

Jesus therefore, having called a child (παῖδιον), placed him in the midst of them, and said, "Truly I say to you, unless you change and become like little children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven. Whoever therefore becomes humble like this child, he is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoever receives one such little child for my name's sake, he receives me.

"But whosoever shall cause a stumbling-block to one of these little ones that believe in me, it would be better for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea. Woe to the world, because of the scandals! For it is a necessity that scandals come; but woe to the man through whom the scandal comes!

"See that you do not despise one of these little ones, for I tell you that their angels in heaven are constantly beholding the face of my Father in heaven. For the Son of Man has come to save what was lost.

"What do you think? If a man had a hundred sheep and one of them had gone astray, would he not leave the ninety-nine [others] on the mountains and go and seek the one that has gone astray? And if he finds her, I tell you that he has more joy over her than over the ninety-nine who have not gone astray. So it is not the will of your Father in heaven that any of these little ones should perish.

"And if your brother has sinned, go, rebuke him between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have won your brother. But if he does not listen to you, take with you

(i) *Mk.* ix, 33ff.

You may call one or two people, so that the whole affair may be over on the word of two or three witnesses. But if he does not want to hear them, let him be to you as the 'gentile' and the 'publican'.

"Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven; whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. Moreover, I tell you that if two of you on earth agree on any request in prayer, it will come to them from my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Then Peter came to him and said, "Lord, if my brother sins against me,

how many times shall I forgive him? Up to seven times?" Jesus said to him, "I do not say to you seven times, but seventy times seven.

"Therefore the kingdom of heaven has been compared to a king who wanted to settle accounts with his servants.

"Now when he was beginning to settle, one was brought to him who owed ten thousand talents. And when the man had no money to pay, the lord commanded that he should be sold with his wife and children and all that he had, and that the debt should be paid. So the servant fell down [at his feet] and fell prostrate before him, saying, "Be patient with me," and I will pay you everything! Moved with compassion, the master of that servant let him go and forgave him his debt.

"Now when this servant went out, he found one of his fellow servants who owed him a hundred denarii. And falling upon him, he clutched his throat, saying, "Pay what you owe." So falling down [at his feet], his fellow servant begged him, saying, "Be patient with me, and "I will pay you." But he would not. And he went and threw him into prison, until he paid all that he owed.

"When his fellow servants saw what was happening, they were extremely saddened. And they came and told their master all that had happened. Then his master called him and said to him, "You wicked servant, I have forgiven you all this debt, because you have done me a great favour. Should you not have had mercy on your fellow servant, as I have had mercy on you? And his master was angry and delivered him to the torturers until he had paid all that he owed.

"This is how my heavenly Father will treat you, unless each of you forgives his brother from the heart.

This chapter, as a whole, is a teaching on the

(i) *Mt. xvii, 2-7, 10-35*. Fr. Lavergne's synopsis translates the same term, *παῖδιον*, sometimes as child and sometimes as little child, without the context offering, that we see, any reason for the change.

P. I, CH. II. - THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

It is introduced by rivalries concerning the kingdom, and it is of the kingdom that it speaks expressly on several occasions. But at the same time, as we shall see, he deals with the mystery of unity which is the mystical body. What he says on the latter subject is presented as a doctrine on the prayer that is done in the Church (w. 19-20), a doctrine on the power of the Church (vv. 15-22), a doctrine on the dignity of the members of the Church (vv. 2-7; 10-14^{et} 23-34). Let us consider these parts in turn.

First of all, the doctrine of prayer: when his people gather to pray, the Lord will be in their midst. They will not need to look for him far away or to call him; their very union will make him present. The Father himself, Jesus explains, will see him in them, and that is why he, whom nothing deceives, will answer the prayer of his children:

Truly I say to you, if two of you agree on earth to ask for anything in their prayer, it will come to them from my Father in heaven.

For (note this for) where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them (2).

When the Church prays, she prays in Christ, and her prayer implies his prayer.

This teaching, from the words of Jesus preserved by Saint

(1) Verses i, 3, 4, 26 and 18 (cfr xvi, 19). Vv. 15 ff. in speaking of the Church still speak of the kingdom. Verses 8 and 9, which we do not quote, in the parallels they have in Mark, speak of the kingdom.

(2) *Mt.* xviii, 19-20; *Mk.* xi, 24; *Lev.* xvi, 6. The Codex Bezae reads: Two or three are not gathered in My name, unless I am in the midst of them. Note also the passage *Mk.* in, 33 and parallels. Jesus declares that his true kinsmen are those who do the will of the Father. A similar word is found in the *Gospel to the Ebionites*, cf. A. HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, 5^e, Tubingue, 1916, p. 69. - H. STRACK and P. BILLERBECK, *Kommenfar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 1, Munich, 1923, p. 794, give some parallels, e.g., "Where two (or more often, ten) sit and exchange words of the law with each other, God is in their midst."

John continues: we must abide in him and he in us, like branches in the vine, and then whatever we ask for, we get (i).

Doctrine on the power of the Church. There is the same union between the Church which governs and commands and the one Master, as between the Church which prays and the one Pontiff. Whatever the Church binds on earth," says Our Lord, "will be bound in heaven, and whatever she unbinds will be unbound. Moreover, in the same Gospel, Jesus had already declared this to Simon Peter.

I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.

St. Luke has similar words, but perhaps stronger, addressed to the seventy-two disciples. They form the end of the speech that sends them on their mission. They will go," says Jesus, "announcing the coming of the kingdom. And let it be known that this kingdom and its ambassadors are closely linked to the King: by accepting or refusing them, it is the Lord himself who will have been accepted or refused.

He who hears you hears me; he who rejects you rejects me. But he who rejects me rejects him who sent me (3).

In their voice, therefore, it is not their word that will be heard (4). (4) Thus, as Saint Matthew says in another context, the magisterium is not a mere multitude of pastors: in all of them there is only Christ.

(1) *Joh.* xv, 7. See also xiv, 13, 14, reconciled with xv, 8, for the explanation of δοξασθῆ; and xvi, 22-24.

(2) *Mt.* xvi, 16; xviii, 18; cf. above, p. 36.

(3) *Le.*, x, 16; *Mt.*, x, 40.

(4) St. Epiphanius (A. RESCH, *Agrapha (Texte u. Unters.*, xxx, 3-4), Leipzig, 1906, p. 207), a great enemy of the apocrypha, however, quotes four times, as coming from Christ, this saying: *ὁ λαλῶν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, ἰδοὺ πάρεμι.

Do not be called rabbi, for you have but one teacher (διδάσκαλος), being all brothers; and do not call any of you on earth "Father," for you have but one Father, He who is in heaven.

Neither be ye called doctors (καθηγηταί), for ye have but one doctor (καθηγητής): the Christ (i).

Now, let it be noted, the magisterium is not alone in receiving its humility and its greatness from its union with Christ. All the faithful are changed and transfigured by this same union.

This is the third thing to consider in our passage from St. Matthew: a doctrine about the dignity of Christians in Christ.

Whoever receives one such little child, says Jesus Christ, receives me.

Let us look closely at this sentence: it marks one of the most familiar gestures of the Savior; straightforwardly and as if naturally, he is going to take the place of all his people, and especially of the most humble.

Often in the Gospel he speaks of this substitution, which is dear to his heart; he returns to it in St. Matthew at the end of the discourse on the apostolate:

He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him who sent me; and he who receives a prophet as a prophet will get a prophet's reward, and he who receives a righteous man as a righteous man will get a righteous man's reward. And whoever gives one of these little ones a cup of cold water to drink as a disciple, truly I say to you, he will not lose his reward.

Mark and Luke reproduce the same statements:

Whoever receives one of these children for my name's sake receives me, and whoever receives me does not receive me, but him who sent me.

(1) *Mt.* xxiii, 8.

(2) *Mt.* xviii, 5.

(3) *Mt.* x, 40-42.

Whoever receives this child for my name's sake receives me, and whoever receives me receives him who sent me.

The common element in these three passages is extremely instructive. It is a kind of gradation: on the one hand, there is the union of Christ with the Father, and, on the other, the union of the Son with Christians. And these unions are so closely linked that one leads to the other: in receiving a Christian, one receives Christ, and

in receiving Christ, one receives the Father.

The epistles of Paul and especially the Gospel of John will develop this scheme of the redemptive economy, and we will find it again when we study them. In the Synoptics, it is expressed on several occasions. Thus Jesus declares that God's forgiveness comes to us by the same stages.

Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us, he asks in the Sunday prayer. For, he explains:

If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you your trespasses (2).

The investiture given to the apostles by Christ follows the same path:

All power has been given to me in heaven and on earth. Go, therefore, and teach.

Whoever rejects you rejects me, and whoever rejects me rejects him who sent me.

In short, all salvation comes through imitation; and unity is all knotted up in Christ (4).

(1) Mk., ix, 37, 41; *Le.*, ix, 48.

(2) *Mt.* vi, 12, 14-15. Four times the verb ἀφίημι: the parallelism is more complete in Greek than in French. Cfr *Mi.*, xviii, 35.

(3) *Mt.* xxviii, 18; cfr xxviii, 20; *Le.* x, 16.

(4) The "that they may be one, as we are one" of Jesus in St. John will be the final seal on this doctrine.

Finally, there is one last text from Saint Matthew. It takes up the teachings already encountered, but it constitutes, because of the circumstances, such a commentary on the whole preaching of the kingdom that it must be studied separately: it says the last word on this subject in the whole doctrine of the synoptics.

The preaching of the kingdom, as we have said, at least after Peter's confession, is catastrophic and "eschatological": the day of the Lord will come with so many shocks that it evokes the idea of the last day. From this, for the exegetes, a very big question, that of eschatology in the New Testament. For us, we do not have to look for the whole answer, but only what can be said from the point of view of our union in Jesus Christ.

And this partial answer is given by Jesus himself, and in the final passage, where he explains in the greatest detail in his last discourse (i) what the coming of the kingdom will be. For it is always a question of the coming of the kingdom (2); only, in this passage, cosmic shocks take second place, we no longer see external catastrophes and the context speaks only of moral dispositions, of vigilance and fidelity (3). The event itself is summed up in an apparition of Christ, but of Christ who declares his mystical identity with his own people.

And when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon his throne of glory. And all nations shall be gathered together before him. And he will separate them one from another, as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand and the goats on the left.

Then the King will say to those at his right hand, "Come, you blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the world. For I was hungry... and you gave me

(1) It is followed immediately by the final, partly customary to St. Matthew: "And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these discourses, that he said to his disciples, 'You know that in two days the Passover will take place, and' the Son of man will be delivered up to be crucified" (xxvi, 1, 2).

(2) *Mt.* xxv, i, and for *Mt.* xxv, 14-30, compare *Le.* xix, 12-27.

(3) Parables of the ten virgins, the talents. *Mt.* xxiv, 42 - xxv, 30.

I was thirsty, and you gave me drink; I was homeless, and you took me in; I was without clothing, and you clothed me; I was sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me. I was sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came to me. Then the righteous will answer him, "Lord, when did we see you hungry and give you food, or thirsty and give you drink? When did we see you without shelter and take you in, or without clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to you? And the king will answer them: ■ Truly I [tell] you, what you have done to one of these brothers of mine, to one of the least of these, you have done to me."

Then he will also say to those on the left, "Go away from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire that was prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me no food; I was thirsty and you gave me no drink; I was without shelter and you took me in; I was without clothing and you clothed me not; I was sick and in prison and you visited me not. Then they will also answer saying, "Lord, where did we see you hungry or thirsty, without shelter or clothing, sick or in prison, and did not do you any service?" Then he will answer them, "Truly I tell you, whatever you did not do to one of these little ones, you did not do to me..."

And these shall go to eternal punishment; but the righteous to eternal life.

Thus the whole history of the world will come to an end, in a solemn affirmation of mystical identity (2): Jesus, summing up the whole of it, will be able to speak only of himself, as if, in the multitude of men, he alone had existed (3).

Obviously, it does not deny the other truths of the faith;

(1) *Mt. xxv*, 31-46. Compare this passage with *Mt. x*:32-42 and *Mt. xvi*:27-28 and parallels, where the thought of the mystical body can be seen in the background.

(2) "Has the reality of the mystical body ever been more strikingly affirmed, even in Saint Paul? F. PRAT, *Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1933, t. H, p. 260 - We must see in the poor "not only the image, but the very person of our Lord Jesus Christ." PIUS X, address to the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, April 16, 1909.

(3) ■ In all Christians, therefore, he is the one to be loved, who said, "I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat." For he did not say, "You gave them," but, "You gave me." So great is the charity of the head towards its body." S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* excvn, P.L., xxxviii, 1024.

He assumes them: for an almsgiving to have such importance, men must be elevated to the supernatural order; they must be linked to the whole Trinity by grace and the sacraments. The dogmas of justification, of ecclesiology, of Christology, are implied here. But they are only implied: of them, Jesus takes only the place where they

touch him and us. To love him in men, and that is all. So we will not add anything.

His last and dazzling parousia will be the testimony given to another parousia, secret and perpetual this one; it will be like the sudden burst and manifestation of it. His coming to the face of the world will say that he was always coming within souls and within the Church. Is this not how he comments on himself in the same Gospel of St. Matthew, when he says: "I am with you always, to the close of the age"?

capital passage (2), and which the inspired books have put in the

(1) *Mt.*, xxviii, 20: *ἕως της συντελείας του αἰῶνος*. The text is studied above, p. 52.

(2) From this passage, we can relate the following agrapha: *Εἶδες γάρ, φησιν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν σου, εἶδες τὸν Θεὸν σου*. A. RESCH, *Agrapha*, No. 144; or this other, collected by ORIGEN (*In Mt.*, xm, 2, P.G., xm, 1097). *Καὶ Ἰησοῦς φησιν γοῦν - διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενούντας ἡσθένουν, καί... πεινώντας ἐπεινών... διψώντας ἐδίψων*. RESCH, No. 91. The text of St. Matthew, which we have just quoted, has been much commented upon by the Fathers, especially in connection with almsgiving. Saint Augustine often brings this word closer to the text of Acts: *Willow, Willow, quid me persequeris?* See, for example, S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* xvin, P.L., xxxvii, 131; xxv, *ibid.*, 170; LX, *ibid.*, 408; LXXXVI, *ibid.*, 524-25; cin, *ibid.*, 613; CLXXVIII, *ibid.*, 963; CLXXIX, *ibid.*, 968; cxcvii, *ibid.* - St. John Chrysostom, too, who often preaches almsgiving, frequently quotes this text. We shall speak of it in connection with the saint. - Cfr S. CYPRIAN, *De opere et eleemosynis*, xxiii, P.L., iv, 619. S. IRENAEUS, *Adversus haereses*, iv, 18, 6, P.G., vu, 1029. St. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Zach.*, P.G., LXXII, 37. PS.-NILUS, *Peristeria*, ix, 5, P.G. LXXIX, 872. - Origen applies this text to the martyrs: *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν μαρτύρων δικάζεται*. *Αὐτὸς ἐστὶν δ ἐν τοῖς μάρτυσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δικαζόμενος - καὶ τοῦτο πεισθήσῃ παραδέξασθαι, βλέπων διτι οὐ σέ φησιν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ ὅταν σύ ἢς ἐν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτόν... - οὐ σέ πεινώντα δταν σύ πεινῶς ἀλλ' ἐαυτόν οὐ σέ διψώντα, ἀλλ' ἐαυτόν*. *In Jeremiam horn*, χιν, P.G., xm, 412; cfr. *In Mt.*, LXXXIII and exui, P.G., xm, 1732 and 1762.

This is the end of the last discourse of the Master which they report. This is the transition, so to speak, between the doctrine which the Holy Spirit has preserved for us in the Synoptics and that which he has preserved for us in Saint John.

In St. John, as we will see later, the "end", the reign of God, is the definitive one, and it is established from this earth. Christ dwells in us, we in him, and he always gives us eternal life; death and judgment are therefore past realities and the light that does not fade has already risen.

This conception of the kingdom is not an idea which John alone

would have kept in mind; one does not have to look long to find it in the synoptics.

Only, in the synoptics, it is less apparent, and this is understandable. They were written much earlier: at the time when the Church was breaking away from the synagogue and therefore at the time when the apostles were suffering the most from the separation. Moreover, what they report is the first impression made on the apostles by the teaching of the Master. Now, as far as the teaching on the relationship of the kingdom with Israel is concerned, this first impression must have been painful: it was a break with their past, a renunciation of their privileges as Jews, a real death. It is understandable, therefore, that at this first shock they were struck especially by the words of the Master, who described the coming of the kingdom as a collapse and related it to the end of everything. God wished this first impression to be recorded for us, and it is found in the Synoptic Gospels in a rather strong, but not exaggerated, relief.

But it is not alone, far from it. In addition to all the other indications about the kingdom which can be found in the first three Gospels, and which can be found collected in the treatises on the Church, we can discern in them, in the background, but very clearly, and sometimes even in the foreground, the affirmation that this reign will be a mystery and a mystery of interior life.

The Master, after he has disappeared from the eyes of the body, will always be with his disciples. He will be present through them, he will be present in them; God himself will see him praying in the Church and forgiving in her. And Christians too will find him, who speaks to them when the Church teaches them, and who, alas, is despised when the Church is rejected. In this Church, each Christian will be united to him: by receiving any one of them, it is he who will have been received, and what will have been done to the least of his own, to any one among men, it is in reality to him that it will have been done.

On a quick reading, the kingdom described in the synoptics seems to be a reality so rich in various aspects that one is tempted to see in it several different realities. At times it seems to be the interior justice of souls, at others it seems to be an empirical and exterior organization; at others it seems to be a heavenly reality which will come here below when the world has passed away, at others it seems

to be an earthly, even daily reality which has already been realized; at times it is seen as something which offers itself almost on a level, and at others it is seen as something steep which can only be conquered by the violent; at other times it is the Church militant, and at others it is the Church triumphant.

However, as soon as we look more closely, these different realities come closer together and overlap, like the different shades of the paintings which, at the right distance, merge into a single image. Father de Grandmaison rightly notes (i) that the expressions change, but they always refer "to the same reality, to the same vast plan of mercy and grace: God uniting, by the bond of a mutual and ultimately eternal love, his human creature. It is a unique gift, but it is virtually innumerable: either it is divided into as many episodes as there are individual destinies, or, when considered socially, it is distributed in narrow phases.

(i) *Jesus Christ*, vol. i, p. 380.

The same author, a little further on (2), concludes the chapter he devotes to the kingdom of God by declaring And the same author, a little further on (2), concludes the chapter he devotes to the kingdom of God by declaring: "Thus it can be said that the kingdom of God is Jesus known, tasted, possessed. St. Paul says in the same sense: for me to live is Christ."

This is also the conclusion we have just reached. The kingdom is rich in various aspects, certainly. But it is one: in its most essential and interior part, but also the most mysterious and perhaps the most reserved for the secret conversations that the Master had with his own people, it is nothing other than God who takes possession of man and gives himself to him, in the mystical body of the God-Man, where he unites humanity.

It would seem natural to devote a special paragraph to the study of the third Gospel, as to the first two.

However, it must be abandoned. This Gospel, considered in itself and in itself alone, contains too few teachings about the mystical body, and all that it says of note has already been reported in connection with the other synoptics (3). It is true that it insists more than these on certain aspects of the kingdom and of the mystical body that is being formed:

(1) "His kingdom will be us, provided we believe in him and grow in him. All the faithful, redeemed by the blood of the only begotten Son, shall be his kingdom." This kingdom will come, when he comes to judge. If then "we are of the number of those who constitute his members, his kingdom will come for us, and it will not delay." S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* LVII, P.L., xxxviii, 388.

(2) *Jesus Christi* t. i, p. 388.

(3) See especially *Lk.* iv, 16-30; vi, 37 and x, 6. Note also two verses proper to Luke, where he shows the concrete aspect of the preaching of the Kingdom, and which can be compared with the passages proper to St. Mark: *Lk.* xw, 15 and xix, il. (1) and its universality, which makes it destined for all men (2), and especially for little ones and sinners (3). But these few particulars alone do not provide sufficient material for a special paragraph.

This should not be surprising. The Gospel of St. Luke, considered in itself, has, on the mystical body, few teachings of its own, because

in reality it must not be considered in itself. Its author himself presents it as a beginning, a beginning, a *πρώτος λόγος* (4), which a sequel, a *δεύτερος λόγος*, which is the book of Acts, is to explain and complete, and the whole work, in each of its two parts, contains manifold marks of this continuity (5).

Now, the doctrine of the mystical body is precisely affirmed, and in the way that is specifically characteristic of Luke, in what makes the continuity between the two parts, we mean, in the single purpose that the work realizes and that commands its plan.

(1) See the words of the master, which he alone reports. *The.*, xvn, 20-21. (2) See the verses, which he alone has. *Le.* 1, 33; iv, 43; vm, 1; x, 11.

(3) *Le.*, xii, 31 and xxiv, 42 (the word to the good thief), passages which Luke alone has. See also vi, 20; vu, 28; vin, 1; ix, 11; x, 11. It may be noted, in passing, that a text like *Le.* xn, 31: "Do not be afraid, little flock, for it has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom", resembles the passages of St. Paul which speak of the mystery; cfr. below, ch. iv; other texts of St. Luke are quoted in this same place in a footnote (p. no-in).

(4) *Act*, i, i.

(5) Several of these will be noted in the following. But we can note here that, while the beginning of the Gospel is a beautiful period which closes on itself, the beginning of Acts is a sentence which, while recalling the content of the Gospel, is lost in the narrative which follows: a transition, not a beginning. Note also that the Gospel ends with a kind of summary (xxiv, 49, 53), which the beginning of Acts takes up and completes (promise of the Spirit: i, 4, 7-8, and 11; ascension: 1, 9, ff; return to Jerusalem: 1, 10-14; stay in the temple: 1, 13, ff; 11, 46, etc.). With regard to the date of the ascension in particular, the explanations given by the book of Acts are necessary to correct the inaccurate impression that the Gospel would otherwise leave. The Gospel seems to say that it took place on Easter Day, whereas in reality, as Acts shows, it took place forty days later.

The purpose of the two books, as we know, is to show the - universality of the salvation brought by Christ (1). (1) The Gospel shows this universality in its principle, by bringing to light what is totally and supernaturally human in the good news and in the teacher who preaches it; the book of Acts shows it in its realization, by describing the spread of the good news throughout the whole world. Now, precisely, what is distinctive about St. Luke's doctrine of the mystical body is its emphasis on the catholicity, the universality of that body. It was reserved for the faithful companion of Paul to proclaim, by the very account of the facts, how much, in his body which is the Church, Christ is exactly what he is in himself, in this

body which is his body of flesh: a thing destined for the whole universe and an immensely human life. The same Spirit who led the Savior, in the days of his mortal life, to proclaim the good news to the poor, the captives, the blind, (2) leads him again, in the time of his mystical and ecclesiastical life, to occupy and take back into himself the poor universe of those who were walking far from the light and life.

The itinerary that the Spirit follows in this double mission, and at the same time the plan that Saint Luke adopts in his double narrative and in his double way of teaching the mystical Christ, is on both sides exactly the same, except that the stages are arranged in reverse order. The Gospel tells how the word of salvation left Galilee and, through Judea and Samaria, reached Jerusalem; the Book of Acts tells how this word went from Jerusalem, through Judea and Samaria, to the ends of the earth (3).

The drama of Jerusalem, which closes the Gospel, is not, therefore, in the complete narrative, a finale, but a turning point and like a new beginning: the mortal life of Christ ends, only in

(1) See *Le*, xi, 10, 14, and also n, 31-32; 1, 14, 31-33, 48-53, 79; iv, 18, and *Act*, n, i, ff, 21 and the *Convertimur ad gentes* (xin, 46, cfr xvm, 6).

(2) *Le.*, iv, 16, ss" a kind of preface to the Gospel, cf. above, pp. 31-32.

(3) *Act*, I, 8.

making his mystical life spring forth. St. Mark already taught this by the way in which he highlighted the internal logic of Jesus' earthly existence, all tending towards his death (i). St. Luke, no doubt, also notes, following St. Mark, this same internal logic (2); but, in addition, he shows it expressed in the events: he tells how, in fact, through the preaching of the Gospel, the life of Jesus produced the salvation of the universe.

The angel announced to Mary, he relates at the beginning of the Gospel, from the *πρώτος λόγος*, that the son who was to be born of her would receive the throne of David, that he would reign over the house of Jacob forever, and that his reign would have no end (3). (3) The throne of David, however, according to the Gospel, Jesus did not occupy it, except by dying on the cross in the city of David and by appearing to finish all his work in failure. Yes, no doubt, continues the book of Acts, the *δεύτερος λόγος*; but precisely in this city of

David Jesus is to be reborn, reborn in the Church, to spread, with the Church, to the ends of the earth.

The third Gospel, therefore, is, so to speak, a beginning, a sowing story. This is what makes some of its particularities suggestive. Thus, more than the other synoptics, it presents the kingdom as a hidden, interior, tiny reality (4); more than the others too, it speaks of this kingdom at the moment when Jesus Christ institutes the Eucharist and goes to die for his own (5). Are not the seeds

(1) See above, pp. 30 ff.

(2) The stages of St. Mark's narrative are found in St. Luke, more exactly than in St. Matthew: *Le.*, *TV-NI*, 12; *Mk.*, 1, 12 - in, 19; 1 episode *Le.*, iv, 16-30 has the same introductory meaning as *Mk.*, 1, 12 ff. (cf. p. 31); what is new in the announcements of the passion and the calls to renunciation is better preserved in St. Luke than in St. Matthew (see pp. 34 and 38).

(3) *Le.*, i, 32, 33; cfr n, 30-32.

(4) *Le.*, xvii, 20-21; xn, 31; xxi, 29-33.

(5) *Le.*, xxii, 16, 18 (found also in Mark and Matthew), 20, 10 - xxiii, 42.

Is it not by giving Himself to Christians that Jesus threw Himself into the world as a seed?

But above all, this quality of introduction and beginning that the Gospel of Saint Luke presents shows that, in order to perceive well the teaching that it brings about on the mystical body, it is necessary to look for it, above all, in the book of Acts: it is only by contemplating the harvest that one can guess all that there is in the germ.

Therefore, in order to study St. Luke and his doctrine, it is the Acts of the Apostles that must be considered, and the Gospel too, of course, but in the commentary that these Acts give it.

St. Matthew had the task, it may be said, of giving at length the doctrine of the kingdom; to St. Luke it is reserved to show what this kingdom is, and how it is the mystically continued Christ.

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P. I, CH. II. - THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

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CHAPTER III

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

ARRIVAL OF THE KINGDOM AND THE CHURCH, THE BODY OF CHRIST

The coming of the kingdom in Acts: we see it being formed, in fact, and show, in fact, what a mystery it contains: the mystery of Christ mystically living in his own.

The Church, the mystical body, is born as Christ was born; the promise of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is very similar to the promise of the Incarnation. The Church is born *of Spiritu Sancto*, like Christ. She is, like Christ, moved by the Spirit. Christ appears in her; he appears especially in the DEATH OF STEPHEN: a death very similar to that of Jesus.

And also, at the time of PAUL'S CONVERSION, he appears in the persecuted Christians, a I am Jesus whom you persecute." Objective vision: subjective vision at the same time? Christ there declares that he is in the teaching Church, as much as in the suffering Church. "Saul, Σαούλ, why do you persecute me?"

The preaching of the kingdom that Jesus began, the Church continues in his name. This is what the book of Acts tells us. We see the Church being formed; but, at the same time, we can say that it is only about the coming of the kingdom.

From its very first words, the narrative is oriented in this direction. Jesus, says St. Luke, showed himself to his disciples after his passion, appearing to them for forty days and telling them about the kingdom of God (i). (i) Thus, in the beginning, it is about the kingdom. And at the end, it is still a question of the kingdom: in the last lines, it is

(i) Acts I, 3 (cfr i, 6 and x, 7; vm, 12; xx, 25).

sees Paul, in the house which he has rented, receiving all who come to visit him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching what concerns the Lord Jesus (τά περί του Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (1), freely and without hindrance (2). Always, then, the kingdom, and always the kingdom in the same proximity and union with the person of Jesus (3).

Thus framed (4), the narrative, as is to be expected, speaks, and speaks a great deal, of Christ and his kingdom, and of the union between the two, we mean, of the mystical body. On this point, its teachings are even a continuation of the doctrine of the synoptics.

The synoptics, as the previous chapter has just reminded us, have the following doctrine on this point: Jesus will return to be always with his own. He will be in the magisterium to teach and to direct; he will be in the faithful to live and suffer in them.

It is this same doctrine which makes up the content of the Acts; but it is found there which is accomplished and no longer merely formulated.

Jesus, therefore, is coming back. That is why he left: to return, but closer and more interior.

This is how he himself announces his departure, his ascension, in the Acts of the Apostles. The disciples have just asked him, now that his return to the Father is imminent, if the time has finally come when the kingdom of Israel will be established.

Jesus' answer is twofold. About the kingdom of Is-

(1) The book of Acts says, in the same sense, τά περί της βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, 1, 3 I vii, 12; xiv, 8.

(2) Act, xxviii, 23, 31 -

(3) The equivalence between the expressions "preach Jesus" and "preach the kingdom" is often indicated. See Ad 1:3; vin 12; xix:8 compared with xix:4ff; xx:25 compared with xx:24; xxviii 23. Compare also the texts quoted in note 2 with those quoted on p. 27.

(4) The word βασιλεία is rare in Acts. It occurs there eight times, each time denoting the kingdom, twice in the first six verses and twice in the last nine, four times for the whole of the rest of the book. It is thirty-eight times in the Gospel of St. Luke.

It is not given to the eleven, he says, to know the time or the moments which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But immediately he speaks, and with precise clarity this time, of another thing that is going to come from heaven, which is very near - it is a matter of days - and which will establish, in souls and in the world, the reign of God,

and what a reign!

In a few days you will be baptized in the Holy Spirit.

And when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, you will be clothed with power, and you will testify to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.

Or, as the Gospel of the same Saint Luke says:

Behold, I am sending you the promise of my Father (2). But as for you, stay in the city until you are clothed with power from on high.

These words are solemn; they close one inspired writing: the third Gospel, and they open another: the Acts of the Apostles. At the same time, they are so similar that they show the continuity between the two writings from the point of view which is crucial in the Gospel, that is, from the point of view of the history of Christ. In the one is the account of "the things which Jesus began to do and to teach" (4) until His ascension, and in the other the account of the things which He continued to do and to teach after His ascension, by the Holy Spirit, in the Church. On both sides, therefore, it will only be about the life of Jesus: his historical life, then his mystical life in the Church.

(1) *Act*, i, 5, 8.

(2) Την ἐπαγγελίαν του πατρός μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, lit. "I send upon you the promise of my Father." The allusion to the descent of the Holy Ghost is clearer, and the resemblance to the angel's word to the Virgin clearer.

(3) *Le.*, xxiv, 49.

(4) Περί πάντων... ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν. *Ad. at* 1, 1.

In fact, it is like a new life for Jesus that is beginning, and one cannot help but be struck by the great resemblance between the promises we have just read and the promises with which the life of Jesus opens in the Gospels.

When, in the sixth month after the conception of the forerunner, the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town in Galilee called Nazareth to a virgin betrothed to a man, whose name was Mary, to tell her that she would conceive and bear a son, and that this son would be the Son of the Most High, the virgin asked him how this marvel could be accomplished.

And Fange, answering, said to him:

"The Holy Spirit will come upon you, the virtue of the Most High will overshadow you, and because of this Fenfant [born] will be holy, he will be called the Son of God" (i).

We see the common points between the two announcements. On both sides, it is a question of an outpouring, and an outpouring of the Holy Spirit; it is a question of a power from on high, and a power which will come into our weakness, which will even cover it, and which will make something superhuman and divine arise in our humanity (2). The first announcement, that of the Incarnation, was made by an angel; the second, that of Pentecost, was made by Christ himself.

(1) *Le.*, i, 35.

(2) This table will show the similarities between the two ads

| ANNUNCIATION | PROMISE OF | HOLY SPIRIT |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Gospel</i> πνεύμα γιονά | THE | <i>Acts</i> |
| ἐπελεύσε- ται ἐπὶ σέ, καί | <i>Gospel</i> | ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσε- |
| δύναμις ὑψίστου | | σθε ἁγίω, |
| ἐπισκιάσει αου | έως ού ἐνδύσησθε ἐξ | λήμψεσθε |
| | | δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος |
| | | τ. α. π. |
| | | έφ' ύμας. |

We have quoted this announcement made by Christ as it is reported by Saint Luke. It should be added that it is also found in the Gospel of Saint John. Throughout the discourse after the Last Supper, Jesus declares that he is leaving, but that his departure will be a return, and that it is good for them that he is leaving, for he must leave so that the Spirit may come. The departure of Christ, the arrival of the Spirit, the two, here too, are put together. And on both sides, too, the coming of the Spirit will have the effect of giving the apostles the understanding of Christianity and victory over the world. To what extent this coming of the Spirit will be connected with his return to himself Jesus does not expressly say, but what he reveals in the whole discourse about this return and about the unity he will give in himself to his own, allows us to conjecture that the outpouring of the Spirit will have a role in the formation of the mystical body. However, we will not make any other use of these Johannine passages here, because we are reserving the study of the fourth Gospel for later.

So let's go back to the book of Acts. Ten days have passed since the ascension. The disciples are all together in the Upper Room, with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the holy women. And, continue the story,

And there came a sound from heaven as of a violent wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And they saw as it were tongues of fire appearing, and they divided themselves and rested on each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.

Such was the birth of the Church, the birth of the Mystical Body
(2). By a disposition of Providence, Mary was

(1) *Act, II*, 1-4; cfr *iv*, 31.

(2) "It is a very special cause of joy for Us and for all the faithful that the venerable solemnity of this day brings Us: We see again the wonderful birth of the Church, which, adorned with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, comes out of the silence and seclusion of the cenacle and, for the first time, appears in the open and manifests itself to the crowds. From that hour, an unceasing flow of life and spiritual vigour began to flow through the veins of the immaculate spouse of Christ; for, according to the testimony of St. Josemaría, she was found there. Is it too much to see in this discreet mention (i) in the inspired account an allusion to the part played by the mother of God in all the expansion of the divine life? As the head was born physically *from Spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine*, the "body" is born mystically by the operation of the Spirit

and through the mediation of Mary.

We might add that the promise of the Spirit points to a baptism in Pentecost similar to that which inaugurated the public life of Jesus (2). The body, like the head, will enter into the events of this world under the breath of the Holy Spirit.

Born as Christ was born, the Church will live as he lived.

Very early on, its unity is affirmed in extraordinary manifestations (3). And above all, a principle of superior life acts in her.

The Holy Spirit, notes the Book of Acts, directs and leads her, as he led Jesus. After the baptism, notes the Gospel of Saint Luke,

Jesus, filled with the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan. And he was led by the Spirit into the desert (4).

In the same way, it is the Holy Spirit who leads Christianity, who directs the apostolate and makes it fruitful; it is he who leads the preachers, who opens the way for them, who indicates to them

As St. Augustine said, "what the soul is in our body, the Holy Spirit is in the body" of Christ which is the Church. S. S. PIUS XI, homily *Praeclaram Nobis*, May 31, 1925, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xvn, 1925, p. 223.

(1) "All of them, with one mind, persevered in prayer with some of the women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers." *Act.*, 1, 14.

(2) "John baptized in water, but you will be baptized in the Holy Spirit in a few days. *Acts*, 1, 5. Luke, in his Gospel, states that John was announcing the one "who would baptize in the Holy Spirit and in fire." *Luk.* 1, 5.

(3) ^{IV} 3² '35^e t H, 44. Christians are called brethren, 1, 15 and often.

(4) *Le.*, iv, i; cfr *Mk.*, 1, 12; *Mt.*, iv, 1.

It is he who suggests to them the words to say, who gives strength to the testimony they give to the resurrection, who fills them with wisdom and truth (i).

The Church is aware of this Spirit which moves her. She possesses it and she gives it; she explains it and she speaks in its name (2). The word is both naive and audacious, in which this certainty is expressed: "It has appeared well to the Holy Spirit and to us", defined the apostles and the elders during the Council of Jerusalem. The Holy Spirit and them! They, the twelve fishermen, and the few presbyters of Christendom; they could not more boldly affirm what will be the great conviction of all councils, that the Church and the Holy Spirit are inseparable (3).

Thanks to this supernatural assistance, the government of the Church is not a mere administration. These men are the substitutes, the continuators of Jesus; through them, it is He who teaches and governs Christianity, as it is He who, through them, heals the sick. Peter, when he heals the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, feels Christ so much at home that he dares to say, "I have neither gold nor silver, but what I have I give to you: in the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, walk." And he will heal Aeneas, paralyzed for eight years, saying to him, "Aeneas, Jesus Christ heals you." [4] In short, as Bossuet says, in the early Church, "it is Jesus Christ who animates everything.

(1) *Acts*, IX, 31; xx, 28; iv, 8; vi, 10; vu, 55; ix, 17; vm, 29, 39; ix, 12; x, 19, 14; xvi, 6, 7; iv, 33. Cfr H. VON BAER, *der Heilige Geist in den Lukasschriften* (*Beitrdge z. Wissenschaft von Alten und Neuen Testament*, xxxix), Stuttgart, 1926

(2) Already St. Peter says it in his first discourse: "Do penance, ask for baptism, and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. $\Lambda\tau\mu\psi\epsilon\sigma\delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$." *Ad.*, 11, 3® í Λ -, X, 45 >^{xv} > 8; cfr v, 3, 9; vii, 15, 17,¹ 8^{nΣ} 9 í cfr v, 3² -

(3) *Ad.* at $\chi\upsilon$, 28; cfr v, 3² í v, 3* 9 í $J^o h$ -, xv, 26, 27.

(4) *Ad.* in, 6 (cfr in, 16; iv, 10, 12); ix, 34- See also^{Act} -> vi, -^c test Jesus Christ who in the Church breaks with Mosaicism.

(5) *Meditations on the Gospel, the Lord's Supper*, 1:88. We can also note what *Acts* says about the unity of the Church: 11, 44 and especially v, 33*35-

In everyday life, this assistance disappears under the ordinary train of events. But at decisive moments, especially at times of persecution, it becomes visible: Jesus had promised to be always with his people;

he does not fail to keep his word. In the book of Acts there are two examples of this, which are related to each other: the stoning of Stephen (i) and the conversion of Saul.

Stephen's death (2) resembled the death of Jesus, as much as the death of a man can resemble the death of a God (3). (3) He was slain outside the city gates, accused by false witnesses of having spoken evil of the temple and the law like Christ. What caused the hatred against him to boil over was the same statement that had caused the Master to be condemned to death. Jesus had said, "Ye shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven;" and all cried out, "He is worthy of death." Stephen said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." Then the Jews cried out with a great shout as they were moved.

(1) The doctrinal importance of St. Stephen is well known. He was one of the first to announce openly the universalism of the Church. His importance with regard to the truth of the mystical body is no less: he is one of the first manifestations of the mystical life and death of Christ in his own people. And just as the universalism of Stephen prepares that of Paul, the manifestation of the mystical body in Stephen prepares the preaching that Saint Paul will make of it.

(2) *Act*, vil, 54 ff.

(3) LAGRANGE, in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. u, 2035. - This resemblance was noted by the Fathers, "He not only preached the passion of the Lord, but imitated its most patient gentleness." S. CYPRIAN, *De bono patientiae*, xvi, P.L., iv, 632; C.V., ni (1), 408. - It, S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom. de cruce*, 1, P.G., XLIX, 405, and *Hom. xv and xvm in Act*, P.G., LX, 121, 122, 141. - S. AUGUSTINE, *Serm. cccxv and cccxix*, P.L., xxixvni, 1426, 1430, 144¹ (cfr. also the *ordinary and interlinear Glosis*). St. Augustine often compares the forgiveness asked for by Jesus Christ with that asked for by Stephen: if one apologizes for not imitating Christ because he is God, at least one will not challenge the example of Stephen who is only a man.

And they all fell upon him together. And having dragged him out of the city, they stoned him. The similarity is striking, even in the words of the narrative, between these two supreme confessions.

And the resemblance continues to the end. The deacon died, praying for his executioners and offering himself to God, like Jesus Christ.

While they were stoning him, Stephen prayed, saying, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. Then he fell on his knees and cried out with a loud voice,

"Lord, do not impute this sin to them." After this word he fell asleep in the Lord (i).

Stephen died, his eyes filled with the vision of Christ (2). (2) But this same vision he also gave, so much so was he like the Master: a second time, as it were, Christ had died, in a member of his mystical body (3).

(4) *Act*, vu, 59, 60 - *Et hoc dicto, obdormivit. O somnus pacis!* S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* cccxvii, P.L., xxxvni, 1437. Cfr A. WILMART, O.S.B., *the final piece of sermon 317 of St. Augustine*, in the *Revue bénédictine*, t. XLIV, 1932, p. 204. - *In Domino* is added by the Vulgate.

(2) "Filled with the Holy Spirit, having looked up to heaven, he saw the glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God." *Acts*, vu, 55.

(3) "That Christ might die, not in the head, but in his body, the martyrs were slain." S. AUGUSTINE, *In Ps.* XL, P.L., xxxvi, 454.-"And he overcomes in them who lived in them." ID. IN *Sermo* CCLXXX, P.L., xxxviii, 1262. - In the martyrs Christ "himself bears witness, for he dwells in the martyrs, *ut testimonium perhibeat veritati*." ID. IN *Sermo* cxxvni, 3, P.L., xxxvni, 714 - It is a traditional conviction in the Church that Christ dwells in the martyr. TERTULLIAN attests it, *De pudicitia*, xxii and *De fuga in persecutione*, xxi, P.L., ii, 1027, 115, and also S. CYPRIAN, *Epist.* v, viii, Lxxviii, P.L., IV, 234, 247, 419: "And he who for our sake once triumphed over death, does not cease to triumph over it in us." *Epist.* viii, P.L., iv, 247. - They are Χριστοφόροι, as EUSEBIUS says in his *Ecclesiastical History*, viii, 10, P.G., xx, 1562, etc.; the title is frequent besides: cfr F. DOELGER, *Christophoros als Ehrentitel für Märtyrer und Heilige im christlichen Altertum*, in *Antike und Christentum*, iv, 1, Munster, 1933, p. 73. They have Christ in their breasts, as St. IGNATIUS says, in the *Martyrium colbertinum*, P.G., v, 981. "It is He who will suffer in me," as St. Perpetua declares. *Passio*, v, P.L., vi, 47. Similarly, SANCTUS, in the *Letter of the Church of Lyons*, vi, P.L., v, 1425. Blandine, on whom a furious bull rages, is as if lost in a long conversation with Christ. *Ibid*, xiv, P.L., v, 1444; cfr.

The return of the Son of Man, which the Jews had not wanted to hear about when the deacon told them: "I see the heavens opened and Jesus at the right hand of his Father", had taken place in the very act in which they had ferociously silenced the voice that announced it (i).

Now the book of Acts says that Saul (2) had approved of the murder of Stephen, and he kept the clothes of the executioners. So he saw the spectacle: then he thought he had forgotten it. He smiled at Stephen's prayer for his executioners, and then he thought no more of it. But he had been marked for Christ at that time (3).

Letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Saint Polycarp, P.G., v, 1032. Eusebius has described several of these martyrs, who die giving the vision of Christ, and whom the beasts dare not touch. *Ecclesiastical History*, viii, 7, 8, P.G., xx, 757. It should be noted that among the martyrs of all ages there is a profound resemblance, which is the sign of the presence of the same Spirit and the same Christ in all.

(1) Stephen bore threefold witness to Christ: in his words to the Jews, he attested to the Messiahship of Christ; in his prayer to Christ, in which he used the same words as Christ used to speak to his Father, he confessed the divinity of Christ; and in his manner of death, he was a manifestation of the mystical life of Christ in his members.

(2) It is in the account of Stephen's death that Paul is first named.

(3) "Did Paul hear these words? - Yes, he did, but he laughed at them. And yet he was caught up in Stephen's prayer." S. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* cccxvi, P.L., xxxvin, 1434. - Cfr S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Fragm. in Act*, P.G., LXXIV, 766. - S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Act. hom.* xx, P.G., LX, 159. - *De ferenda reprehens.* ni, P.G., LI, 139. - BASIL OF SELEUCIA, *Oratio* XLII, P.G., LXXXV, 464. It is a commonplace among theologians, especially of the Thomistic school, that the prayer of Stephen merited the conversion of Paul: "The prayer of Stephen was the instrumental cause of the conversion of Paul", writes J. P. NAZARIUS, *In III^{am} Partem*, qu. XIII, art. 2, Bologna, 1619, p. 592. The liturgy has taken up the idea: we read in the Hymnary of Moissac, J. M. DRIVES, S. J., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Leipzig, 1886, t. 11, p. 38:

Haec namque dixit Dominus
Paulo pergenti Damasco,
Ego, inquit, te perderem, Nisi
orasset Stephanus.

He went on, ravaging the Church, entering homes to snatch men and women and throw them into prison. But he was only drawing nearer to the end when God, as he himself said, would take him (i).

On the road to Damascus, in broad daylight, Christ had ambushed him. A light from heaven shone around him,

He heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?"

He answered, "Who are you, Lord?"

And the Lord answered, "I am Jesus, whom you persecute.

It's as sharp as the lightning that blinded Paul, and as direct as a blow. No gloss, no mitigation. Paul was after the Church, he was running after those men and women who were putting all their hope in a certain Jesus; his hand was already raised to seize them, and behold, they are no longer just them, but Christ. Another has taken their place, and in the midst of them, rather in them, he stands before Saul: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"

An ancient word like revelation. Already in the Old Testament, God was in solidarity with his prophets and with his people, and to strike them was as serious as to wound him in the apple of his eye. But it was still only a moral union, or rather a physical union, but only begun and sketched out. In the New Testament, God continues the same affirmation, but more clearly: what is done to the last of his own, is done to him. Solidarity is real and ontological. It is immediately put into action. Five or six years after his death on Calvary, Jesus declares that it is accomplished, and he who had kept silent before his executioners, claims

(1) *Phil.* in, 12: 'Εφ' ὃ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

(2) There are three accounts of St. Paul's conversion in Acts, ch. ix, i, ff; xxii, 3, ff; xxvi, 9, ff.

(3) Among the Fathers, St. Augustine is the one who most often comments on this word; cf. vol. n, pp. 91-94.

when he is attacked by his followers: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"

The Jesus who appears, in fact, is a persecuted and suffering Jesus, the Jesus of the passion and of the cross. He has undoubtedly won the victory and he speaks as a master. But the victory is not so complete that his own people should no longer struggle in the battle, and Paul himself, as he will soon learn, will be united only at the price of much pain and at the risk of his life to this perpetual redeemer (2).

But did Jesus cry out only from among his own people? At the same time as he showed himself to Saul in the Church (3), or about that time, did he not show himself to Paul in Paul himself? The account of the conversion, as given in the epistle to the Gauls (4), seems to suggest this.

You have heard," writes Paul, "of my conduct when I was in Judaism, how I persecuted and ravaged the church of God to the utmost, and how I surpassed in Judaism many of my age in my nation, being an excessive and jealous follower of the traditions of our fathers. But when it pleased Him who set me apart from my mother's womb and called me by His grace to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him to the Gentiles, immediately I consulted neither flesh nor blood, etc.

(1) The context of the Damascus apparition, which gives it its meaning, is the doctrine and life of Saint Paul. Parallels drawn from the history of religions may be of interest; they do not explain it any more than a flash of lightning at noon explains the clarity of the day. On these parallels, see H. WINDISCH, *die Christusepiphany bei D. und ihre religions geschichtliche Parallelen*, in *Zeitschrift für die ntl. Wissenschaft*, vol. xxxi, 1932, p. 1.

(2) *Acts*, ix, 16; cfr 23 and 29.

(3) This is the common doctrine. Cfr. St. THOMAS, S. T., III^a, qu. LVIII, art. 6, ad 3. Heterodox exegetes have sometimes exaggerated the importance of the interior revelation, which they reduce to some product of the imagination, in order to relegate the exterior apparition to the realm of legend. An objective apparition," Dr. W. Wrede sententiously states, "is not a scientific concept.

(4) *Gai.* i, 13-17. The central passage is this: *Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν...

It pleased God, says St. Paul, to reveal His Son in me, ἐν ἐμοί. What does this mean? From the context, Paul wants to show first of all that he has had his manifestation of the risen Christ, that he is therefore

an apostle as much as a person, and also justified in preaching the gospel (1). The emphasis is on "reveal". But this revelation, says the epistle, took place in Paul, ἐν ἐμοί. Does this determination explain only that Paul has received the proclamation well, that he has understood it, that he renders it well to the Christians, and that they can find it by listening to him? Or does the Apostle wish to make it clear that the illumination was also interior, and that Christ, who showed himself to him in the Church, burst forth at the same time in his soul, helping him to understand the external lesson and supporting him in spreading it? In truth, we cannot decide: the passage is too short and lacks context. But if we consider the natural meaning of the words, if we reflect on the verse which follows shortly afterwards and which is very similar and very clear: I live, but no longer I, it is Christ who lives in me (ἐν ἐμοί) (2), if we remember how often Paul speaks of the inward presence of Jesus in the soul, we shall find it highly probable, we believe, that the Apostle here speaks of a vision whose object was inward, and that he assures us that at that moment he knew Christ in himself (3).

(1) The epistle is against those who "evangelize" another gospel: 1:6-9.

(2) *Gai.*, il, 20. Cfr. also *Gai.*, iv, 19: "My children, whom I bear again with sorrow, until Christ be formed in you: ἐν ὑμῖν."

(3) Allusions to this inner vision, or reminders of it or others like it, are found in *II Cor.* iv, 6; *Z Cor.* 11, 10-16; ix, 1; xv, 8, 10; cf. *I Tim.* 1, 10. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Gai.* 1, P.G., LXI, 628: "The Apostle says 'in me' to show that he was not instructed in words only in the things of faith, but that he was filled with an abundance of the Spirit. A revelation enlightened his soul, and he had Christ speaking in him." THEOPHYLACTUS takes up this passage: *Expositio in epist. ad Galatas*, 1, P.G., cxxiv, 963. - ANT. SCAYNUS, *Paraphrasis in omnes sancti Pauli epistolas cum additionibus*, Venice, 1589, pp. 115 and 116, *in illud*, says: "Paul means by these words, not only that he received from God, by revelation, the word of faith, but also that Christ was imprinted (*insculptum*) on his breast." Also the expression means "to implant his Son in my breast". - CATHARIN explains (*in Gai.*, 1): "When Christ is revealed by the Father, he insinuates himself within in an admirable way, so that, existing henceforth within, he appears even to the eyes of others, in the innocence of life and in

Was this the moment of the external vision, or did it follow shortly afterwards, at baptism for example, or must we put it back to one of the visions Paul was granted? This again we cannot determine. The fact remains that Paul, as we will see later, speaks of baptism as an entry into the mystical Christ (i), and that his certainty of possessing the Saviour in him goes back to the first writings we have of him.

Let us now return to the road to Damascus. The Saviour's rapid appearance has not yet given us all the doctrine it contains.

The vision, therefore, was objective, of a compelling objectivity, brutal, we dare not say. Paul, defeated, surrendered, and in the square, with a burst of light (2), Christ entered. Losing his eyes of flesh (3), the Apostle acquired other eyes to see Christ united to the Church (4).

purity of doctrine". *In omnes divi Pauli apostoli et alias septem canonicas epistolas commentaria*, Paris, 1561, p. 252 - St. Jerome comments in the same sense, but less clearly, P.L., xxvi, 326. - Others relate *in me* to *revelare* and translate: to reveal by an interior light (ÆCUMENIUS, S. ANSELM, *Ordinary Glosis*, PICONIUS, PALMIERI). - Others consider *in me* as equivalent to *per me* (ESTIUS, GORRAN, LIGHTFOOT) OR to *mihi*.

(1) Cfr chap, v, p. 136.

(2) There is perhaps an allusion to these splendors in ch. iv of the second epistle to the Corinthians, verse 6. There Paul explains that the Jews do not understand the Scripture, while the Christian preaching gives the true meaning. The unbelievers are blinded, the bright light of Christ's glory does not shine for them. - He continues, "God, who said, Let light shine out of darkness, has caused light to shine in our hearts to make the knowledge of the glory of God shine on the face of Christ: δς ἐλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμόν της γνώσεως της δόξης του Θεοῦ προσώπω Χριστοῦ. " This text becomes singularly clear, when we think of the dazzling of Damascus, and the revelation of Christ in Paul (ἐν ἐμοί), *Gal*, 1, 16. -- To quote, from GOTTI, *Veritas religionis christianae* (tract, v, 2, § 2, Venice, 1750, t. i, p. 504), the singular opinion of Asterius: Christ showed himself to Paul *not sub specie humana, sed sub figura lucis, ad eum modum quo Moyses sub figura rubi ardentis Deum vidit*.

(3) "Surrounded by light, but his eyes made blind, that he might see within." S. AUGUSTINE, *In Ps. LXXV*, P.L., xxxvi, 966.

(4) *Novos intuendi Christum oculos acquisivit*. S. MAXIMUS OF TURIN, *Hom. LXviii*, P.L., LVH, 395.

Immediately the dialogue continues (i). Paul himself continues the story:

Then I said, "What shall I do, Lord?"

And the Lord said to me, "Arise, go to Damascus, and there you will be told what you must do."

Always the same rapid brevity, the same clarity with sharp edges. Always the same substitutions. Up to now, Christ had revealed himself in his own people: it is I, he says, who am persecuted by pursuing them. Now it is he who is fading away, and it is the Church who is emerging where he was to speak in his name. It is the Church that will tell Paul, not what it thinks and what it wants, but what Christ who has just shown himself is, and what it is in him. A double and reciprocal interiority, in a way: the future apostle sees Christ in the Church, and in the Church he hears Christ, so common is everything between the husband and the wife.

Who knows if this consideration is not the reason for a peculiarity of the conversion narratives? The third time that the book of Acts recounts the apparition, it puts into the mouth of Christ himself the words which, elsewhere, it attributes to Ananias (2). This is an oratorical simplification, one might think: Paul, before Agrippa and Berenice who are listening to him out of curiosity, is anxious not to burden his speech. Yes, no doubt, but perhaps also the mysterious depth of Scripture and the implicit lesson given by the inspired author. For Paul, and in truth, what the Church says through her minister is still, and truly, what Christ himself, the mystical Christ, says.

The head and the members are one, so the Apostle to the Gentiles, conquered by the Savior, will belong to the Christians.

"Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" These words will remain engraved in his memory. He will willingly repeat the story of

(1) *Acts*, ix, 6; xxii, 10.

(2) *Acts* xxvi.12ff. Compare xxvi, 16-19 to xxn, 14-16. his conversion; between his various narrations, as it happens, variants of detail will be introduced; but the central point will always remain invariable. All will converge on the words of Christ, and they

will be reproduced unchanged every time: ((Σαούλ Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις Thou, Thou, why dost thou persecute me?"

The Lord had aimed at his heart that day, and the stroke remained.

Σαούλ, Saul. It has been noticed, everywhere else (i), the Acts say Σαυλος, Saul. But here the name Paul is given in its Aramaic form. Jesus had spoken to Saul in the native language of both of them (2).

And Saul never forgot the voice of the shepherd who calls his sheep by name.

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(1) Cfr however ix, 17; xxn, 13; but in the accounts of the conversion.

(2) *Acts* xxvi, 14: "And I heard a voice saying to me in Hebrew, Saul, Saul. - Is it necessary to point out how much, here as everywhere, the mystical Christ is quite identical with the historical Christ?

CHAPTER IV

SAINT PAUL. I. - THE MYSTICAL CHRIST IN THE PREACHING OF PAUL

PAUL'S PREACHING. Its importance for the truth of the mystical Christ; its dependence on the Damascus vision.

CHRIST IN THIS PREACHING: Christ alive, concrete, as in the Gospels.

THE MYSTICAL CHRIST IN THIS PREACHING. He is the centre of it. What has been called "Paulinism" is organized around this truth; Paul's doctrinal and moral teaching has its foundation in it; what Paul himself calls his gospel, or as he more often says, the "mystery," is summed up in this very truth. - The < mystery"; how, better and better, Paul expressed it: first a quick mention; then mention in a whole sequence of ideas in the epistle to the Corinthians; sketched finally, several times, and even once separately, in the epistle to the Romans. Rnôn, complete exposition in the Christological epistles.

DOCTRINAL PROGRESS achieved by Paul and which is explained, not by profane influences, but, according to the Apostle's testimony, by connection with the Old Testament and by visions. Doctrinal progress in the life of Paul? It is probable, but we have only a few indications. So the best plan is to group the ideas in logical order.

What we have seen so far is rich in teaching, but it is still only an introduction. We have seen that God, in the Old Testament, prepares a union of all men in Him; we have seen, in the Synoptics, that Christ, by bringing the kingdom, comes to effect this union; we have seen, in Acts, that the kingdom is founded on earth, and that the union is constituted to last until the end of time. But what this union and kingdom are, God has as yet said only in a very summary way.

He will say this in the epistles of St. Paul, and also, though in a different way, in the writings of St. John.

First, the epistles of St. Paul (i).

They are not, in the teaching of the mystical body, something absolutely new: they merely continue. Paul, as we have just seen in speaking of the book of Acts, had the revelation of Christ living in the Church. This revelation, now, he transmits it to the Church.

Many visions were granted to the Apostle, but of these he speaks only in passing. Only the apparition at Damascus is recounted by him, and that with great detail and abundant repetition. (2) It is this apparition which gives

(1) As we said in a note in the first chapter, we have borrowed the translation of the passages we are alleging from the *Theology of Saint Paul*, by Fr. F. PRAT, Paris, vol. i, 15th ed. 1927; vol. n, 6th ed. 1923, for the texts which are translated there. For the others, we have used the translation of A. CRAMPON, *la Sainte Bible*, Tournai, 1905, and that of Fr. LEMONNYER, *Saint Paul translated and annotated*, 15^e, Marseille, 1922. Let us recall here, to fix the ideas, the chronological order of the epistles:

i. Epistles to the Thessalonians.

2° Great Epistles: I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Romans.

3° Epistles of the captivity: to Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians.

4° Epistle to the Hebrews and pastoral epistles.

(2) St. Paul appeals to his vision to justify his mission. The book of Acts recounts this vision as an introduction to the Apostle's ministry (*Acts*, ix, 22, 26). In the account of his vision to Agrippa, Paul notes that Jesus said to him, "Arise, and stand firm on thy feet, for I have appeared to thee to make thee a minister (ὀνηρέτην) and a witness of the things which thou hast seen, and of those things for which I shall again appear to thee. I have drawn thee out of the midst of this people and of the Gentiles, to whom now I send thee to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; and so through faith in me they may receive remission of sins and inheritance with those who are sanctified." (xxvi, 16-18, cfr xxn, 14-19). This quality of witness, and of witness to the risen one and to the risen one whom they have seen and whom they have the mission of announcing, is also that to which the Apostles refer (*Acts*, i, 8, 22; n, 32; in, 15; iv, 33; xm, 31 and especially x, 39-42). Paul also appeals to his vision in *Acts* (xx, 24) and also in his epistles: *I Cor.* ix, i: "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my workmanship in the Lord? - *I Cor.* xv, 8-10: Here Paul shows, in a vision, his investiture as an apostle, and it is the vision of Damascus, as the allusion to his persecutions shows: "After them all he appeared to me as to the runt. For the true explanation of his work and writings. Whether he refers to it expressly (i), or whether he speaks only, in general, of a revelation (2), always, it seems, he aims at it when he wants to explain his knowledge of Christ.

Thanks to her, he is an apostle, an official witness of the living and risen Christ; from her, he gets his message with the particularities that it entails; she always makes the center of his preaching; so much so that one can say that she is everything, and that the Apostle, in his teaching as in his controversy, only comments on the word of Christ himself: "I am Jesus, whom you persecute" (3).

Constituted an apostle by a manifestation of the mystical Christ, it is of this mystical Christ that he will be an apostle.

I am the least of the apostles" I, who am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God... but I worked harder than all of them, etc.". Cfr *Gal.* i, 12-16; *I Cor.* 1, 1; *I Tim.* 1, 14; *II Tim.* 1, 9-11.

(1) So in *I Tim.* 1:11-14: "This is what the gospel of the glory of God, which has been committed to me, teaches. How great is my gratitude to Christ Jesus, who strengthened me inwardly (τῷ ἐνδυναμώσαντί με Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) by establishing me in the ministry, I who was once a blasphemer, a persecutor, an insulter. But I obtained mercy, not yet having faith, and the grace of our Lord superabundantly with faith and charity, which is in Christ Jesus." The reminder of conversion and the mention of the mystical Christ (cfr *Ibid.*, 17) are clear, but the relationship between the two is not marked. Cfr *II Tim.* 1:1; 1:16; *Titus* 1:1-3. In *Phil.* 4-15 his knowledge of the "mystery" (ni, 9-10, 11, 14) is connected (in, 7-8) with his conversion (ni, 5-8). *Eph.* ni. 8: "I, the least of the saints, have been given the grace to proclaim... the economy of the mystery"; compare "the least of the saints" to "I, the last of the apostles... persecutor of the Church... who last saw Christ" (*I Cor.* xv. 8-9). Cf. also *II Cor.* in, 4-iv, 6, exposition of the "mystery", in connection with an allusion to conversion, iv, 6. Cf. also *I Cor.* 1, 28-30 and *Eph.* n, 6-7. In these latter passages the allusion to the vision is hardly apparent.

(2) *I Cor.* n. 7-10. "We preach a mysterious and hidden wisdom, which God intended before the ages for our glory... God has revealed these things to us" by His Spirit. See also *Col.* 1:23-27 and *Eph.* 1:12. - There is, we believe, a reminder of conversion in some great passages on the mystical body and our mystical identification with Christ: *I Cor.* 1:13 and xn, 12; *Col.* 1:11. Cf. for this, pp. 189-190.

(3) According to Paul's own account of his conversion, some of the words Christ spoke to him then, either directly or through Ananias,

His doctrine, moreover, is that of the other apostles: a pupil of the ordinary catechesis, he learned Christianity from one of the most prominent faithful of Damascus (i). He himself notes that between him and the twelve, the pillars of the Church, as he calls them, there is complete agreement (2).

Like the Christ of the Gospels, his Christ is a living personality, not a vaporous abstraction (3); he is someone indisputable, someone who

cannot be argued with, someone who commands and who, in a word, conquers his man (4). He is a reality in flesh and blood (5). His life is

bear enough resemblance to the preaching of the "mystery," that we may see in it the seed from which that preaching sprang: "The God of our fathers," said Ananias to him (xxn, n; allusion to the antiquity of the "mystery": *Eph.* i, 3-4), hath chosen thee (the "mystery" is always given as a choice, *Eph.*, 1, 4, 5, 10) to know his will, προεχειρίσατό σε γνῶναι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ. *Acts*, xxn, 14. - For θέλημα, which often enters into the formula of "mystery," cfr. pp. 95 and 102, n. - Note in both passages the mention of salvation by the name of Christ (xxn, 16), by faith in Christ (xxvi, 18).

(1) *Acts*, xxn, 10-16; ix, 6, 17-19.

(2) *I Cor.* xv, 3, 11; *Gai.* n, 2, 6-9; 1, 18.

(3) Protestant historians of dogma have found that Paul's Christ was not Jesus of Nazareth, but "das mächtige persönliche Geistwesen, in göttlicher Gestalt, der sich zeitweise emiedrigt hatte. A. HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4^e edition, 1.1, Tübingen, 1909, p. 103. - R. SEEBERG, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3^e edition, Leipzig, 1922, vol. 1, p. 88. - Contra: A. SABATIER, *l'Apôtre Paul*, 3rd edition, Paris, 1896, p. 71: Paul's Christ would be a kind of spiritual reality, a kind of divine idea representing man. Paul would have felt, in Damascus, invested by this power, and he would have made himself its apostle. To this conception of Christ, Paul would attach, not without difficulty, and with some difficulty, what he says about the historical Christ. We see how this interpretation of Pauline doctrines is too superficial: it aims more at explaining the Apostle by - contemporary religious conceptions more or less similar to his own than at commenting on him. Cfr L. DE GRANDMAISON, *le Christ de l'histoire dans l'œuvre de saint Paul*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xm, 1923, p. 481.

(4) *Acts* xxv, 18-19. The accounts of Paul's conversion, *Acts*, ix, xxn, xxvi, are comparable to the story of the apostles' vocation.

(5) Paul often speaks of the blood of Christ as the cause of our redemption: *Acts* xx, 28; *I Cor.* x, 16; xi, 25 and 27; *Rom.* in, 25; v, 9; *Eph.* 1,

It was a time of great change for the Church, as it is for us. Paul knows the events (1), and he speaks constantly of the passion and the cross.

And this passion for Christ is not a mere speculative truth. Paul senses in it a burning love, and one that seeks him. He loved me," he says, "and gave himself up for me. (2) And by this look of love which has attached itself to his soul, his heart is pierced; between him and "the one who loved him", as he calls Jesus (3), it is now a personal matter (4).

To "this man" (5), this God-Man, whose ardent tenderness and ineffable goodness (6) he sensed, he devoted a love

7; *Col.* i. 14; *Heb.* ix. 12, 14; x. 19; and as the cause of our incorporation into Him: *Eph.* 11, 13; 1" 7; *Col.* 1, 14 and 20.

(1) Thus, when he demonstrates to the Jews that Jesus is indeed the Messiah (*Ad.*, ix, 20, 22; xiii, 23, ff; xvii, 3; xxviii, 31). He knows that Christ is of the seed of Abraham (*Rom.*, ix, 5; *Gal.*, in), born of a woman (*Gai.*, iv, 4), that He bore witness under Pontius Pilate (*I Tim.*, vi, 13). Above all, he knows that Christ suffered, that he was crucified - he does not even want to know anything else (*I Cor.*, ii, 2; 1, 23). - He knows, and repeats again and again, that Christ died (*Rom.*, v, 6-10; vi, 3, 8; xiv, 9, 15; *I Cor.*, v, 7; viii, 11; xv; *II Cor.*, v, 14-15; *Gai.*, π, 19, etc.) and that he is risen (*Ad.*, xvn, 3, 18, 31; *Rom.*, iv, 25; vi, 4-9; vu, 4; viii, 11, 34; x, 7; xiv, 9; *I Cor.*, xv; *II Cor.*, v, 15; *I Th.*, IV, 13; *II Tim.*, 11, 8, etc.). To tell the truth, in what remains of him, Paul insists relatively little on the earthly life of the teacher, on his years of teaching and miracles. But the reason for this lies in the peculiarities of his gospel. He preaches not so much the earthly life of Jesus, of which he is not a witness, but his new life in the Church, which he is commissioned to make known and of which he is a witness (*Ad.*, ix, 22, 26).

(2) Cf. *Ephesians*, v. 2, a parallel passage, but in the plural: "Walk in love after the example of Christ who loved us and gave himself up to God for us. Cfr *Rom.* v, 8 and *Eph.* v, 25. It will be noticed how, in the passage of the epistle to the Galatians, the very personal relationship of love which unites Paul to Christ, accompanies the mystical union which makes Paul live with the life of Christ.

(3) "In all these difficulties we stand firm, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς." *Rom.* wine, 37 "J ^-π >16 î *Cal.* π, 20; *Eph.* v, 2.

(4) "The love of Christ urges us on," he writes (*II Cor.*, v, 14), "it harasses us to stimulate us to the apostolate." - "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ [for us]?" *Rom.*, viii, 35-39 - Π glories in bearing even in his flesh the mark of his belonging to Christ. *Gai.*, vi, 17- All Christians belong to the Lord, always and in everything. *Rom.* xiv, 8-10; cfr. *Rom.* v, 15-20.

(5) *I Tim.* π, 5; *Rom.* v, 15, ff.

(6) One senses the affection, very personal, for the humble and gentle Christ (i). He loves him with all the stubbornness of his soul, with the exclusivity of his entire temperament (2). (2) He serves Him, against all odds. (3) He never stops thinking about him or talking about him. His name pursues him and obsesses him; he quotes it and repeats it

(4), on the point and off the point (5), so much does his heart overflow with it, so much does his heart

of heart, in formulas like this one (*II Cor.*, x, i): "I, Paul, beg you by the goodness and gentleness of Christ," - or this one: Do not scandalize the weak, you would expose him to his ruin, "that brother for whom Christ died." *I Cor.* vi. n; *Rom.* xiv. 15 - When he sees men rejecting the cross of Christ, tears come to his eyes. *Phil.* ni, 18 - "My love is with you all in Christ Jesus." *I Cor.* xvi, 24.

(1) As we see Paul, with his fiery temper, angry with Peter (*Gal.*, in, 11), or angry with Barnabas (ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμός. *Acts*, xv, 39), so we see him, in his epistles, seized for Christ with an impetuous love: "If any man love not the Lord, let him be anathema." *I Cor.* xvi, 22. - He does not pretend to know anything but Jesus Christ, he explains. *I Cor.* 11:2; *II Cor.* v. 16.

(2) He wants glory only in the cross. *Gai.* vi, 14 - And that which is not Christ is disgusting to him; it is only sweepings. *Phil.* ni, 8.

(3) Let no one come and tell him that he is trying to please men! "If I still pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." *Gal.* i, 10. - By the Lord's cross he is crucified to the world. *Gdl.* vi, 14 - "We do not preach ourselves, but Jesus Christ as Lord. For we claim to be your servants for Jesus' sake." *II Cor.* iv, 5. As long as Christ is preached, he is content. *Phil.* i, 18.

(4) Paul quotes the name of Jesus 219 times, that of Christ more than 401 times, says CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, in *Eph.*, 1, 2, *Opera*, t. ix, Antwerp, 1656, p. 476. F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, t. 11, p. 15, in note, states: Christ, 200 times; Christ Jesus, 42 times; Κύριος, 157 times; Lord Jesus, 24 times; Lord Jesus- Christ, 64 times; Jesus, 16 times. - "This man is an instrument (*vas*) whom I have chosen," says Jesus (ix, 17) to Ananias, "that he may bear my name before the nations." (*Aet.*, ix, 15). This text can be understood in a literal way: *vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus*. So does St. THOMAS, in the prologue to the *Commentaria in omnes epistolas divi Pauli*, in a series of variations on the theme *vas electionis*. Paul, he says, was like a vessel, *plenum fuit pretioso liquore, scilicet, nomine Christi*, he was like a vessel *portatorium divini nominis*.

(5) *Ut ita dicam superflue*, says CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, in *Eph.* 1, 2, *Opera*, Antwerp, 1656, t. ix, p. 476. - *Extraordinarie*, says REMI OF AUXERRE (?), in the *Commentaries on St. Paul*, printed by MIGNE (in spite of what he says elsewhere, according to J. FABRICIUS, P.L., cxxxi, 47), under the name of HAYMOND OF HALBERSTADT, in *Eph.*, 1, P.L., cxvn, 704, according to St. Jerome. -

he cannot get enough of it. "Ecstatic love," said Cornelius a Lapide (i), "love which takes and tears Paul away from himself, and carries him into the object loved."

And even more must be said. There is more here than a preference and a haunting (2). There is a presence. Paul is not only in love with Christ, he possesses him. His Christ is not only a man who died and is alive again (3), he is a man who makes all others live.

This doctrine of the mystical Christ even takes on a completely new relief in the Apostle; it gives his epistles their physiognomy, and we can say, with Saint John Chrysostom, that throughout all his writings, Paul is preoccupied with only one thing: to show the faithful that everything is common to them with Christ (4). Paul's teaching, Paulinism, is often summarized

Frequentissime, says S. THOMAS, *Op. cit.* That is why, he explains, Paul *potest significari per columbam, de qua dicitur* (Gen., vin, ii) *quod venit ad arcam portans ramum olivae in ore suo. Quia enim oliva misericordiam significat, congrue per ramum olivae accipitur nomen Jesu Christi.*

(1) *In Act. apost.*, no. 27. *Opera*, Antwerp, 1662, vol. x, p. 16.

(2) There is something of this inner tension which urges him to preach in the *Vae mihi si non evangelizavero*, *I Cor.* ix, 16; as well as in the double desire which stimulates him, to die to be with Christ, or to continue to live to help the faithful, *Phil.* 1, 23, 24.

(3) Paul's preaching in *Acts* (xm, 16-42, for example) is, like Peter's (11, 1-39, etc.), the testimony given to the resurrection.

(4) JOHN CHRYSOSTOM writes about the text (*Col.*, n. 4): "When Christ is revealed, we too will be revealed with him in glory": "See how the Apostle transports Christians to heaven. As I told you, his constant concern is to show that they have everything that Christ has. And through all the epistles his theme is to show that they are, in everything, in communion with Christ. Ὅπερ γάρ ἐφην, αἰεὶ φιλονεικεῖ δεῖξαι τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχοντας ἅπερ καὶ ὁ Χριστός, διὰ πασῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐν πασι κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῷ δεῖξαι. And it is to show this union that he speaks of the head and body." *In Col. hom.* vu, P.G., LXII, 345- - For what concerns the preaching of St. Paul, see the articles of L. CERFAUX, *Christ in the life of St. Paul*, in *Collationes Tornacenses*, t. xxvm, 1933> PP- 81, 94.

In this way, we have been able to divide our work into a series of theses, or rather oppositions: the opposition of Judaism and the Gospel, the opposition of sin and grace, and finally the opposition between our justification and any previous merit on our part. Now, it

might be objected, none of these oppositions speaks, expressly at least, of the mystical body.

Certainly, as long as we only look at them from the outside. But let's think about it. Their very structure shows that, in this form, they are only occasional. If it were not for the pride of our nature, and if it were not for the conduct of the Judaizers, Paul would never have taught defensively. The Apostle's polemic shows a burning love, not for the opponents he attacks, but for the truth he defends. And this truth is precisely our incorporation into Christ.

If the gospel prevails over the law, it is because it alone gives us, in Christ, true life (1); if grace opposes sin, it is because it, and it alone, by renewing us in the Savior, rids us of all baseness and iniquities (2); (2) Finally, if justification excludes all previous merits, it is because it makes us members of the Incarnate Son and no effort on our part can earn us such a high way of life. (3) On all sides, then, and in different forms, the error which Paul combats is the same, and its refutation, everywhere, is an act of faith and love in the new life which is given to us in Christ.

Paul defends this unique truth, certainly with virulence, but this virulence also, in its own way, bears witness

(1) It is because the Church is the mystical Christ that Paul, the Pharisee, left the law to come into the Church. It is because redemption is in Christ that the law is useless. *Gai.* ni, 17-21; *Rom.* ni, 21.

(2) Already insinuated in *I Th.*, v, 10-n; *I Cor.*, 1, 30. Cfr especially the epltre to the Romans, ni, 24-27 J iv, 23-25; v, 12-21; vu, 4; vin, 1, etc.

(3) Cf. *I Cor.* 1:19-30 and *Rom.* in 27, compared to ni 24; v 2-11 ff. It, *Phil.* ni, 3, 9; cfr *Eph.* n, 9, compared to 11, 5-7, etc.

(4) The entire epistle to the Galatians is an example of this. See Appendix 1: *Note on the Doctrine of the Mystical Christ in the Various Epistles.*

to the same truth. All the images of dualism, of opposition, of struggle, to which the Apostle returns, certainly reflect his ardent character and the contradictions which harass him. But do they not also evoke the struggle, the first struggle, which made him an apostle? On the road to Damascus, we must always come back to this, the gospel, so to speak, appeared before him, overturning the man of the law; grace burst forth, assailing sin and its allies in his soul; a goodness, finally, fell upon him, which evidently excludes the very

idea of pre-existing merits (i). The whole of Paulinism, in short, is in germ in this eventful conversion, not only in its positive part, but even in its polemical covering; it will suffice, for the development of both, that contradictors arise and that Paul's life be prolonged.

So let us leave aside what is only the thorny bark, and take a closer look at the inner fruit.

The doctrine of our incorporation into Christ forms the center of all Paul's teaching (2). (2) It comes into play through-

(1) We may see in the very accounts of the conversion, especially in those which the book of Acts puts on Paul's lips, the announcement of the great theses of the Apostle: the opposition between law and gospel is expressed in the hatred with which Paul was then animated against the Christians; - the opposition between grace and sin, in the reversal which takes place in Paul, and which Paul's preaching will effect among the Gentiles: "I send thee, that they may be converted from darkness to light, and from Satan to God," xxvi, 18; - predestination, without previous merit: "The Lord hath predestined thee (to know the mystery : ὁ θεός των πατέρων ἡμῶν προεχειρίσατό σε γνῶναι τό θέλημα αὐτοῦ) to be His witness before all men," Ananias says to him, xxn, 14; cfr xxvi, 16.

(2) Let us see how, in the account of his controversies with Judaism (*Gai.*, ι-n), the doctrine of the mystical body intervenes, decisive and victorious: *Gai.*, il, 19-20. Similarly, in *Gai.* ni, verses 26-29; in *Gai.* vi, verses 14-15: summaries of the preceding passages. In the second epistle to the Corinthians, from ni, 7 to iv, 18, he proves the superiority of the gospel over the law by the mystical presence of Christ in Christian preaching, in the preacher and in the Christian. He will return to the same idea in the Christological epistles: *Eph.*, n, 11-22; ni, 6; *Col.*, ni, 11 and perhaps *Col.*, il, 17. He refers to the doctrine of the mystical body in the question of idolothyes, *I Cor.*, x, 17, - in difficulties of an internal order, *I Cor.*,

It is repeated at every moment, with an overabundance of comparisons and formulas (2). (2) It is used to explain many points of Christian doctrine, as well as to inculcate moral precepts (3). (3) Like a living seed, it has grown its roots through the whole of the Apostle's thought, gathering and grouping everything together, and "whoever were to tear out the places where he proposes this doctrine," declares Bossuet, (4) "would not only undermine his invincible reasoning, but would also erase the greater part of his divine epistles.

The Apostle himself, moreover, was careful to show the

1, These oppositions are expressed especially in the great epistles; we see them in action in the Acts of the Apostles.

(1) We will show this in the following chapters. From this point of view, the formula "in Christ" is the most characteristic: cfr. ch. v. We also reserve for this chapter the statement of the principal texts.

(2) He shows it under the image of the body, the building, the olive tree, the bride, the virgin. How," Bossuet asks, "is the Church the body of Christ as well as his bride? We must adore the sacred economy with which Scripture shows us the simple unity of truth under the diversity of expressions and figures. It is the order of creation to be able to represent only by the collected plurality the immense unity from which it emerged. Thus, in the sacred resemblances that Scripture gives us, we must notice in each one the particular trait that it bears, in order to contemplate, in the whole united, the entire face of revealed truth." *Œuvres complètes de Bossuet*, published by F. LACHAT, Paris, 1824-1866, t. XXVII, p. 310. This whole letter of Bossuet (to a lady of Metz, iv, pp. 305-315) would be worth quoting. It dates from about 1662, the author was still a young priest. See also the *Pensées chrétiennes et morales*, in the *Œuvres oratoires* edited by J. LEBARQ, Ch. URBAIN and E. LEVESQUE, vol. vi, Bruges, 1923, p. 653. "What is the Church? Let us say something more profound: the Church is Jesus Christ, but Jesus Christ spread and communicated."

(3) For the asceticism, cfr. ch. vi and wine. For the dogmatic expositions cfr: Eucharist, *I Cor.* x, 16; - resurrection of Christ, *Ibid.* xv; - elevation to grace, *Eph.* 1 (cfr. in this same chapter, "the mystery"); - redemption, *Eph.* H, 13-19 and passim.

(4) *Sermon I for Holy Saturday*, same edition, in *Œuvres oratoires*, vol. 1, Paris, 1914, p. 106. This passage deals with our mystical life and our resurrection in Christ.

It is around this doctrine that he synthesizes it, by incomplete tests at first, then in a well constituted whole.

We will first examine the uncertain attempts. But, in order to understand their significance, it is necessary to have the point of arrival before our eyes. We will therefore indicate it briefly, even if it means returning to it when the chronological order of the epistles brings us back to it. It is found in the exposition of the "mystery" which is the object of the Christological epistles. Here it is, for example, in a few verses of the epistle to the Ephesians (i).

I, Paul, the prisoner of Christ for you nations. If at least you have heard what is the dispensation of the grace of God which was given to me for you, [I mean] that by revelation I have had knowledge of the mystery as I have just set it forth in a few words; you may, by reading it, appreciate the understanding which I have of the mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not notified to the children of men, as it has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit ; That the Gentiles are joint-heirs, and members of the same body, and joint-sharers of the promise in Christ Jesus, through the gospel of which I have become a minister, according to the grace of God given me by the efficacy of his power. To me, the least of all the saints, this grace has been given to proclaim to the nations the incomprehensible riches of Christ, and to bring to light what is the dispensation of the mystery hidden from all time in God, who created all things.

The passage suffices, and indeed the whole of the epistles of the captivity reinforces it. The whole of Paul's preaching, he asserts, is summed up in the "mystery," and this "mystery" consists in the - incorporation of Gentiles and Jews alike into Christ (2). For

(1) *Eph.*, ni, i>9- Cfr F. PRAT, *la Théologie de saint Paul*, t. n, p. 37.

(2) Cfr especially 1:3-14; n:5-18; iv:9-16. The word *μυστήριον* is rendered in the Vulgate, sometimes by *mysterium*, sometimes by *sacramentum*. It is met with twenty times in St. Paul. The following is the reference of the passages where the word certainly means no other than "the mystery:" *Rom.* xi, 25; xvi, 25; *I Cor.* 11, 7; iv, 1; *Eph.* 1, 9; ni, 3, 4, 9; v, 32; vi, 19; *Col.* 1, 26-27; n, 2; iv, 3; *I Tim.* ni, 16. These passages will be considered in the following pages. Other places where *μυστήριον* recurs are *II Th.*, n, 7; *I Cor.*, xiii, 2; xiv, 2; xv, 51; *I Tim.*, ni, 9.

Prat (i), the mystery is the plan conceived by God from eternity, but revealed only in the Gospel, to save all men without distinction of

race, by identifying them all with the beloved Son, in the unity of the mystical body. All men, absolutely all (2), are called in Jesus Christ to become saints (3), and this divine goodness, this grace, this mystery, expresses at the same time all that Paul teaches, and all that makes us righteous: the whole gospel of Paul, which is the gospel of Jesus (4).

(1) F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, 1.1, p. 369. Cfr 1.11, 20, 359; t.1, 106.

(2) The relation of the mystery to the Gentiles, to all men, is often indicated: *Rom.* xvi, 26; xi, 25; already in *Acts* xxii, 15; xxvi, 18, especially xxii, 21; *I Cor.* 1, 4-9; 1, 30; 11, 7; especially *Eph.* ni, 6; i, 9; vi, 19; *Col.* 1, 27; iv, 3; *I Tim.* ni, 16 (?)

(3) *Col.* i, 24-27. "Now I rejoice to suffer for you, and I complete in my flesh what is lacking in the tribulations of Christ for his body which is the Church. I have become a minister of it, commissioned by God to proclaim to you the divine word, the mystery hidden from all times and in all ages, but now unveiled to the saints, to whom God has willed to make known the glorious riches of this mystery in the nations, that is, Christ in you, the hope of glory." - There is a passage at the end of *Z Petri* which recalls those we study in St. Paul: "The God of all grace, who has called you to his eternal glory in Christ (ο καλέσας ὑμας εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ), will strengthen you..." (*I Petr.*, v, 10).

(4) Here indeed is the record of the texts where μυστήριον denotes the gospel of Paul: *I Cor.* 11:7: veiled mention of the mystical body. We quote this text a little later. - *I Cor.*, iv, 1: "We are to be regarded ... as dispensers of the mysteries of God"; this is followed by "you belong to Christ," ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, which has the sense of mystical belonging to Christ, as the parallel passage, *Ibid.*, 1:12-13 i cfr. below, ch. vu, P- 175 - *Rom.*, xi, 25: "I do not want you to be ignorant of this mystery... that a part of Israel has fallen into hardening until the whole of the Gentiles have entered." The mystery is the insertion of the Gentiles into "the olive tree," into the true Israel, heir of the promises, into the mystical body. - *Rom.* xvi, 25, is discussed further: mention of the mystical body. - *Eph.* i. 9: the mystery is the recapitulation of all in Christ. - *Eph.* 3:4> 9 has just been quoted. - *Eph.*, v, 32 : the mystery (μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα) is marriage, but considered as it relates to the union of Christ and the Church (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), union such that the Church is, as it were, Jesus Christ himself (v, 28, 29, 30, 33). - *Eph.*, vi, 19, speaks of preaching the mystery; preaching which caused the captivity of Paul. - *Col.* 1:26, 27, just quoted in note; these verses speak of

So this "mystery" in the epistles of the captivity is not the sudden manifestation of something hitherto unsuspected. Since the beginning of his ministry, Paul has carried in his heart the certainty and the enthusiasm of it. However, the discussions with the alarmists who announced the end of the world, the controversies with the zealots of the law, all the annoyances that preoccupied his first years

of preaching, left him neither the time nor the leisure to give a - complete and systematic teaching. Moreover, he still lacks words, images and comparisons; he has not yet been able to group his ideas, and the thought, perhaps, has not yet occurred to him to make an overall presentation. A whole psychological and logical work has to be done for this purpose, and God, even for the heralds of His message, even for the inspired writers of His Bible, is not wont to do the work for man. It is this work that will be his instrument; it is this work that, in the holy books, he raises up, he leads, he assists, he ratifies; he will not, therefore, as a rule, begin by suppressing it.

This work, moreover, even in the human author of the sacred texts, is not necessarily conscious, at least in its totality. God produces through man more than man thinks. Truth, and especially divine truth, when it has been received in a human heart, lives and develops there with its own strength, with the energies it has from God, and God watches over it much more than the one who has received it.

What the author has not necessarily perceived in his mind in an express manner, he will not have expressed in his work in an immediately perceptible way either. The psychological and providential work will thus manifest itself, not in clear statements, but in clues or sequences

of Christ in us. - *Col.* n. 2 speaks of the lights required to understand the mystery of God, who is Christ. - *Col.* iv. 3, same as *Eph.* vi. 19 - *I Tim.* ni. 16 (liturgical formula?): "And great is the mystery of godliness, who was manifested in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels, preached to the Gentiles, believed on in the world, exalted in glory. >

of clues that only a careful examination will reveal. It will be like underground streams; they flow invisibly, and one would not guess them, if there were not some resurgences and if the relief of the ground and the abundance of the vegetation did not betray their presence.

Such, we believe, is the doctrine of mystery in the first epistles. One would think it was absent; it is in the process of being formed; soon a more attentive examination detects it in a few fleeting expressions, or even in a whole series of thoughts; traces which are not very visible, no doubt, and which are sometimes even awkward for the - commentator, as long as he does not think of what they are preparing (i), but which become significant when they are interpreted by the definitive formulas.

It must be recognized, in fact, that under the general plan of a piece, secondary plans exist. The pure and dry unity, the monotonous and icy development, exists only in a misunderstood rhetoric. The real man has a soul; he thinks with it all, and, if he is eloquent, it is with it all that he expresses himself. All that he contains of memories, of reflections, of preoccupations, all that he is, reacts at once when an idea moves him strongly. Unity of direction and inspiration, but richness of harmonics and accompaniment, an unsuspected multitude of inner quiverings that nuance the whole and nevertheless merge into a single state of mind, such is the secret, the incommunicable secret, of living eloquence. This is the beauty of Paul's epistles: when he speaks of Jesus, everything in him jostles to be expressed, especially that which is deepest in his heart and least expressible. Analysis that melts the ardor of this soul, all part of one pursuit. The Apostle, at any rate, does not care; he thinks neither of a synoptic plan, nor of desirable prunings. One thought leads to similar thoughts; sometimes, on a parallel line

(ii) Thus *Rom.* xvi. 25-27, the authenticity of which has even been questioned. Marcion already, according to ORIGENB (*in illud*, P.G., xiv, 1290, trans. RUFIN) had suppressed it. We shall soon find it again, p. 109.

In addition to the main theme, there are some developments linked by the same concern. But the whole is perfectly one, for it is the accent of a single soul, occupied entirely by a single love (i).

All this God, who is the only principal author of Scripture, could use to speak to us: he alone can speak thus. All this, if it is found in

Scripture, is intended by God, even if the human author did not explicitly intend it; all this is inspired; all this, therefore, must be carefully collected. And it is an important task to gather these clues, for they allow us to guess what is stirring in Paul's mind when he speaks of Jesus; they allow us to glimpse the discreet and reverent way in which God is instructing the mind of his apostle. But also, the task is delicate, for the clues that must be sought are imponderables. The task would be impossible, even, if the writer himself had not marked his way, expressing later on the direction in which his thought was going from the beginning.

It is this task that we would like to fulfill here; we would like to see how Paul, under the inspiration of God, synthesized his preaching around the doctrine of the mystery.

The first passage to be collected is an isolated verse, but very old, lost in the epistle to the Thessalonians (2). The author

(1) See, in addition to the passages we shall examine, *II Cor.* i-v.

(2) This verse may be taken as the finale of the epistle, "Give thanks to God: τούτο γάρ θέλημα Θεού ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς. το πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε." *I Th.*, v, 18. Cfr *II Th.*, n, 13-14 - "We must always give thanks to God about you, my beloved brethren of the Lord, because he chose you from the first for salvation, through sanctification by the Spirit and faith in the truth. To this end he has called you through our gospel, that you may possess the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. (Cfr also *I Th.*, i, 3-5). The two texts are similar: same thanksgiving, same mention of God, Christ, and the Spirit, same election (θέλημα - ἐκάλεσεν, εἵλατο), and election in Christ.

among the moral counsels, which usually form the second part of his letters. It appears there, rather out of place. But, brought closer to the epistle to the Ephesians, it takes on its meaning. Here is the text:

Always be joyful; pray without ceasing.

In all things give thanks to God, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you.

Do not extinguish the spirit, do not despise the prophets; but test everything and hold fast to what is good; abstain from all appearance of evil.

May the God of peace himself sanctify you completely and may everything in you, spirit, soul and body, be preserved without blame until the day of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is necessary to detach from the passage Paul's thanksgiving, because of the will of God (i) for us in Christ Jesus. Not because the passage is not a moral advice, it is one; but because, when brought together with other texts, it is also an exposition of the mystery. A rudimentary exposition, certainly, committed to the point of merging into a different development, but which breaks the continuity of the whole by a sort of distinct personality. It is more vague than the rest; it is squeezed into a mention of the Trinity: God, Jesus, the Spirit; it is accompanied by a blessing; it seems to sum up the whole plan of God's salvific will and to give us, in itself, the reason for an endless joy.

After this isolated mention, we shall see an example of a series of thoughts, juxtaposed to the main theme, and whose idea of mystery makes the unity. It is in the first epistle to the Corinthians, written four or five years after the text

(1) Note that *θέλημα θεοῦ* is often an expression of the mystery, a summary of the contents of the gospel: *I Th.*, iv, 3; v, 18; *Rom.*, xvi, 26; *Eph.*, i, 9 and 5-11; *Col.*, i, 9; (cfr. 11, 2); *Acts*, xxii, 14; xxvi, 16. This is also the word Paul uses to justify his being an apostle: *Ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ. I Cor.* 1:1; *ZZ Cor.* 1:1; *Eph.* 1:1; *Col.* 1:1; *II Tim.* 1:1; *Gal.* 1:1; See also *Joh.* vi 4°-

that we have just read. The formulas, as we shall see, always come closer to the ineffable reality.

We know the circumstances in which the letter was written. Paul was in Asia Minor when he learned that the Church of Corinth, which he had founded a short time before, was being worked on by the seeds of discord. Apollo had been there, and probably some Judeo-Christians as well, and soon, as a result of their contact, divergent movements of direction had taken shape. Apollo, an eloquent philosopher, had soon seen a party following him which claimed to be wise (1). Another party, which bore the name of Cephas, had formed around Judeo-Christians, we may conjecture. Some, who remained more or less faithful to the apostle Paul, swore by his name. Finally, some, more daring or more fanatical, gave themselves as those of Christ (2). (2) In addition to these divisions, problems of morality and worship had caused disagreement; and it is to this restless Christianity that the Apostle writes.

Let us consider one of these circumstances for our purposes. It seems that one or more of the parties at Corinth boasted of a deeper and more philosophical conception of Christianity than that of St. Paul. In any case, for the taste of some reasoners, the Gospel of the Apostle was too banal and too simple (3).

This reproach did not leave the saint indifferent. He would not let it be said that his preaching, that is, authentic Christianity, is a doctrine without depth. It too has its wisdom, its abysses of wisdom, and he knew well how to make them visible. And among the concerns he has when thinking about Corinth, there is one which interests us and occupies his mind: he wants to show all the hidden meaning, the magnificent mystery in the Gospel (4).

(1) *Ad.*, xvin, 24: ἀνὴρ λόγιος. *I Cor.* χvi, 12.

(2) See in E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Saint Paul. Première épître aux Corinthiens*, p. 80, the note on this "party of Christ".

(3) *I Cor.* i, 18-ni, 4; cfr *II Cor.* iv, 2-3.

(4) This is how Bossuet understands this passage: "To penetrate such a great mystery, listen to the great Paul, who, having represented to the Corinthians corn-

This mystery, moreover, will show that it is a marvel of unity. The fevers of the disputants have produced tears in the concord. Do they not know, then, who make parties according to men, how much all are one in Christ! To their short-sighted fragmentation Paul will therefore oppose the mysterious splendour of unity.

Let's read the epistle, we'll see right away what he has on his heart: the first verses are already significant.

I give thanks to God," he writes, "for the grace of God (cf. *Eph.* 1:6, 7) which has been given to you in Christ Jesus (*Eph.* 1:6; 11:13). In him you were filled with every kind of wealth (*Eph.*, 1, 7-8), with every kind of word, with every kind of knowledge (*Eph.*, 1, 3, 8)... God is faithful, through whom you were called (*Eph.*, 1, 3, 4, 5) into fellowship with his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ (*Eph.*, 1, *passim*) (1).

The resemblance between this piece and the epistle to the Ephesians is quite apparent. We have taken the liberty of indicating the passages of the first chapter of this epistle alone which resemble it: the parallels are numerous; on both sides, it is the same exposition, in a blessing to God, of the election of Christians in Christ.

Although his preaching had been simple, he gives this admirable reason: "For we preach to you a hidden wisdom, which the rulers of this world have not recognized: *Sapientiam quae abscondita est*. What is this hidden wisdom? Christians, it is Jesus Christ himself. BOSSUET, *Panegyric of St. Paul*, ^{ieT} point, in *Œuvres oratoires*, edited by J. LEBARQ, Ch. URBAIN and E. LEVESQUE, Paris, 1914, t. 11, p. 314.

(1) *I Cor.*, i, 4, 5, 9. Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθεῖ σι ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (this verse is the most characteristic: it properly expresses the election in Christ, in which the mystery consists), - ὅτι ἐν παντί ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν παντί λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει, - (the next verse explains that this election is in close connection with the gospel of Paul) καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον (cf. II, 1) τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν (the ἐβεβαιώθη alludes to extraordinary graces, but especially to apostolic preaching [cf. the epistle's doctrine of charisms]). This is followed by a double mention of "the day of Christ," i.e., the second advent of Jesus Christ. Finally: Πιστός ὁ Θεός, δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. This verse, which ends the passage, is, after the first verse, the most significant.

But Paul does not continue this exposition of the mystery for long. He is distracted by the thought of the divisions in the Church, and he begins to rebuke the factious (1); is not preaching unity (2) still preaching the mystery? Then these rebukes lead to the affirmation that he is sent, not to baptize, but to preach, and to preach, not a pompous wisdom, but the foolishness of the Crucified. And while he is speaking of wisdom, he is reminded of the reproaches made against his gospel (3). (3) He is immediately taken back by the concern to show its depths (4). He explains, "It seems foolishness, that is to say, foolishness for the world; but it is wisdom for God, a wisdom too sublime to be conceived by worldly people. And indeed, he continues, it is an inconceivable thing that he announces on behalf of God: God has chosen in the world itself what is most vile, he has chosen us all, in Christ, to be saints of the holiness of Christ, participated in.

God has chosen that which is of no account and power in the world, that which is nothing, to bring to nothing that which is, so that no flesh may boast before God.

Now through him (*Eph.*, 1, 3, ff.) you are in Christ Jesus (*Eph.*, i, 3, 4, 6, ff.), who through God has become for us wisdom (*Eph.*, i, 8), and righteousness (*Eph.*, 1, 5), and sanctification (*Eph.*, 1, 4), and redemption (*Eph.*, 1, 4, 7, 14) (5)

(2) i, 10-17. Verse 10 is an exhortation to union: no divisions (cf. xii, 25); even vous, even γνώμη.

(3) Note the energetic mention of unity and the mystical Christ in v. 13 (cf. below, ch. vu, p. 186).

(4) L 17-19-

(5) i, 20-22.

(6) i, 28-30; last verse: Ἐξ αὐτοῦ δε ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, βς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμὸς καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις. For the general sense of the verse, see *II Cor.* v, 21: "Christ became sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him." This is justification by incorporation in Christ. This verse is related to the introduction at the beginning quoted above: it explains the "grace given in Christ" (1:4). Note that the formula: "Let not the flesh glory in the sight of God", which precedes the present verse (w. 29 and 31), often accompanies the teaching of the mystery: *Eph.* 11:9-10, a very similar passage; cf. *Rom.* 11:27, compared with *Rom.* 24-25, and *Gai.* 11:16-20.

This verse, which recalls the beginning of the epistle, is, like that beginning, a sketch of the mystery as it will be described to the Ephesians. Here again we have taken the liberty of noting the points

of contact between this passage and the beginning only of the epistle to the Ephesians, and we can see that they are numerous. We are in the presence of a small exposition of the mystery; only the name is missing.

And this name appears a few verses away (i). It is still "wisdom". Paul still claims wisdom for his preaching. But this wisdom, he explains, is not something he distributes to everyone. It is a teaching reserved for the perfect: it consists of a "mystery", once hidden, but now revealed by the Spirit. And it is about an eternal predestination of God, choosing us for glory:

Wisdom," Paul writes, "we preach among the perfect. But not the wisdom of this world, nor of the rulers of this world, whose authority is passing away. But we preach the wisdom of God, which is the mystery, the hidden [wisdom] which God foreordained before all ages for our glory.

In this passage, the reminder of two previous texts is visible, and the resemblance with the epistle to the Ephesians is undeniable. The mystery, hidden and then revealed, concerning our glorification, the ineffable sanctification that God works in us (3): all these features are, in advance, those of the epistle to the Ephesians.

(i) Already even in the next verse, if it were to read, which is unlikely, instead of μαρτύριον του θεού, μυστήριον, as some manuscripts bear (Alex, and Ephr. rescr.) and as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine read; cfr. VOGELS, *Novum Testamentum graece*, 6^e edit., Stuttgart, 1921, p. 438.

(2) *I Cor.*, il, 6-7: Αλλά λαλούμεν θεού σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προόρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ των αἰώνων εἰς ἡμῶν. Note that here μυστήριον has no article; the idea, it would seem, has not yet its concrete precision. So it is with σώμα in these same great epistles. Cfr p. 153.

(3) "For the spirit of God is necessary for us to know what God has given us." *Ibid*, 11, 12. See E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Saint Paul. Première épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1935, PP- 40" ss.

Then Paul continues. This wisdom, he says, is understood only by those who have "the sense", the spirit, of Christ (i). The others, and especially the troublemakers, can hear nothing of it. And, taken up with the idea of factions and disorders, he begins again to inculcate union; then he moves on to other moral counsels. From that moment on, he lost sight of the idea of mystery. In the course of the epistle, it will only reappear in a few verses scattered far and wide (2).

But we could see, from the clues we have gathered, that in his soul, thought is being organized. The psychological work, let us repeat, is directed by the Holy Spirit, who thus prepares his messenger. And the clues we have gathered, since they are in a canonical book, are inspired like the rest of Scripture, but as clues.

The Holy Spirit will not let the work stop. Soon the outlines of the mystery will reappear, and more fully, no longer in the form of rapid statements or underlying sequences of thoughts, but in a small exposition, which seems to form a single whole. It is in this form that we find them, a year or so later, in the epistle to the Romans.

Several passages of this epistle, moreover, deserve to be quoted, for their resemblance to the general tone and doctrine of the epistle to the Ephesians. Thus, the first exposition of justice, of which the whole letter speaks, represents this as the mystery (3).

But now," writes Paul, "without the law, the righteousness of God is - manifested, having the testimony of the law and the prophets. And this righteousness of God, which is obtained through the faith of Jesus Christ, [extends] to all believers without distinction. For there is no difference: all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, justified [that they should be]

(1) *I Cor.* π, 16.

(2) *I Cor.* vi, 15-20; x, 16-21; xn, 12-27.

(3) *Rom.* ni, 21-26. This is a true summary of the positive doctrine contained in the epistle. It is also the most concise exposition of "justice". The word "justice" is used in almost every verse.

freely by grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus (i). God publicly instituted Your instrument of propitiation through faith in His blood, to bring forth His righteousness [obscured] by the forbearance of sins which He bore patiently, to bring forth His righteousness at the present time, that He might be recognized as righteous Himself and as the author of justification for everyone who comes under the faith of Jesus.

The ideas of redemption in Christ (*Eph.* i, 3, 4, 5, θ)> by His blood (1:7), of choice (1:4), of glory (1:6, 12, 14), of cleansing and righteousness (1:4, 7), of redemption once announced (1:4), now revealed (1:13, 14, 18), the idea, above all, of the universal calling of Gentiles and Jews in Christ (*passim*), all the ideas of this passage at last, are those of which, taken together, the mystery is constituted.

This same mystery is mentioned elsewhere, and with force, in the same letter. This is the case for passages in chapters vi, vu and vin. Here are some of them, which their place in the epistle brings out, for they are the conclusion or beginning of a development, and they summarize small doctrinal statements.

The wages of sin is death; the reward of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

There is no more damnation for those who are in Christ Jesus (3).

Nothing can separate us from the love God has for us in Christ Jesus (4).

(1) Δικαιούμενοι δωρεάν τη αὐτοῦ χάριτι, διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. *Rom.* in, 24. This verse, the centre of the passage (preceded by two δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, vv. 21 and 22, and followed by two ἐνδείξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης, w. 25 and 26), is the one who gives the essence of Christian righteousness in its relation to the righteousness of God, and who presents the ordinary formula of it in this epistle (*cfr.* vi, 23; v, 21; vin, 1, 39). It is also the one that most closely resembles an exposition of the mystery, such as the epistle to the Ephesians will set forth.

(2) Τό δέ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. vi, 23-

(3) Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, vii, 1.

(4) Οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, vii, 39" This passage ends a development in which Paul goes through all creatures, to challenge them to separate him from God. *Cfr J oh.*, xvii, 26, 23.

But the characteristic passage is the final part of the letter, or rather the last part, for it ends several times (1), as if the Apostle could not bring himself to finish it. Finally, he has found, one would say, what remains for him to say, and he himself takes up his pen to write,

at the bottom of the letter, the few autograph lines which will serve as his signature (2). He summarizes the whole epistle, as the epistle itself summarizes the collection of the great epistles (3). And this summary is an exposition of the mystery.

To him who is powerful enough (*Eph.*, 1, 5, 8) to establish you (*I Cor.*, i, 6) according to my gospel and the message of Jesus Christ (*Z Cor.*, i, 6), according to the revelation (*Z Cor.*, 1, 7; *Eph.*, 1, 9 and *passim*) of the mystery (*Z Cor.*, ii, 6; *Eph.*, *passim*) hidden from all eternity (*Z Cor.*, 11:7; *Eph.*, *passim*) but now made known by the command of God, through the writings of the prophets, to all nations (*Eph.*, *passim*), so that they may obey by faith, - to this one, the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, glory forever and ever. Amen (4).

We have noted the references that situate it in this piece. As much as it takes up the exposition of the mystery given in the rest of the letter, it announces the epistle to the Ephesians: it seems to be a germ ready to break loose and grow.

Grow up, he will have time. Here are interposed, in the life

(1) Several passages in the epistle have airs of finality, but are followed by repetitions: *xm*, 14; *xv*, 33; *xvi*, 16; *xvi*, 24.

(2) This ending is quite similar to the signature *πηλίκους γράμμασιν* which ends the epistle to the Galatians, and also to the ending of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It may be noticed that in all three pieces there is mention of the mystical Christ, that is, of the mystery, and that the finales of *Rom.* and *Gai.* are true summaries of these letters. It should be noted that, linked, as it appears here, to the preoccupations expressed in the epistle, the ending *Rom.* *xvi*, 25, is clearly authentic. As a result, its peculiarities are explained; especially, it is well understood that it summarizes the epistle, and in a different vocabulary. The way of thinking that one has when dictating is not exactly the same as when writing oneself. A written final, after a dictated letter, even if it is a summary of what has just been said, can have the appearance of a new letter.

(3) F. PRAT, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, vol. 11, p. 36.

(4) *Rom.* *xvi*, 25-27.

of St. Paul, four or five years of which we find the account in the last chapters of the book of Acts. These years were full of events: riots, plots and intrigues were intertwined; the Apostle, incarcerated, interrogated, often on the verge of death, went from prison to prison, while waiting to be sent to Caesar's tribunal. The prisons, moreover, were often quite gentle to him, and this tormented period could be a time for reflection. It ends in Rome, where Paul remains for two years, held in custody in a house he has rented, but otherwise free to teach the gospel as much as he wishes. After the storms that preceded it, there is peace, a relative peace, but one that allows him to set out in writing the fruit of his reflections and the message that, through him, the inspiring Spirit wants to send us.

We have this message in the epistles of the captivity (i). The formulas are so instructive (2) that we have already been led twice to quote long extracts from them. We will allow ourselves to quote once again a few verses from a passage we have already encountered. Paul, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, develops his doctrine in a song of joy. Thus, Jesus spoke in the past about those wonders which God had long hidden from the great, but which he now let the little ones see; for this is his good pleasure (3).

(1) The Apostle also speaks of it in the Pastorals, especially in the second to Timothy, see i, 9, and compare there n, 10-12; 1, 1; 11, 1.

(2) *Eph.*, ni, 4: "You will be able to understand how much I have penetrated the mystery of Christ." *Eph.*, 11, 9; *Col.* n, 2; 1, 29.

(3) *Le.*, x, 21. This is the same passage. "At that very moment, Jesus shuddered

of joy by the Holy Spirit and said, "I praise you, Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, that you have

(4) and that you have revealed them to the children. Yes, Father, because so

(5) was thy good pleasure; *δτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἐμπροσθέν σου.*" It may be noticed that this passage, like the statement of the mystery, begins with a doxology - and speaks of a thing hidden - and then revealed - to the little ones - according to the good pleasure of God (*εὐδοκία*: cfr. *Eph.*, 1, 5, 9; *I Cor.*, 1, 21; *Gai.*, 1, 15; *Col.*, i, 19). - See also *Le.*, 11, 14: *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία* (or *εὐδοκίας*, the two lessons, from our present point of view, are equivalent): *Γεὐδοκία* referred to is in connection with the God-Man who has just been born; cfr E. SMOTHERS: "*Ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας*," in *Researches in Religious Science*, vol. xxiv, 1934, P- 86. - See again the *Μή φοβού, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον* -

Blessed be God," he cries, "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has

blessed us with every spiritual blessing in heaven in Christ...

In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace which he has poured out abundantly upon us,

in all wisdom and prudence,

by notifying us of the mystery of his will according to the good purpose which he formed in himself to be realized in the fullness of time, to

gather all things in Christ, those of the heavens and those of the earth (i).

What this merciful purpose and this gathering of all things in Christ Jesus is in detail will be explained in later chapters. What is to be noted here is the exultation (2) and the force of affirmation with which Paul declares that this incorporation is both the eternal plan of God and the summary of his whole gospel. For a long time, perhaps, he had sought its expression under the guidance of grace by arduous paths; now, in joy and clarity (3), he has reached the heights (4).

βτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, *Le.*, χπ, 32. There is, between all these passages of St. Luke and the Gospel of St. Paul, a singular similarity of tone, and also, it must be remarked, they bring to mind the Beatitudes: so much is the doctrine the same, and the inspiring Spirit, unique. Cf. chapter II, pp. 65ff.

(1) *Eph.* i, 3, 7-10.

(2) *Eph.*, i, 3-14.

(3) *Col.* he, 2, 3: "That their hearts may be comforted, and that being closely united in charity, "they may be enriched with full understanding (εἰς παν πλούτος της πληροφορίας της συνέσεως) to understand the mystery of God (εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν του μυστηρίου του θεού), of Christ, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." Cfr. *Eph.*, 111, 8, ff. "To me, the least of all the saints, has been granted this grace to evangelize the nations by proclaiming the incomprehensible riches of Christ, and to explain (φωτίσαι) the economy of the mystery."

(4) As we shall see (ch. v and vu), many elements of the doctrine of the mystical body reach their maximum development in these epistles: the expression "in Christ" is more frequent there, and of fuller meaning than anywhere else; the image of the "body" of Christ is more advanced there;

From these heights, all of Christianity is discovered, but it is by bringing everything back to Christ: it is only Christ who, mystically, includes in himself all Christians, and all their grace, and all their knowledge, and all their hope.

No doubt, in the considerations which the Apostle makes, a number of legal considerations intervene. Christ has paid for us, God considers him to be the guarantor of us all, he sees us all, legally, in him, and in him he forgives us all. But all this does not say the last word: these legal fictions alone cannot make sense of the decisions of the God of truth. So Paul does not dwell on them, and as soon as he wants to show the ultimate reason for these merciful substitutions and inclusions of grace, he returns to the mystery, to Christ all in all (i).

the compound verbs in *συν* marking our solidarity with Christ are more used there.

It may be remarked here that these Christological epistles, the authenticity of which has sometimes been denied, are connected with the better attested epistles by numerous links, not very apparent, but deeply involved in the structure itself. We shall see later that in the expression "in Christ," and in the doctrine of the "body" of Christ, there is the same close and delicate union between these epistles and the others. To remove them from the collection of Pauline writings would be to cut them down to size. Cf. p. 100, note.

(i) F. PRAT, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, vol. n, p. 331. Cfr, in the same work, t. i, p. 359; - ID., article *Paul* in the *Catholic encyclopedia*, t. xi, P- 5⁷ - ID., *Un aspect de Tascèse dans saint Paul*, in the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, t. n, 1922, p. 4. - *Est enim*, writes St. Thomas, *haec doctrina (Pauli) tota de gratia Christi, in capite* (ep. to the Hebrews), *in membris principalibus corporis mystici* (in the Pastorals); *in corpore mystico* (in the other epistles); *Pref, in epistolas sancti Pauli*. - It is far from being the case that we can consider this communion with the Lord as a metaphorical formula, an amiable expression, but devoid of reality. Philosophy has long since recognized that a nail painted on the wall can only be attached to a garment painted on the wall. If this communion with the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ were not itself a reality, it would not produce in us real consequences, justice, holiness... At the same time, if this communion with the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ were not a reality, the Apostle would have no title, in the name of a formula of diction and a simple metaphor, to impose upon us very real duties, and religious respect for a body which is no longer ours." *The Epistles of St. Paul, placed in the historical milieu of the Acts*, by Dom DELATTE, Esschen,

THE MYSTERY IS THE MYSTICAL CHRIST 113

1924, vol. i, p. 310. Most contemporary commentators on St. Paul are of the same opinion. They insist on the realism of the Pauline conception of the mystical body. "It would be a misunderstanding (in Paul) to see (in the mystical body) a mere abstraction, a pure being of reason. It is a reality of the moral order, but a true reality, since it is the subject of attributions, properties and rights. Mystical is not the opposite of real, and there are realities outside of what we feel and weigh. This reality is expressed by a metaphor, like all immaterial and suprasensible objects." F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, 1.1, p. 360. - < In studying Christ in St. Paul, says MICHEL (VACANT's *Dictionary of Theology*, art. *Jesus Christ*, t. vin, col. 1227), we cannot in reality separate him from those whom he came to redeem." - Cfr. P. POURRAT, *La Spiritualité chrétienne*, t. 1, 8^e ed. Paris, 1926, pp. 26, ff. - J. DUPERRAY, *Christ in the Christian life according to St. Paul*, 4^e, Paris, 1928, pp. 27, 64, 255 and passim (good study), shows well what is real, what is supernaturally real, in Tunion with Christ. - J. SCHWANE, *Histoire des dogmes*, Paris, 1903-1904, 6 vols, vol. 1, p. 571, speaks in the same sense. - G. BARDY, *En lisant les Pères*, Tourcoing, 1921, p. 222. - It, J. M. BOVER, *De mystica unione in Christo Jesu secundum sanctum Paulum*, in *Biblica*, 1.1, 1920, pp. 314, 315 - This mystical union, declares Fr. Lagrange, is real. It is necessary to keep a middle ground, he says, "between refusing to admit Tunion, under the pretext that it would confuse natures" and "admitting a total union which would make human nature melt into the whole of God", *le Sens du christianisme d'après l'exégèse allemande (Études bibliques)*, Paris, 1918, p. 41. - Cfr J. LEBRETON, *Les Origines du dogme de la Trinité*, t. 1, 6^e, Paris, 1927, pp. 387ff. - There is, between Christ and us, according to Paul "eine reale Einheit", "eine wirkliche geheimnisvolle Einheit", J. SICKENBERGER, *die Beiden Briefe des hl. Paulus an die Korinther und sein Brief an die Römer*, Bonn, 1929, see in *I Cor.* xii, 12 and vi, 15, pp. 49 and 24 - "Ein einheitlicher lebendiger Organismus", says M. MEINERZ, *die Gefangenschaftsbriefe des hl. Paulus*, Bonn, 1917" see in *Eph.* 1:23, p. 61. - a "Eine sehr innige Verbindung", says K. BENZ, *die Ethik des Apostels Paulus (Biblische Studien, xvii, 3-4)*, Freiburg, 1912, p. 184. - "Eine mystische aber sehr reale Gemeinschaft," writes J. Nisius, in the *Kirchliches Handlexicon*, vol. 11, col. 1381, art. *Paulus*.

On the Protestant side, the realism of the Pauline conception of the mystical body has often been shown - even exaggerated or distorted. A number of Protestant opinions can be found in T. SCHMIDT, *der Leib Christi*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 146, and in H. J. HOLTZMANN, *N eutestament- liche Theologie*, Tübingen, 1911, vol. n, pp. 193 ff. - "Charakteristisch für Paulus ist die tiefe Auffassung des inneren Gemeintseins der Gläubigen in Christus selbst," writes J. KOESTLIN, *Realencycl. für protest. Theologie u. Kirche*, 3rd ed. 1896, ss. *Christ* is "ein Vereinwesen, ein gesellschaftliches Wunder, eine Gesamtpersonlichkeit", HOLTZMANN, *Op. cit.* p. 197. It. T. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* p. 206. - The doctrine of Paul is more a Christus-Gemeinschaft than a Christology, says A. Deissmann, *Paulus. Eine Kultur- und Religionsgeschichtliche Skizze*, Tübingen, 1911, pp. 84 and 117. - In Paul's eyes, the Christian conscience has no other principle than the person of Jesus Christ who characterizes it, determines it, constitutes it. There is no

Christ, truly and mysteriously, contains us all; and all becomes clear. That is why in him we cease to be sinners, and that is why in him we become pleasing to God.

Now, the Apostle says this more clearly than was said before him (i); or rather, God, through the Apostle, announces it more expressly. There is therefore here a progress in Christian teaching with regard to the mystical body. The question naturally arises: how can this progress be explained?

When the doctrine of the mystical body penetrated the Greco-Roman world, two philosophical schools, among others, flourished there which, at least at first sight, bore some resemblance to it. The first is the Stoic school: it describes the universe as a single living being, a kind of great body, of which men are the members (2). The second school

Has nothing in Christ that is unassimilable, as there is in all men; he is πνεύμα ζωοποιούν. A. SABATIER, *l'Apôtre Paul*, Paris, 1896, pp. 300, ff. - Cfr W. WREDE, *Paulus (Religions geschichtliche Volksbücher*, 1, 5-6), Halle, 1905, p. 51. - H. R. MACKINTOSH, *the Doctrine of the Person of J.-C.*, Édim-bourg, 1920. - W. PORCHER DU BOSE, *The Gospel according to Saint Paul*, London, 1907, p. 179.

(1) In the rabbinic literature, we really find nothing on this subject. In H. STRACK and P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich, 1922-1928, 5 vols. the parallels given in connection with the texts concerning the mystical body are hardly significant. A few words on the presence of God in us or on the union between believers (L¹ 74> 733; η" 691; ni" 335 "" see also 1, 659, etc.), but nothing that approaches the mystery of unity.

(2) According to the Stoics, the world is a body well one, ἐξ ὧν συμφανές διτὶ ἡνωμένοντι σώμα καθέστηκεν ὁ κόσμος, SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, *Contra math.*, ιχ, 78, apud É. ZELLER, *die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 4^e edition, Leipzig, 1909, t. in, p. 172, from whom we borrow the quotations which follow, unless otherwise indicated, in this first paragraph of the note, Ζφον καὶ λογικόν καὶ ἐμψυχον καὶ νοερόν, says DIOGENES LAERCE, 142, ff. ; ζφον ἀρ' ὁ κόσμος (apud ZELLER, p. 138, cfr. p. 139, n. 4); καὶ Ζεύς λέγεται ὁ κόσμος, according to Arius Didymus (in EUSEBIUS, *Praeparatio*

evangelica, xv, 15; apud ZELLER, p. 150); according to the same again (in STOBÆUS, *Eclogæ*, 1, 444, apud ZELLER, p. 150): Λέγεται ἑτέρως κόσμος ὁ Θεός. MARCUS AURELIUS writes in his *Thoughts*, iv, 40: *Ὡς ἐν ζῶον τον κόσμον μίαν οὐσίαν καὶ φυγήν ἐπέχον συνεχῶς ἐπινθεῖν. CHRYSIPPUS finally (in PLUTARCH, *De stoic, rep.*, 44, 6, apud ZELLER, p. 177): Τέλειον μὲν ὁ κόσμος σῶμά ἐστιν.

In this immense body, a single spirit is spread, is even stretched: SIMPLICIUS, *De cælo*, 286, 15 (apud ZELLER, p. 191). The substance of the universe is governed by a single reason, which adapts everything to the rest, says Marcus Aurelius (vi, 1, apud ZELLER, p. 173); it is, as Cicero says, a *consensus*, a *concentus*, a *cognatio*, a *conjunctio*, a *continuatio* of the whole of nature; it is, as the Greeks say, a *συνπάθεια* of all things with each other (ZELLER, p. 173). Men, members of this divine unity, have the divine in them: *Sacer intra nos spiritus sedet*, writes SENECA, *Epist.* xli, 2; it., xxxi, ii, and lxvi, 12 (apud ZELLER, p. 204). *Membra sumus corporis magni. Natura nos cognatos edidit*, ID. in *Epist.* xciv, 52 (apud ZELLER, p. 293). On this point, central in Stoicism, Marcus Aurelius insists. Of this great unity, he writes in his *Thoughts*, vu, 9 (ed. Budé, by A. I. TRANNOY, Paris, 1925, p. 69), of this great body, I am not merely μέρος, part, I am a member: 'As the members of the body in beings which form a whole, so the reasonable intelligences, though belonging to distinct beings, are constituted to act in concert. This thought will strike you more if you repeat to yourself often: "I am a member of the body formed by reasonable intelligences." But if you simply say, with the letter p [μέλος and μέρος differ only by ρ-λ], "I am 'a member' of it," it means that you do not yet love men from the bottom of your heart" (cfr. ID., ii, i; ix, 8, 9; xn, 30). Animals and things must be used nobly; of men, moreover, with union, κοινωνικῶς (ID., vi, 23, apud ZELLER, p. 295. Cfr ID., viii, 7; ni, 4; vu, 55, 38). "Does it not seem to you that all things are united? - It" seems to me," he answers. - What then? Does it not seem to thee also that what' is on earth is united (συνπαθεῖν) with what is in heaven?" - "It seems so to me," says he." EPICTETUS, *Dissert.* 1, 14, 2, apud ZELLER, p. 173.

A. BONHÖFFER, in *Epiktet und das N eue Testament (Religions geschicht* liche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, x), 1911, points out no borrowing, either of text or of ideas, in St. Paul from the Stoics. Cfr what he says of ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος. Neither for σῶμα nor for συνπάθεια (which, incidentally, does not appear in his lexicon 1) does he point to any dependence. - J. STELZENBERGER, *die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa*, Munich, 1933" has very little, see pp. 106-107, 129.-J. JUHNKE, *das Persönlich- keitsideal in der Stoa im Lichte der paulinischen Erlösungslehre (Greifswalder theologische Forsch.*, v), Bamberg, 1934. - E. ELORDUY, *Die Socialphilosophie der Stoa (Philologus, Suppl.*, xxviii, 3), Leipzig, 1936 (see pp. 139-160) - W. L. KNOX, *Parallels to the N. T. Use of σῶμα*, in *Journal of theological Studies*, vol. xxxix, 1938, p. 243.

Also, the Stoic conceptions, in spite of some similarities of expression, are very far from the ideas of Paul. In Paul's system, Christ is everything, God is transcendent, the personality of each man remains intact, solidarity is supernatural. All this is absent from Stoicism. The Platonic school also represents the universe as a single organism which has its own soul and life; moreover, it declares that the true reality which serves as the foundation of the universe is a world of ideas, that is, a world of intelligible units (i).

The unity, the universal monism, which the Stoics defend, being all immanent and natural to the multiple, is contradictory in itself. The unity of grace, preached by Paul, is mysterious, but not unthinkable. A spirit of charity, of zeal, of religion, of humility, animates the doctrine of Paul; a spirit which is not found in the Stoic writings.

The first lineaments of Stoic conceptions are found in the monistic views of the early Greek philosophers, especially in Heraclitus. Heraclitus is above all an assertor of the unity of the world (H. DIELS, *die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2^e ed., Berlin, 1906, fragm. 89, 17. It is from this work of Diels that we take the following fragments). According to Heraclitus again, the world has an ordinating soul, a λόγος (cfr. M. J. LAGRANGE, O.P., *Revue Biblique*, t. xxn, 1923, pp. 161 and 321, and G. KAFKA, *die Vorsokratiker*, Munich, 1921, p. 45), of which every part of the world has its share (fragm. 113, H 6, 2), μετέχει, as ii explains and as one of his commentators will say (SEXTUS EMPIR., *Contra math.*, vu, 131, 133, cfr 129. See H. DIELS, *Heraclitus von Ephesus, griechisch und deutsch*, Berlin, 1909, p. 13. - M. SOLOVINE, *Heraclitus of Ephesus*, Paris, 1931). It is with Heraclitus, it seems, that the concept and word of participation enters philosophy, which, clarified and used by Aristotle and Plato, will become the technical expression of our relationship with God and with Christ. Heraclitus is also fond of συν compounds, DIELS, *die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, p. 86.

Philosophical views similar to the conceptions just set forth are found in the Fathers: 'The Greek philosophers,' says St. Athanasius, 'claim that the world is a body (μέγα σώμα) and in this they are right.... If they admit that in this world which is a body (cfr *II Ar.*, xi and *I Ar.*, XLVI, P.G., xxvi, 169, 108), the Word of God dwells, ... is it surprising or inadmissible that this Word should have come into man?" *De incarnatione*, XLI, P.G., xxv, 168-169. The rest of the chapter and the following chapter insist on the same thought. It is also the idea of *Athanasius that, through the Word, God impressed his type into things, so that the world, as one body, was in concord, ὁμονοεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, *II Ar.*, LXXXI, P.G., xxvi, 317. Cfr *II Ar.*, xxvin and XLIX, P.G., xxvi, 205 and 249. - Cfr S. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Or.* vi and xv (*theol.* 11), P.G., xxxv, 740, 741 and xxxvi, 72. - S. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In Ps.* 1, P.G., xxxiv, 441. See also *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius, etc.*, P.G., XLIV, 1320. - THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIS, *In Rom.* vin, P.G., LXVI, 19, 824. - St. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Myst.* vu, P.G., xci, 685. - VICTORINUS OF AFRICA has often these formulas: *Contra ar.*, 1, and *In Gal.* n, P.L., vm, 1059, 1196.

(1) Plato regards the whole world as a living being, a ζῷον that has its soul and builds itself {*Timaeus*, 30 c, ff.; 36 e; 37 c; 39 e ;

That these speculations on natural unity may have helped to conceive and express supernatural unity, and may have counteracted it by threatening to alter the notion, can hardly be denied. It is certain, for example, that the Platonic Fathers of the Church have often spoken more forcefully than others of the unity of men in Christ. The supernatural plan, the one that presides over the destiny of revelation as well as the one that presides over the sanctification of souls, is not superimposed on the natural plan, but rather takes it up itself and uses its elements for its own purposes.

As far as St. Paul is concerned, it is above all in the Stoic school that historians, especially rationalists, have sought an explanation. Paul indeed, Paul and his teaching on incorporation into Christ, is the great problem, as Harnack says (1). To tell the truth, they even looked everywhere (2), they thought of infiltrations of mystery cults (3), of an action exerted by a religious syncretism made up of various and little known contributions, and which was spreading at that time among the masses (4). After all that, all that was missing was Freud

68 e. On the soul of the world, see the same *Timaeus*, 33 a-37 and passim; see in the Budé edition, by A. RIVAUD, the introduction, pp. 39 ff; see also the *Laws*, 896 a-898 c. We refer here to É. ZELLER, *die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, vol. 11, 1, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 769-817). Plutarch (from 40-46 A.D. to 120-126 A.D.) still speaks of this soul of the world, and even of two souls, one good and one bad, as did Plato in the *Laws* (apud ZELLER, t. ni, 2, pp. 186, ff.). Similarly, in the 3rd century^e, Plotinus. The world, according to him, is a living thing animated by a unique life (*Ibid.*, pp. 610ff.). The Platonic theory of ideas, it is easy to understand, easily leads to the hypostasis of the species, and particularly the human species.

(1) *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4^e, Tübingen, 1909" vol. 1, p. 153.

(2) P. FEINE, *die Religion des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1921, pp. 124, ff. and H. J. HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, Tübingen, 1911, vol. n, pp. 193 ff. give an overview of Protestant theories concerning the secular origins of the notion of the mystical body in St. Paul. According to Holtzmann, the idea of the mystical body would be the one that the Roman milieu had of religious society, but complicated by the "irrationalia", the "mysteriöses" that Paul adds.

(3) References in H. WEINEL, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, 2^e, Tübingen, 1912, p. 43² -

(4) E. KAESEMANN, *Leib und Leib Christi (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*,

and its universal explanation of psychoanalysis, and it came (i).

Certainly, natural factors, taken in general, may have played a part in the progress of this doctrine: God deigns to make use of all that is human, and of the fluctuations of ideas as well as of the rest, for His work.

However, in the present case, we know too much to affirm anything: the resemblances attenuate greatly when we look at them closely, and, above all, Paul never referred to such origins. On the contrary, as a fanatical Pharisee, then as a Christian in one piece, he keeps the wisdom of the age at a distance, which he considers dangerous (2). When he indicates his sources, for he does indicate them, he speaks of something else: his visions and the holy books of the Old Testament (3).

What he preaches is the kingdom of God promised to Israel and brought by Jesus (4), the old covenant of which the patriarchs were the first to speak.

ix), Tubingue, 1933, insists on this subject on Gnosticism, against H. SCHLIER, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief* (same collection, vi), which seems to him to make too large a share of Stoicism. According to him, the conception of the mystical body in the epistles of the captivity would be above all gnostic. The work is very instructive by the comparisons it indicates; but it is even more so by the intransigence of its conclusions. It seems that Jesus is nothing, and that Paul, far from being the apostle of someone, is the simple meeting point of some currents of ideas.

(1) See the last pages of *Totem and Taboo*, trans. JANKELEWITCH, Paris, 1924. - We could also have spoken of the tendency, found in certain peoples and in individuals who are not very well educated, to consider a category of similar beings as forming a single, more or less real, more or less confused being.

(2) The Apostle is not an anti-intellectualist and he knows how to pay tribute to philosophy: *Rom.* 1:20; *Acts* xvii, 23-29. - See also the opposition which he places between the pagan cultic colleges and the Christian community. *I Cor.* x, 14-22. Unity in Christ is quite different from the diabolical association produced by idolatry (see ch. vi). Cfr *Col*, per totum; *Rom.* 1, 21-32; *Acts*, xvii, 16; *II Cor.* vi, 14, 18.

(3) One must distort - unconsciously - Paul's thinking to find that he, the former sectarian Pharisee, "borrows little from the Old Testament but forms. It is the old mould into which he pours a new substance". SABATIER, *l'Apôtre Paul*, p. 74.

(4) *Gai.*, ni, 15-29; *Eph.*, ni, 6: The mystery is < that the Gentiles are ches, of which the whole law itself, were the figure, and which has just been manifested (i). The gospel, according to him, grew out of the old Jewish trunk (2), and the mystical body is simply the true seed of Abraham (3).

All that is new is that he himself has received a fuller

SUPERNATURAL EXPLANATION IIC

understanding of the ancient promises and their fulfilment in Christ. To the doctrinal progress made by him, he himself neither assigns nor suspects any other cause. Nor shall we seek one.

Finally, a last question. Does this doctrinal progress that Paul is making continue in Paul himself? Did he learn everything, did he understand everything at once, or did he grow slowly in the knowledge that Jesus gave him of himself?

To this question it is impossible to give an answer: in spite of the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles, there is too little documentation. At times, on certain points, a progress of thought or at least of expression appears: thus the one which has just been pointed out concerning the formula of the mystery; thus also one or the other; not more.

The following chapters will therefore focus on showing the logical order of ideas, while obviously endeavouring to identify any signs of chronological progress that may be encountered.

co-heirs and co-sharers of the promise, in Christ, through the Gospel".

(1) *Eph.*, i, 4; *π*, 11-20; *m*, 8-9; *Col.*, 1, 27; *Z Cor.*, x, 4.

(2) *Rom.* xi, 16-25.

(3) "Now the righteousness of God is manifested, apart from the law, but not without the testimony of the law and the prophets, the righteousness of God, I say, through the faith of Jesus Christ, extending to all who believe. For, no difference: all have sinned." *Rom.* ni, 21-23. Union with Christ is, as he repeats, Ἰουδαίετε πρῶτον καί *Ελληνι (*Rom.*, 11, iο; cfr. *Acts*, passim). All the law, he says in a passage devoted to the mystical body, is a shadow, and the reality is in Christ: & ἐστὶν σκιά των μελλόντων, τὰ δὲ σώμα του Χρίστου. *Col.* 11:16-17.

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122 P. I, CH. IV. - S. PAUL. I. THE MYSTERY

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CHAPTER V

ST. PAUL. II. - CHRIST IN US, WE IN CHRIST

Christ is in us. He is in Paul, he is in each of us; he is the principle of all good. And we too are in Christ. *In Christo*. A very frequent expression in Saint Paul: the Church is in Christ; the Christian, the Christian life, are in Christ.

The meaning of the formula, the broad meaning, the technical meaning. This last meaning, always more or less present, is that of a mystical inclusion in Christ. Proof in the epistle to the Ephesians; in the doctrine of baptism: baptism clothes us with Christ, it makes Christ our life. Similar to the formula "in Christ," is the formula "in the Spirit." Christ is the life-giving Spirit. The formula *in Christo* means something dynamic, not static: a life; as does the other similar formula, Christ is in us. The two are interchangeable and signify union with the same higher life, with a living organism.

The mystery that Paul announces, we must now see in more detail what its nature is.

Now, the first thing that Paul said about it is that it consists in a certain presence of Christ in us and of us in Christ. From the very first line of the first of his letters, the expression already appears.

Paul, Sylvain and Timothy,

To the church of the Thessalonians, in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,

Thanks to you and peace (i).

(i) *I Th.*, i, i: ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Cfr *Ibid*, v, 18; iv, 10; ii, 14; TΛ.,^T - This is the first of the two expressions we

From this moment also, the expression presents its full meaning: the comparison with the heading of the other epistles is proof of this: it is a question of a certain mystical inclusion of the Church in Christ.

To the end, the expression will remain dear to the Apostle; until the time of the Christological epistles, it will become even more dear to him. At that time he would declare that it sums up his thought, and that the mystery, which is the whole of his Gospel, is simply Christ in us (i).

let us aim at: we in Christ. The other, Christ in us, is still only outlined in the early epistles; cfr *II Thess.* i, 12; *I Cor.* 1, 6; 11, 10-15; xii, 6. It is fully formed in *II Cor.* xm, 5 (see also 1, 5; iv, 10; x, i; xi, 10; xn, 9; xm, 2, 3) and especially in the epistle to the Galatians: ii, 20; iv, 19.

(2) *Col.* i, 26-27: Οἰζήθελσεν δ Θεδς Τνωρίσαιτί τδ πλουτος της δόξης του μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοις ἐθνέσιν, δς ἐστιν Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίζτης δόξης. Such is, according to EsTius (*in illud*) the way the Greeks punctuate the text. Most Latin and our Vulgate text (not the Hieronymian text, cfr WORDSWORTH-WHITE, apud NESTLE, *in illud*, in *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 51) arrange the phrase otherwise: *Quibus voluit Deus notas jacere divitias gloriae sacramenti hujus in gentibus quod est Christus, in vobis spes gloriae*. The meaning is not different in the two cases. It is fuller in the first lesson. - a This hidden mystery, then, is that Christ is in us; and it is revealed that Christ is in us, that is, in the poor in spirit, in tried hearts, in the lowly of this earth, in the refuse of this world, in the least of the Church." S. HILARY, *In Ps.* CXXXVIII, 31, P.L., ix, 808, C.V., XXII, 765-66. "This is because, by union with the flesh which he took, we are in Christ," says the same saint, *In Ps.* xci, 9, P.G., ix, 499, C.V., XXII, 352. In the same sense, St. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Quaestiones LX ad Thalassium*, LX, P.G., xc, 620. - "The economy of mystery is τῇν ἀνάληψιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἓνα Χριστόν." S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *In Eph.*, P.G., xcv, 836. - THEOPHYLACTUS says the same, *In Col.* 1, P.G., cxxiv, 1233. - S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM sees in the verse the statement that, thanks to the presence of Christ among us, we no longer need angels to teach us. *In Col. horn.* v, P.G., ^{LXn} " 333- - For St. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, IT is the divinity of Christ which is the mystery, *De fide ad Reginas*, 1, passim, P.G., LXXVI, 1328. Elsewhere, however, the mystery for him is the unity of the Church in Christ: *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, ni, P.G., LXVIII, 280. AUGUSTINE: "There is no other mystery of God than Christ, in whom those who died in Adam must be quickened." *Epist. clxxxvii*, II, P.L., xxxin, 845, C.V., LVii, 113. - P. LOMBARD reads: *Christus in vobis*, and he comments: a Christ in you nations, that is, that

Of this inner treasure, Paul spoke in every possible way.

First of all, he himself has the certainty of possessing Christ in his soul. What does it matter to him if his strength declines or breaks down? Christ is in him and strengthens him in him. (1) Christ is in his preaching, to put his truth into it; (2) he is in his words, to put his virtue into them; in his sentences, to put effectiveness into them; (3) in his soul, to continue his passion; (4) in his heart, to love the faithful: he loves

The mystery is the incarnation by which the nations are saved. *In Col.* 1, P. L., CXCH, 267, cfr *In Ps.* XLIV, P.L., exci, 437. The mystery, for NOEL ALEXANDRE, O.P., *Commentarius litteralis et moralis in omnes epistolas sancti Pauli*, Rouen, 1710, in *illud*, p. 428, "is nothing other than Christ received by you and dwelling in you".

(3) He has just spoken of his visions and his painful illness. But what consoles him for his infirmities is that in his weakness the power of Christ will be shown. He concludes, "I would rather glory in my weakness, so that the power of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore I delight in weaknesses, in opprobrium, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake (ὕπέρ Χριστοῦ); for when I am weak, then I am strong." *II Cor.* xn, 9-10; cfr *Phil.* iv, 13 and *II Cor.* xm, 3, and also *I Cor.* v, 4; *Phil.* ni, 10 and 1, 20; *Col.* i, 29; *I Tim.* 1, 12; *II Tim.* rv, 17.

(4) "As true as the truth of Christ is in me, I protest that I will continue to accept no subsidies from you." *II Cor.* xi, 10, cfr xm, 3. Christ is a power (*I Cor.* 1:24) and works through the Apostle as through his instrument (*Rom.* xv, 18).

(5) *II Cor.* xiii, 3; *I Cor.* v, 4.

(6) a Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our tribulations, so that by the comfort we ourselves receive from him we may comfort others in all their afflictions. For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us (καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς), so also through Christ our consolation abounds." *II Cor.* 1:3-5. - "We bear this treasure (the preaching, the gospel, which itself contains Christ) in earthen vessels, that it may appear that its sovereign power is from God, and not from us. We are oppressed in every way, but not crushed; in distress, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not lost; carrying with us always in our bodies the death of Christ (πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες), so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our mortal flesh (ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν). Thus death acts in us, life in

God is his witness, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to his converts. (1) Also, in receiving him, Paul, we receive Christ (2); and to imitate him is to imitate the Lord (3).

He is as if supplanted within himself (4). (4) Since God has manifested Christ in his soul, he himself has become secondary. He lives, it is true, and yet, no, it is no longer he who lives, but Christ who lives in him. Christ is in him, like a new soul, and whether Paul preaches, prays or suffers, it is not so much he who does these things, but Christ who does them in him.

you". *II Corinthians* 4:7-12. It is the persecutions and torments which Paul has endured so many times, but which he regards as the continuation in him of the contradictions encountered by the Master. His endurance shows the glorious life that Jesus possesses in heaven and which is prolonged in us by grace.

(1) Ἐν σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. *Phil*, 1, 8.

(2) *Gal. at v*, 14.

(3) *I Thes.* 1:6; *I Cor.* iv:16 (Greek), cfr. iv:15. See also *Ibid.* 11:1; *II Cor.* v:5; v:19, 20.

(4) The passages speaking of Christ living in Paul, except for a few which we shall quote, do not, by themselves, have such a full meaning. The interiority of Christ in the soul, which they express, does not necessarily appear, at first, to be more than a moral presence, consisting in the effects of comfort and assistance. In reality, however, if we interpret them, as we must, in union with the passages whose examination will follow, we can see that it is in the full sense that we must usually take them, and that it is indeed a question of a mystical presence of Christ in Paul.

(5) *Gai.*, il, 20. Paul recalled (1:16) that God revealed His Son in him (ἐν ἐμοί) and that this revelation gave him the quality of an apostle. It is in virtue of it that he preaches Christ to the Gentiles, in spite of all the opponents; it is by relying on it also that he resists Peter. And he resists him, precisely, by pointing to this Christ whom he has discovered in him: "Understanding that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but only by faith in Christ Jesus, we also have believed in Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by the works of the law, since by the works of the law no flesh can be justified. But if, while we seek justification in Christ, we also find ourselves among sinners, is it then that Christ is a minister of sin? Certainly not... For my part, I have died to the law, by the law, that I might live for God. I am crucified with Christ; ζώ δέ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζή δέ ἐν ἐμοί Χριστός." - "This is the voice of one who renounces himself," writes Origen, "as if he had already laid down his life, and taken Christ into himself, e f that Christ lived in him, as righteousness, wisdom, and sanctification, οπέran t

Like Paul (1), the faithful have Christ in them. Paul sees them as temples where Christ dwells. Since he felt Christ looking at him in the Church he was persecuting, he can no longer, it seems, meet the eyes of a Christian without finding the gaze of Christ there.

all in him." *In Mt. xn, 25*, P.G., xin, 1040. Cfr S. JEROME, *In Gal.*, P.L., XXVI, 345-
- "Paul, then, no longer lives, but is crucified with Christ. But if Christ lives in him, whatever Paul does or says is rightly reported to Christ who lives in him." And so it is with all Christians who have crucified the old man: "having received in themselves the Lord, it is necessary that he who dwells in them should do the things they work," says St. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1321 and 1324. - "We live the life of Christ, therefore our life must be holy, for the life of Christ is holy." S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Glaphyra in Exodum*, π, P.G., LXIX, 437. - "Love is ἐκστατικός, ecstatic," says S. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Diversa capita ad theologiam et œconomiam spectantia, centuria V*, no. 85, P.G., xc, 1384. - Paul lives the life of the one he loves. THEODORET, *In Gal.*, P.G., LXXXII, 476. We shall see in the second volume, ch. ix, the place which this text occupied in the controversy against the Protestants. ESTIUS will give an idea: 'From this passage,' he writes, 'we conclude that the works of the righteous are not so much their works as those of Christ who dwells in their spirit,' *Absolutissima in omnes beati Pauli epistolas... commentaria*, Cologne, 1631, *in Gal.*, π, p. 558. The passage is given as coming from Sasboldus (see A. SASBOUT, O. Min., *Opera omnia*, Cologne, 1568, p. 377). - It is necessary to quote, in connection with this text, these few lines of Saint Francis de Sales. Communicants, he says, have Jesus Christ in their brain, heart, chest, eyes, hands, tongue, ears and feet. But what does this Savior do everywhere? He straightens all things, purifies all things, mortifies all things, quickens all things; He loves in the heart, hears in the brain, animates in the breast, sees in the eyes, speaks in the tongue, and so on. And so we live, not ourselves, but Jesus Christ lives in us (*Gai.*, il, 20)." *Letter to Madame de Chantal*, January 24, 1608, *Œuvres* éditées par MIGNE, t. v, col. 662. - a Vivez donc à luy," writes Cardinal de Berulle, "avec luy d'abord... But go further in this way of life, of grace and of love with him; live in him, for he is in you, or rather be transformed into him, so that it is he and no longer you who is subsistent, who is alive, who is governing... in you, [as Saint Paul says:] I live me, not me, the Lord is alive in me. *Lettres à des carmélites*, il, n° 61, in the *Œuvres de Vêminentissime reverendissime Pierre cardinal de Bérulle...* parles soins du R. P. F. BOURGOING, 2° édition, Paris, 1657, p. 788.

(1) According to S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Act. homilia* LU, P.G., LX, 364, the passage *vivit in me Christus* would be true only of Paul. See however *Comment*, in *Gai.* 11, P.G., LXI, 646, and *In Phil. horn*, ni, P.G., LXII, 200.

He says this to his converts. By faith they have the Lord dwelling in their hearts (1). Christ works in them (2), he acts in them (3), he lives in them (4) and no one can do them wrong without offending the Savior himself (5). (5) If Paul spends himself day and night for their souls, it is to see Christ grow in them. (6) They have in them the sense of Christ, (7) the wisdom of Christ, the peace of Christ, (8) and they would have to be completely unaware that they have Christ in their hearts:

Examine yourselves," he wrote to the Corinthians, "and see if you are in the faith. Test yourselves. Do you not know that Christ is in you? Is it then that you are not tested Christians?

(2) *Eph.* in, 14-17; cf. *Col.* ni, 7, and also *Col.* ni, 11.

(3) *II Cor.* iv, 10.

(4) "Do you want a proof of Christ speaking in me (ἐν ἐμοί), of Christ who is not weak in you (εἰς ὑμᾶς), but is powerful in you (ἐν ὑμῖν)?" *II Cor.* xiii, 3. This ἐν ὑμῖν must properly be translated "in you," not "among you": cfr ἐν ἐμοί in the same verse, and ἐν ὑμῖν in verse 5; cfr *I Th.* η, 13.

(5) "You are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the Spirit of Christ dwells in you. But if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is not his own. That if Christ be in you, the body, doubtless, dies because of sin, but the spirit lives because of righteousness." *Rom.* vm, 10.

(6) "By sinning thus against the brethren, by doing violence to their unstable consciences it is against Christ that you sin." *I Cor.* vm, 12.

(7) "My little children, for whom I am again experiencing the pains of childbirth, until Christ is formed in you." *Gai.*, iv, 19.

(8) He has just spoken of true wisdom, of the Holy Spirit who alone makes the work of God understood. "But we," he continues, "have the sense (νοῦν) of Christ." *I Cor.* 11:16.

(9) "Christ became for us wisdom from God, righteousness, holiness, redemption." *I Cor.* n. 1, 30. - "And let the peace of Christ, to which you were called so as to form one body, reign in your hearts." *Col.* ni, 15.

(10) "Ὁ οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκετε ἑαυτοὺς βετι Ἰησοῦς Χρῖστος ἐν ὑμῖν; *II Cor.*, χι, 5- - "If you who are disciples are willing to consider yourselves, you will see that Christ is in you. If he is in you, much more so is he in Paul; for, if you have faith, Christ himself is in you." S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In II Cor. horn.* xxix, P.G., LXI, 601. - "Ye have as your guest, in you, the Lord Christ." THEODORET, *In II Cor. horn.* LXXXII, 456. - "He who has in his heart the true spirit of faith, knows that Christ Jesus is in him." AMBROSIAS, *In II Cor.* p.l., xvii, 336. To him alone, and

Outwardly, Christians may not be distinguished by anything: they nevertheless carry a mystery of greatness in their souls.

Christ is in his own. And this interiority is reciprocal like love. They too are in Christ. If the expression "Christ in us" is frequent in Saint Paul, the expression "in Christ", which corresponds to it, is even more frequent.

Ἐν Χριστῷ, in Christ, this formula, St. Paul says it over and over again without tiring, as many as 164 times in the few writings which have remained to us of him. There are passages in which he does not cease to repeat it (1). (1) The expression must have been on his lips at all times, like the precept of love on John's lips, and his disciples, by dint of hearing him speak in this way, must have taken the habit from him, as a passage in the epistle to the Romans seems to indicate.

The letter ends, like many others, with a series of greetings. Paul and the disciples who are with him send their greetings to the brethren in Rome whom they know. We see the scene: the Apostle finishes dictating; around him Timothy, and Lucius, and Sosipater, and the others who are with him in Corinth, claim their place at the end of the letter to

Looking only at the immediate context (xm, 3; xm, 6), this passage speaks first of a *virtuous* presence of Christ; it is only by bringing it closer to the other texts that we discover a mystical presence.

(1) Thirty-five times in the epistle to the Ephesians. Cfr PRAT, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, 1.1, pp. 422 and 434. He quotes A. DEISSMANN, *die Neutestamentliche Formel in Christo Jesu*, Marburg, 1892. See also Hans BOEHLIG, *Neutestamentliche Studien*, Festgabe offered to Georg Heinrici, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 170-175, where the places where St. Paul uses the formula and the various meanings it presents are listed. Böhlig concludes his study by saying that the formula is already in the LXX, that its origins in St. Paul would be cultural, that it means: in intimate community of life with Christ (lokal-mystisch) - or as a Christian - or in the service of Christ. send their fraternal greeting; Tertius, the secretary^ writes under dictation:

Greet Prisca and Aquila, my co-workers in Christ Jesus... Greet Amplias, my beloved in Christ... Greet Tryphene and Tryphosis who work in the Lord...

P. I, CH. V. - S. PAUL. II. IN CHRIST

Timothy, the companion of our work, greets you, as do Lucius, Jason and Sosipater, my parents.

The disciples have spoken their message. And while the Apostle seeks if there is no one left to name; quickly, Tertius slips in his own greeting:

I greet you," he wrote quickly, "I Tertius, who wrote the letter, in the Lord.

He was not long; the dictation resumed immediately. But the few words of this first-generation Christian have their price; he spoke like the Apostle: I greet you, he said, "in Christ.

"In Christ" is not only a very frequent expression in Paul's writings, but it is also used in the most diverse contexts.

The whole Church, as he expresses it, is in Christ (3), and the particular Churches are also in Christ (4). (4) Like their Church, the faithful are in Christ; (5) they live in him; (6) they are holy in him; (7) in him they have their virtues,

(1) *Rom.* xvi, 3, 8, 12 and 21.

(2) Ασπάζομαι ὑμας ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ. *Rom.* xvi, 22. The text continues, "Caius, my guest and that of the Church, greets you. Erastus, the treasurer of the city, and Quartus our brother greet you."

(3) *Gal.* in 28; *Rom.* xn 5; *Col.* 1:16, 27, 28; *Eph.* 1:10.

(4) *I Th.*, i, i; π, 14; *II Th.*, i, r; *Gai.*, 1, 22, etc.

(5) Πιστοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ, *Eph.*, 1, 1; *I Cor.*, 1, 2; *Phil.*, 1, 1; *Col.*, 1, 1.

(6) *II Tim.* ni, 12.

(7) *Col.* i, 28; *Eph.* passim.

(8) *Rom.* xiii, 14. - *I Cor.* iv, 10; *I Cor.* 1, 5. - 'Αγαπητός ἐν Χριστῷ, *Rom.* xvi, 8; *Phil em.* 1, 16.

their qualities (1), their functions (2), their sorrows (3), their joys (4), their glory (5). They go into Christ (6), into the strength (7) and grace (8) given in him; they go into the faith (9), hope (10), love (11) which are in him, into the salvation (12), redemption (13), quickening (14) which are in him. Everything for them is therefore in him (15). (15) And it can be said again and again that they are born (16), that they live (17), that they are born (18), that they are born (19), that they live (20), that they live (21), that they live (22), that they live (23) and that

they live (24).

(1) Δόκιμος ἐν Χριστῷ, *Rom.* xvi, 10. - Εκλεκτός ἐν Κυρίῳ, *Rom.*, χvi, 13; *it.*, *I Cor.*, iv, 10; xv, 19; *II Cor.*, xm, 4; *Col.*

(2) Συνεργοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ, *Rom.*, χvi, 3, 9; *I Cor.*, iv, 17. - Διακονία ἐν Κυρίῳ, *Col.*, iv, 17. - Νήπιοι ἐν Χριστῷ, *I Cor.*, in, 1. - Ἀδελφοὶ Κυρίῳ, *Phil.* 1, ἱ4- - Προϊστάμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ, *I Th.*, v, 12; *Col.*, iv, 17. - Ἀνθρώπος ἐν Χριστῷ, *II Cor.*, χu, 2. - See also *I Cor.*, vu, 22, 39; xi, 11. - *Eph.*, vi, 21. - *Col.*, in, 18. - *Philem.*, 1:23.

(3) Κοπιώσας ἐν Κυρίῳ, *Rom.*, χvi, i2, 13; *I Cor.*, xv, 58.

(4) Χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ, *Phil.*, ni, i; iv, 4, 10; *cfr* 1, 18. - *It.*, hope in Christ, *Gai.*, v, 10; *Phil.*, n, 19; *Philem.*, 1, 8, 20.

(5) Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω, *I Cor.*, 1, 31, after Jeremiah (*Jer.*, ix, 23, 24); *sic II Cor.*, x, 17. - Καύχησις ἐν Χριστῷ, *Rom.*, xv, 17; *I Cor.*, xv, 31 and *Phil.*, 1, 26; ni, 3. - Τῷ θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐντῷ Χριστῷ, *II Cor.*, n, 14; *Col.* n, 15.

(6) Τὰς δδούς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, *I Cor.*, iv, 17; *cfr Col.*, n, 7; *II Cor.*, n, 12. Note that οδός, as early as in the account of Paul's conversion, *Ad.*, ix, 2, and often in the sequel, *Ad.*, xvi, 17; xvin, 25, etc., designates the Christian religion.

(7) *Phil.* iv, 13; *Eph.* vi, 10; *I Tim.* 1, 12; *II Tim.* iv, 17.

(8) *I Cor.* i, 4; *Rom.* vi, 23; *Phil.* ni, 14; iv, 19; *Gai.* v, 6; *Col.* n, 10, il, 12; *Eph.* ii, 7; *II Tim.* 1, 9; n, 1.

(9) *Col.* i, 4; n, 5; *Eph.* 1, 15; *I Tim.* 1, 14: Μετά πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; same expression, *II Tim.* 1, 13- *Cfr I Tim.* in, 13; *II Tim.* in, 15.

(10) *Eph.*, I, 12.

(11) *Rom.* 1:39; *I Tim.* 1:14; *II Tim.* 1:13.

(12) *II Tim.* 11:10; *II Cor.* in 14.

(13) *II Cor.* v, 21; *Gal.* 1, 24; *Rom.* in, 24; vni, 1; *Eph.* 1, 7; n, 16. Likewise to inheritance in Christ, *Gal.* ni, 14; - to sanctification in Christ, *Gai.* n, 17; *I Cor.* 1:2; *Phil.* iv, 21; *Eph.* 1:4; - to peace in Christ, *Phil.* iv, 7; *Eph.* n, 13; - to freedom in Christ, *Gay.* n, 4.

(14) *I Cor.* xv, 22; *II Cor.* v, 17, * *Rom.* vi, 23; vin, 2.

(15) *I Thes.* v, 18; *I Cor.* 1:30; *II Cor.* v, 21; *Gai.* v, 6; *Phil.* in, 14

(16) *I Cor.* iv, 15; *Col.* n, 7.

(17) *Rom.* vi, 2; *Gal.* in 27; *II Cor.* v, 17; *Col.* 11:7; *I Thess.* 8; *II Tim.* 1:1.

work (i), let them die (2), *ab uno eodemque Christo non recedimus*, never let them leave Christ (3)-

Christians are in Christ, what does that mean?

Paul does not give the same meaning to this formula everywhere (4). In some places it seems to mean no more than "Christian", "in the Christian way". Thus when Paul, at the end of his letters, speaks of his co-operators in the Lord, of Apelles, who proved himself in Christ, of Rufinus, called in Christ (5), we would render his thought exactly by considering the expression "in Christ" as taking the place of the adjective "Christian, Χριστιανός," which is wanting in his - vocabulary.

In other places, and there are quite a few, the expression does not have a specific meaning, which is always the same. It serves to convey the idea that Christ is the cause, the mediator, the intercessor, the exemplar of a grace; it says that the thing spoken of is in Christ as in a principle, a first origin, a proto-

(1) To beg in the Lord: *I Thes.* iv, 1; *II Thes.* ni, 12 - To obey in the Lord: *Col.* ni, 18 - To progress in the Lord: *Eph.* ni, 21 - To think rightly in the Lord: *Phil.* iv, 2, 7 - To greet in the Lord: *I Cor.* ni, 21 - To think rightly in the Lord: *Phil.* iv, 2, 7 - To greet in the Lord: *I Cor.* xvi, 19, 24; *Rom.* xvi, 2, 22; *Phil.* ni, i; iv, 2 - To speak in the Lord: *II Cor.* n, 17; xn, 19; *Rom.* ix, i

(2) *I Thes.* iv, 16; *I Cor.* xv, 18 - F. GUNTERMANN, *die Eschatologie des hl. Paulus* (*Neutestam. Abhandlungen*, xm, 4-5), Munster, 1932. - H. MOLITOR, *die Auferstehung der Christen und Nichtchristen nach dem Apostel Paulus* (*Ibid.*, xvi, 1), Munster, 1933.

(3) S. AUGUSTINE, *De Trinitate*, xm, 24, P.L., XLII, 1034, in a similar, not identical, sense.

(4) It expresses, not only our relationship with Christ, the only ones we are interested in here, but also what was in Christ: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world." *II Cor.* v, 19; *II Cor.* i, 19-20; *Col.* i, 19; n, 3, 9; *Phil.* 11, 5; *Eph.* 1, 20. - On the meaning of ἐν Χριστῷ, see F. PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 1, p. 434, and vol. 11, p. 422.

(5) *Rom.* xvi, 3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13; *Col.* iv, 7; *I Thes.* N, 12; *Phil.* iv, 21; *II Cor.* in, i.

VARIOUS MEANINGS OF THE FORMULA

type or an intermediary, but without explaining in what way this thing is in him. In these cases, the expression would be clarified by glossing it as: like Christ, with Christ, through Christ, for Christ, because of Christ. Some exegetes have even made this mode of explanation a habit or a principle (1). (1) In their commentaries, they always replace the words "in Christ", which are a little vague, by one of the clearer formulas that we have just quoted. There is an - understandable, but indiscreet, concern to add clarity to the text.

The disadvantage is that, by always replacing "in Christ" by something else, we run the risk of losing sight of the primitive and natural meaning of the expression (2). (2) It is unlikely, in fact, that in this formula, "in" never or almost never means "within".

To fix its meaning, it is best to consult first the passage where it occurs most. At this point, indeed, the Apostle seems to be particularly satisfied with it, and on the other hand, the multiplication of examples makes it easy to fix the meaning. It is there that we are most likely to find, in all their clearness and purity, the lessons which God gives through his inspired author.

You don't have to look hard: the first chapter of the letter to the Ephesians is all strewn with this expression; and, besides, its general meaning is very clear. As we have already said, it is a hymn in honor of the "mystery," that is to say, the "mystery of the Lord.

(1) This is the 25^e rule for the interpretation of Paul, in CORNELIUS A LAPIDE: *Per in significat (Paulus) omne genus causae*, in *Canones verborum in epistolas sancti Pauli*, canon xxv, *Opera*, t. ix, Antwerp, 1656, p. 20. - *In et per utitur Paulus sine discrimine*, BENED. GIUSTINIANI, *In omnes beati Pauli apostoli epistolas explanationes*, Lyon, 1612, t. π, p. 109. - So also do S. THOMAS, P. LOMBARD, HERVÆUS, ESTIUS, etc. - It, FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, *Clavis Scripturae sacrae, seu de sermone sacrarum literarum*, pars 1, at the word *in*, Basel, 1581, t. 1, p. 436.

(2) If even the particle which means *in*, in Hebrew, has all these meanings indifferently, we must remember that Paul wrote in Greek, and that he knew Greek well.

that is, to the praise of God who unites us all in Christ. We remember these verses:

Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ... In him we were chosen from before the creation of the world... through the grace which he gave us in his beloved (1), in whom we have the remission of sins... according to the purpose which he purposed, that we should be gathered together in Christ (2)... in whom we were chosen... we who have hoped in Christ beforehand. In him you heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and in him you believed, and were sealed with the Holy Spirit.

In these verses the expression "in Christ", or other equivalents, is often used, and its meaning is oblique (4): it is a supernatural inclusion in the Saviour; the whole of humanity, and even the whole of creation, is taken up and as it were enclosed in him, and it is there alone that God sees and blesses it. Now God sees things as they are. It is therefore that, by the effect of grace, man is truly immersed - incorporated - in Christ. This real and mystical interiority is the full meaning, the technical meaning so to speak, of the formula *in Christo* (5).

(1) Sic F. PRAT, *Op. cit.* Crampon translates ἐχαρίτωσεν by making pleasant. This translation also has support in the context (vv. 3, 4, 5, 7). For the doctrine of the mystical body both are equal.

(2) Ανακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐντῷ Χριστῷ; on the meaning of these words, cfr ch. vi, p. 152.

(3) *Eph.*, i, 3-14.

(4) Cf. also the passages quoted in the previous chapter, *I Thes.* v. 18, and *I Cor.* i. 5, 29; *Rom.* in. 24; *Vin.* 1, 39. In *Rom.* xvi. 25-27, the expression *in Christo* does not occur.

(5) "In virtue of the theory of the mystical body, we are an integral part of Christ, we put on Christ, we are immersed in Christ, Christ is in us and we are in him. Such is the ordinary and, as it were, technical meaning of the formula *in Christo* in St. Paul, especially when it concerns the supernatural life of the Christian, or the union of Christians with each other." PRAT, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, t. n, p. 478 - Here are a few texts, giving an overview - very incomplete - of the tradition on this point; we will return to them, moreover, in the second part of our study: *Quomodo autem istud corpus (Christi mysticum) in Christo sit, id est, in veritate.*

in sapientia, in justitia et sanctificatione, quae omnia Christus est, jam saepe diximus. ORIGEN, *In Rom.* ix, 2, and vi, 11, P.G., xiv, 1212, 1092. - The urn containing the manna and placed in the ark is an image of Christ: he contains us, and when he approaches the Father, it is we whom he presents to God in him: S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, x, P.G., LXVIII, 672, see also 736, 756, 1053; *In Joh.*, ix, P.G., LXXIV, 232. - S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM often explains ἐν by διά. - We are sanctified in Christ, writes THEODORET, *In I Cor.* 1, 2, P.G., LXXXII, 229, ἀτε δὴ εἰς ἐν σῶμα συντελούντας τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ. - "In Christ, that is, the glorification will not end with him, but through him will come to us as firstfruits to the mass, and we shall be quickened in him and sit with him." THEOPHYLACT, *In Eph.*, P.G., cxxiv, 1056. - "Abide in him," says S. AUGUSTINE, "would Christ be too narrow a dwelling for you?" *Sermo* ccxvii, 3, P.L., xxxviii, 1084. - "In Christ," i.e., so that we may be His members. AMBROSIAS, *In Eph.* 11, P.L., xvii, 378. - The expression *in Christo* has a mystical sense, *sacramentis scatens*. "God has blessed us, not in ourselves, but in Christ, that is, inasmuch as we are in him as the branches are in the vine, and as the members (as has often been said) are in the body." Christ and we, "have been blessed with one and the same blessing... so that, however, this blessing is derived from him who is the head into us who are the members." J. NAELANTUS, *Enarrationes in divi Pauli epistolas ad Ephesios et Romanos*, Venice, 1567, p. 22. And the same author explains, a few pages above, that in Christ, "having become his branches and members, we cannot but enjoy his life," and "it is necessary that we should be partakers of his spirit." HERVE DE DEOLS comments on this *in*, saying that it means "when we abide in our Mediator and Savior, being incorporated into the Church which is his body. *In Eph.* 1, P.L., CLXXXI, 1206. - Cfr P. LOMBARD, *In Eph.*, i, P.L., xcii, 177. - "For in the head He blessed all the members," explains SEDULIUS SCOTUS, *In Eph.*, 1, P.L., cm, 195. - We have only to peruse a treatise on Christian epigraphy, to see how frequently the expressions ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ, ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν Θεῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, as also of those ἐν Θεῷ, ἐν Πνεύματι. C. M. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg, 1917. - J. GAGE, in *Membra Christi et la déposition des reliques sous Vautel*, in *Revue archéologique*, 1929, p. 137, points out this inscription on a relic vase: *In isto vaso congregabuntur membra Christi* (quoted by R. VIELLIARD, *Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*, t. xxiv, 1935" p. 561). - S. ATHANASIUS (*II Ar.*, LXV; i, P.G., xxvi, 289; see also col. 248, 293, 296, 308, 309, 369, 396; *De inc. et contra ar.* (ATHAN.), P.G., xxvi, 992; see also col. 1020, 1021; *Ibid.*, xxv, 212; etc.) and S. HILARY often uses this expression in the sense of a mystical inclusion of the faithful in Jesus Christ. - Modern authors recognize this full meaning of the expression: "Christ is a kind of spiritual atmosphere in which those who participate in his spirit are immersed. He envelops them, penetrates them on all sides, within and without." J. DUPERRAY, *Christ in the Christian life according to St. Paul*, 4^e ed., Paris, 1928, p. 77, cfr 87-88. - Dom DELATTE, O.S.B., *the Epistles of St. Paul placed in the context of the*

This full meaning, moreover, is not always present. Quite often, as we have said, it means only: Christian, in the Christian way. But even in these places, it retains, as we should expect, something of its natural meaning, and the subsequent ideas will always be clearer if we remember, in translating, that to be Christian is to be mysteriously in Christ.

On the same expression, we can look for additional light in what Paul says about baptism (2). Here, for example, is a passage from the epistle to the Romans.

Do you not know that all of us who were baptized into Christ (εἰς Χριστόν, baptized into Christ) were baptized into his death (εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, baptized into his death)? We were therefore buried with him by baptism into his death (3), that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we are grafted into him in the likeness of his death, we shall be grafted into him in the likeness of his resurrection.

M. RACKL, *Christologie des hl. M. Rackl, Christologie des hl. Ignatius von Antiochien* (Freiburger theol. Studien, xiv), Freiburg, 1914, pp. 205-212: *in Christo* means the most intimate communion of life that can be thought of, of every Christian and of all Christianity, with Christ. - See also MEINERZ, *In Eph.* p. 61. - J. VAN STEENKISTE, *In Rom.* vi, 3, in *Sancti Pauli epistolae breviter explicatae*, Bruges, 1876, p. 107 - According to A. DEISSMANN, *Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze*, Tubingue, 1911, p. 87, the formula *in Christo* is for Paul "wirklich das Kennwort seines Christentums." It means "die denkbar innigste Gemeinschaft des Christen mit dem lebendigen pneumatischen Christus".

(1) "The expression *in Christo* recurs too continually, not to cover everywhere the same reality." S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Joh.*, v, P.G., LIX, 56.

(2) Cfr F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, 1.11, pp. 307ff. and t. 1, p. 309.

(3) Cf. *Col.* ii, 12: "We were buried with him in baptism." (4) *Rom.* vi, 3-5. Cfr *I Cor.*, xii, 13: "In one spirit we all, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free men, were baptized into one body, and all of us were made to drink into one spirit." Note the opposition ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα. - As S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA says, *De recta fide ad Theod.* xxxvi, P.G., LXXVI, 1188; (cfr *In Joh.*, 11, i, 4, P.G., LXXIII, 245, 285), at baptism, "we acquire the participation of the Spirit, because we become possessors of Christ: αὐτόν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς πλουτοῦντες Χριστόν."

The Apostle, or rather the Holy Spirit through the Apostle, wants clarity at all costs: four times and more in these few lines, he repeats that we are enclosed in Christ: we are baptized in Christ, he says, we are baptized in the death of Christ, we are buried in death, we are grafted onto him in the likeness of his death.

As he says elsewhere, Christ, at baptism, covers us like a garment.

All of you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

"You have clothed yourselves with Christ", the meaning is crystal clear. Christ thus becomes our environment and our atmosphere and "as the element in which we live, as the form which envelops us" (2).

This supernatural investment, as Paul shows in other passages (3), demands of us a new way of acting: our gestures, our attitudes, our feelings must reproduce those of Christ. But this resemblance and this imitation are only the necessary, but very superficial, result of a more profound change. To put on Christ is not only to be inspired by him, like an actor "who puts on his character well", it is, as the passage from the epistle to the Romans clearly shows, to enter into a new life and a new way of being.

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From this point of view, the comparison with another similar formula is instructive. Paul often speaks of being and

(1) As an example of the concern already mentioned to make St. Paul clearer, let us quote here CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, who gives as a rule of interpretation that *induere Christum* must be translated by imitate. *Canones verborum in epist. sancti Pauli*, canon 28, *Opera*, t. ix, Antwerp, 1656, p. 21.

(2) F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, p. 361 (cfr. 341ff.).

(3) *Rom*, vi, 3-12; *xm*, 12-14; *Eph*, iv, 24; *Col*, m, 9-15; *Gai*, ni, 25-28; *I Cor*, xii, 1. Cfr *I Joh*, 11, 6.

to act "in the Spirit" in the same contexts and, it seems, in the same sense in which he uses the formula "in Christ" (1).

The role of the Spirit in the mystical body will be discussed later (2). All that must be noted here is that, for Paul, the Spirit is in Christianity the internal principle of life and sanctification, the principle of the interior spirit. To be in the Spirit is to be in the act of supernatural life; to be in Christ is therefore to be in the act of this same life.

Not, of course, that Paul's Christ is an elusive or vaporous reality. We know well enough how alive he is. But precisely his life is so intense that it overflows into us.

Thus, for us, he is "spirit. The word spirit, in fact, does not designate only the third person of the Holy Trinity or the immaterial part of our being. For Paul, it expresses that which is more subtle and more mysterious than the realities of vulgar experience, that which is mystical, we would say.

It should be added that the new life received in Christ is an active and working thing (4). (4) This, too, should be noted: neither the expression "having Christ in you" nor the expression "being in Christ" means sleep or rest. It is not a question of being absorbed in an inert atmosphere, but of being lifted up and carried away into a fiery life. Christ is operation, Christ is effort

(1) See especially *I Cor.* vi, 11; *χρ.* 13; *Rom.* vin, 9-11; ix, 1; xv, 16-17; *Eph.* π, 18-22; iv, 3-4; *II Tim.* 1, 13-14.

(2) The last part of the next chapter will discuss this, pp. 197 ff.

(3) Ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστίν - οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. *II Cor.* ni, 17. - Ὁ ἐσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. *I Cor.* xv, 45, cfr vi, 17. The meaning of πνεῦμα, in these two passages, is ■ principle of activity and light, a reality of a spiritual order"; cfr *I Cor.* vi, 13; *II Cor.* 11, 14, compared with ni, 3; *Rom.* vu, 14; *Eph.* iv, 4. - For the meaning of πνεῦμα and the comparison between ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν πνεύματι, cfr F. PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, PP- 49°, 347."²⁰ 4- The parallel between ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν πνεύματι is already found in S. ATHANASIUS, *Epist. I ad Serapionem*, xix, P.G., xxvi, 573, 576; cfr (pseudepigraph?) *De inc. et contra arianos*, xiv, P.G., xxvi, 1008.

(4) *Gai.*, π, 20; *II Cor.*, xin, 3-5; *Col.*, 1, 27-29, etc.

that lifts the earth: to be in it is to be in an immense work; to have it in oneself is to have in Fame a perpetual stimulant (i).

Moreover, to conclude, the two formulas are synonymous. At first sight, to be in Christ, or to have Christ in oneself, evoke incompatible images. But let us leave the images there.

The Apostle uses both expressions to convey the same ideas (2). (2) He passes from one to the other, and this as if the meaning did not change, in the same context. Thus, in the same chapter of the epistle to the Romans, he declares that we are in Christ, and, a few verses later, that Christ is in us (3). (3) After having assured the Corinthians (4) that he speaks in Christ, he repeats, a few lines later, that Christ speaks in him. He had already done so in the second epistle to the Thessalonians (5): "May God make you worthy of your calling," he writes to them,

for the glorification in you of our Lord Jesus Christ and for yours in him, by the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

(1) *II Cor.* v. 14; *I Cor.* ix. 16. See also the texts quoted at the beginning of the chapter, pp. 125-132.

(2) Christ lives in Christians (*Gai.*, n, 20) and Christians live in Him (*Rom.*, vi, 11). The strength of Christ is in Christians (*II Cor.*, xn, 9) and Christians are strong in Him (*Eph.*, vi, 10). Christ grows in them (*Gai.*, xi, 19) and they grow in Him (*Eph.*, iv, 15). The truth of Christ is in Paul (*II Cor.*, xi, 10) and Paul speaks the truth in Christ (*Rom.*, ix, 1; *Eph.*, iv, 21).

(3) *Rom.* wine, i: "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus"; is followed by wine, 10: "But if Christ is in you, etc."

(4) "We speak in Christ." *II Cor.* xn, 19 - and, four verses later (xiii, 3), "If ye seek proof that Christ speaketh in me." - In the same epistle he declares (n, 17) to preach in Christ Jesus, and the whole context is intended to show that Christ lives and works in the preacher.

(5) *II Th.*, i, 12 (cfr i, 1). See also *Phil.* iv, 13: "I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me, πάντα Ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με." - Compare *Col.* in, u to ni, 10. It., *Gal.* il, 16-17: we are justified in Christ, brought near to il, 20, Christ lives in us.

For Paul, then, the idea to be expressed remains basically the same, and the two expressions come together. This idea is that of a mystical life, of a unique organism which is for Christians the atmosphere in which they are taken up and animated, but which is at the same time, within each one, a source of strength and action.

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CHAPTER VI

ST. PAUL. III. - THE "BODY" OF CHRIST

Different mentions of the one organism we form in Christ. The image of the body.

IN THE GREAT EPISTLES. PROGRESSIVE FORMATION. Only occasional mentions. In *I Cor.* the first mention is about purity; the second, about the Eucharist and meats sacrificed to idols; the third, more complete and double, about charity. The epistle to the Romans takes up the latter, unifying it. General meaning in the great epistles: we are all one in Christ.

IN THE EPISTLES OF THE CAPTIVITY. COMPLETE EXPRESSION, AND WITH SOME PECULIARITIES. In the epistle to the Ephesians especially: a repeated exposition. God recapitulates everything in Christ, in Christ who, although interior to the Church, remains superior to it, and gives it the power to build itself. The Church, the fullness of Christ.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO. The second formula is more complete, more determined. In the first, Christ seems to be the soul of the body, in the second, the head. But the two basically agree with each other. Paul makes the images say what he wants to say. Particularities responding to different needs, identical meaning.

ORIGIN OF THE QUALITY OF LEADER. Death and resurrection manifested it and acted upon it, but without producing it. Christ is head because he is God, inasmuch as he is man.

The Apostle shows the one and living organism which Christians form in Christ in various images.

Sometimes he represents it as one woman, one bride of Christ (i), sometimes as one plant, one

(1) *Eph.*, v, 23; *II Cor.* xi, 2: Ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἀγνήν παραστησαι τῷ Χριστῷ. Note the opposition: ὑμᾶς (plural) - ἐνὶ (singular); and ὑμᾶς (plural) - παρθένον (singular). Underlying this is the statement *multi unus*. Cfr *Rom.* vu, 2-5. See below, p. 158.

is a single construction and seems to live, because we see it growing and developing by itself (2). But these images do not offer him any special relief.

It is different with another image intended to represent the same union: the image of the human body. This image, very frequent and very expressive in St. Paul, had not yet been used in Scripture (3), and, except in Stoic philosophy, especially popular philosophy (4), it had remained rare among secular authors (5).

Saint Paul, for his part, uses it often. It is even the one he uses most often to designate the unity of the Christian community. He uses it as early as the great epistles, even though it is only fully developed in the letters of the captivity. In order to follow the Apostle's thought, we will examine

(2) You are the field of God, you are the building of God. Cf. the same connection in *Col.* 11:7: "Rooted and founded on Christ."

(3) Cfr *Eph.*, π, 14-18; *Col.*, 11, 6-7; *Eph.*, iv, 12 and 19. See also *Eph.*, il, 19-22, the idea ἀοικοδομή in the active sense of edification: 'You are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the family of God, built up as you are on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, of whom Jesus Christ Himself is the corner stone. In him the whole well-ordered building (οικοδομή) rises up to form a holy temple in the Lord; in him you also are being built up (συνοικοδομεῖσθε) to be a dwelling place (κατοικητήριον) for God to dwell in through the Holy Spirit.' Cfr *I Cor.* m, 9.

(4) See, however, *Is.* 1:5. Israel is represented there as a man sick from head to foot. Cfr ἐν σώμα των Ἰουδαϊκῶν σοστημάτων. S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, in *illud*, P.G., LXX, 21. - In rabbinical literature there are some parallels, which show the interdependence of the members in the body. L. STRACK and P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich, 1926, vol. m, pp. 446ff.

(5) In the Stoic diatribes it is "ungemein häufig," says J. WEISS, *der Erste Korintherbrief* (Meyers-Kommentar), 9^e edition, Gottingen, 1910, p. 302.

(6) Cf. the fable of the limbs and the stomach in TITUS LIVE, II, 32; already quoted in connection with the mystical body by BENED. GIUSTINIANI, S.J., *In omnes beati Pauli apostoli epistolas explanationes*, Lyon, 1612, 2 vols, in *I Cor.* t. I, p. 784; see also our chap. iv, p. 117.

Let us first look at the image of the "body" in the first group of epistles, then in the second group.

Among the great epistles, the earliest, the First Corinthians, has the most mentions of the "body". There are three such mentions, - usually brief and always occasional. Paul speaks of the "body" only to explain or to demonstrate something else; but he does so without explanation, as he would of something already known. The thought must therefore have been familiar enough to Christians. Otherwise, anxious as he is to present to the converts only the food they can bear, the Apostle would have given the necessary developments to such an elevated doctrine.

The first time was in chapter six. Some very free moral principles were beginning to spread in the community. Paul wants to put a stop to this and to show the seriousness of the misconduct.

Do you not know," he writes, "that your bodies are the members of Christ? Will you then take the members of Christ and make them the members of a courtesan? God forbid! Do you not know that when you are joined to a courtesan, you become one body? The two, says the Scripture, will become one flesh. But he who is joined to the Lord becomes one spirit. Therefore, flee from fornication.

Our bodies are therefore members of Christ; what profanes them is sacrilege. To make this clear, Paul contrasts the unity of a sinner and a sinner's wife with the unity of a woman and a man.

(1) *I Cor.* vi, 15-18. The Apostle continues, "Whatever sin a man commits, that sin is out of the body; but he that committeth fornication sins against his own body: εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα." This "own body," according to Novatian, would be the mystical body of Christ. The heretic concluded that the sin of impurity was against the Holy Spirit, defiled the whole Church, and was irremissible. AMBROSIASTER, *in illud*, P.L., xvii, 215. - S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *in illud*, P.G., xcv, 620, adopts an exegesis of the same kind, which is not very probable.

takes Christ with his own. He who does evil becomes, with his accomplice, one body; he who loves God becomes, with him, one spirit.

One spirit, says the Apostle. This is not the expression that was intended: the whole context led him to say one body. But he has just used these words in connection with iniquity: he no longer dares, it seems, to apply them to holy things. In any case, God who inspires him did not want them to appear in such a context.

But the formula, retained at the last moment, as it were, was not long in coming. We find it a few chapters further on, again in connection with something else.

It is a case of conscience, posed in connection with meats sacrificed to idols. Paul explains (2) that these meats cannot defile anyone, as long as they are eaten in good faith. But, he says, to participate in the cultic meal which accompanies the sacrifices and where such meats are served constitutes a true apostasy.

My dear ones," he wrote, "beware of idolatry. I speak to you as to intelligent men; judge for yourselves what I say. Is not the cup of blessing which we bless a communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? Since there is only one bread, we are one body, though we are many, for we all share in the one bread. See Israel according to the flesh: those who

(2) Cfr in the immediate context (*I Cor.*, vi, 19): "Do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have received from God and are no longer your own?"

(3) *I Cor.* viii-x.

(4) Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας δ' εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον δὲ κλώμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν; οἱ εἰς ἄρτος, δὲ κλώμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν - οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν. *I Cor.*, χ, 16-17- The phrase: βῆ εἰς ἄρτος, δὲ κλώμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν may be translated in several ways: because we, all of us, are but one bread, one body (?); or: the bread being one, we are but one body - and this bread may denote, or (the species) of bread, or the κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The translation most in keeping with the context is the se-

Are the people who eat the victims not participating in the altar? What does that mean? That the meat sacrificed to idols is something, or that an idol is something? No, I say that what the pagans offer as a sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God, and I do not want you to have fellowship with demons. You cannot drink from the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of

the devils at the same time; you cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of the devils.

Here again, at the root of the reasoning, lies an opposition: on the one hand, a guilty solidarity, on the other, a union of salvation (2). They are mutually exclusive, Paul explains: one cannot at the same time be in solidarity with the demons and have communion with Christ.

These two unions, moreover, are quite different. Idols, after all, are nothing, and the meats sacrificed to them can unite us to nothing: all that is a lie and a diabolical deception. But union with Christ is a real thing: it is brought about by the mysterious bread which gives us communion with the body of Christ, and, of all those who receive it, it makes one

conde: the unity of the bread (which we all eat; cfr. the following proposition) makes, of us all, one "body"; and this bread must denote both the species and the union with the body of Christ (cfr. the rest of the piece, there it is only a question of union with the last object of worship). The ἐν σῶμα is not τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ referred to in the preceding proposition: the one has the article, the other not. The ἐν σῶμα, is that which is produced by the κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος. But this ἐν σῶμα, so near to the true body of Christ, is given as being in very intimate κοινωνία connection with that true body of Christ. The words in which the passage is summed up are: ἐν σῶμα - οἱ πολλοί, the multitude of Christians are one in Christ. This text is often used by S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, cfr *Dial.* 1, P.G., LXXV, 697. He uses it to show that our union with Christ is more than "moral." - Cfr J. CAMPBELL, *Κοινωνία and his cognates in the New Testament*, in the *Journal of biblical Literature*, t. LI, 1932, p. 352, and J. COPPENS, *the Origins of VEucharist*, in *Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses*, t. XI, 1934> P- 4⁶ -

(1) *I Cor.* x, 15-21; cf. xi, 18ff. where, again speaking of the eucharist, the Apostle reproaches Christians for not remaining united during the assembly. The idea that they are only one body is not reproduced in this passage. The word which expresses union there is rather pale, but often repeated: συνέχεσθαι.

(2) Κοινωνία: τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦ σώματος (v. 16), and τῶν δαιμόνιων (v. 20, cfr v. 18). Note that the union of Christians with each other is not here called κοινωνία, but ἐν σῶμα.

One body: "We are all one body, all of us who eat of one loaf."

"One body". Is Paul referring to the unity of the worship assemblies, to society, to the "body" of communicants? Or, continuing to show that, on the one hand, all is error, and on the other, all is truth, does he mean that Christian unity, and it alone, is real, and that believers, nourished by one life, form only one organism? The ordinary thought of the Apostle and his customary vocabulary imply this. But the inspired text, by itself, does not have all the clarity desirable, and, therefore, it seems well, God did not want it to have it. It seems that here again, in the vicinity of guilty realities, the doctrine of the mystical body cannot develop fully.

But let this promiscuity disappear and the doctrine will be deployed. It will be soon. In the twelfth chapter the author praises charity: in this environment, supernatural truth has the right atmosphere (1).

The young converts of Corinth, boisterous to the point of fervor, were eager for showy graces. Each wanted the power of miracles and the gift of tongues. Paul reminds them to be modest. Each one, he says, must be in his place, and be content with his office and the graces he has received; as a member in the body is content with his situation, and fulfills his office for the good of all.

There are various kinds of graces, but all come from one Spirit... To one is given by the Spirit a word of wisdom; to another, a word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another, faith, by the same Spirit; to another, the gift of healings, by the same Spirit; to another, the power to work miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, the discernment of spirits; to another, the diversity of tongues; to another, the gift of interpreting them. But it is the same Spirit who produces all these gifts, distributing them to each one in particular as He pleases.

(1) *I Cor.* xii, 12-27. Cfr E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Saint Paul. Première épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1935, pp. xxix, xxxu, ss.

For as the body is one and has many members, and as all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so is Christ.

For we were all baptized into one Spirit, into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free, and we were all made to drink into one Spirit.

Thus the body is not one member, but many. (1) If the foot were to say, "Since I am not the hand, I am not of the body," would it be any less of the body for that?

Everything in the body is unity and mutual aid. The members serve each other,

That there may be no division in the body, but that the members may have equal care for one another. And if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; if one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it.

You are the body of Christ, and [you are] members, each for his own part. (2) God has appointed in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then those who have the gift of miracles, then those who have the gifts of healing, of assisting, of governing, of speaking various languages. Are they all apostles? are they all prophets? are they all teachers?

(1) Καθάπερ γάρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἐστὶν καὶ μέλη πολλά ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη του σώματος πολλά βντα ἐν ἐστὶν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός - καὶ γάρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἐν πνεύματι ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι, εἴτε Ἕλληνες, εἴτε δούλοι, εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. Καὶ γάρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν μέλος ἀλλὰ πολλά, χι, 12-15. It should be noticed, here again, the statement that the πολλοί are ἐν. It recurs, in various forms, four times. Notice also the similarity of the roles assigned to Christ and the πνεῦμα. It is the πνεῦμα who distributes the functions (vv. 12-18) in the body of Christ.

(2) Καὶ εἴτε πάσχει ἓν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη - εἴτε δοξάζεται μέλος, συναίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους, χι, 26-27. The Vulgate, some Greek manuscripts, and, once, Origen (*In Ps.* xxix, 3, P.G., xh, 1292; contra, *In Mt.*, xiv, 17, P.G., xm, 1232, and *In Joh.*, x, 20, P.G., xiv, 372, and *In Rom.*, v, P.G., 1046), read: μέλη ἐκ μέλους, limbs. The Latin commentators, who for the most part follow this lesson, explain: members of a member, that is, of Christ, or of Paul, or members of each other. The context, which is intended to show that, in the Church, each faithful person, each member, has his own place, and his special share in the graces, joins with the manuscript tradition in making the lesson μέλη ἐκ μέρους preferred.

There is, therefore, according to the Apostle, the same diversity of functions in the Church as in a living body. That there is also the same unity is the conclusion he draws; and he continues the epistle by praising charity.

All this long passage is only a description of the mystical body. Christianity is one body: it has but one vital breath, it has but one animating Spirit. Whoever enters into it, inserts himself into a unity already made, like a graft in a living person. Also, in this one body, everything is common. The holiness of one member makes the splendor of all, all suffer from the pain of one and all rejoice in the exaltation of each. Even though each member performs its own function, they live for the whole, and the services which in this way come from each part to each other part cement the union of the whole. So, far from complaining about the privileged, the Corinthians should have rejoiced: what one part possesses benefits the whole, and the very inequality of graces, which is necessary for the existence of an organized body, contributes to bringing all the members together in the same living unity and therefore in the same essential dignity.

The unity of the members with Christ is even closer than their unity with one another, for it is the principle of the latter. The whole body, as Saint Paul says, is the body of Christ, or rather, to translate more literally, it is the body of Christ:

You are the body of Christ and members, each in his own right.

Or, as he says a few verses before:

As the body is one and has many members, and as all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so is Christ.

(1) Always, in St. Paul, it is the unity of Christ (εἰς ἄρτος, *I Cor.* x, 17; ὁ αὐτός Κύριος, *χπ.* 6, 12, 13) which is given as the principle of Christian union.

(2) *I Cor.* *χπ.* 27 and 12. We will have to return to this identification of the mystical Christ and the Church. For the moment, we will limit ourselves to the study of the "body" in Saint Paul.

Two similar formulas, and which, linked by the same context, are complementary. It is enough to bring them together to have the complete expression.

This is what the Apostle will do himself, or rather, this is what God, who inspires Scripture, will do through him in the epistle to the Romans. The passage is quite parallel to the one we have just read. Again, the mention is occasional: it is, again, of charity, and of the all too frequent defect of jealousy and pride.

Do not think of yourselves more highly than you ought," St. Paul recommends. Be modest, each according to the measure of faith God has given him. For as we have many members in one body, and not all the members have the same function, so we who are many are one body in Christ, and each one of us is a member of the other; and we have different gifts, according to the grace given to us, whether of prophecy, according to the measure of our faith, or of ministry, to contain us in the ministry, etc. (1).

One will have noticed the formula which makes the center of the passage:

As we have many members in one body, and not all the members have the same function, so we who are many are one body in Christ, and each one of us is a member of the other.

The presentation is constituted, so to speak, by the fusion of the two formulas presented in the epistle to the Corinthians (2): the com

of the one, the final of the other. The whole forms the synthesis of the teaching, as given in the letters of that time (i). To take this teaching as a whole,

f1) *Rom.* xii, 3-8.

(2) *I Cor.* XII, 12 and 27.

Καθάπερ γάρ τό σώμα ἐν ἐστίν

(b) καί μέλη πολλά ἔχει,

(c) πάντα δέ τά μέλη του σώματος,
πολλά βντα

ἐν ἐστίν σώμα,

(d) οὕτως καί ὁ Χριστός. - *Υμεῖς δέ
ἐστε σώμα Χριστοῦ

(e) καί μέλη ἐκ μέρους (XI, 27).

(i) Let us recall the successive states of the affirmation. *I Cor.*, vi, 15-17: your bodies are members of Christ; by cleaving to him you become one spirit with him. - *I Cor.* x, 17: the bread (communion with the body of Christ) being one, we the many are one body. - *I Cor.* xn, 12-27: The body is both one and many (members), so Christ. You are the body of Christ and his members, each in his own place. - *Rom.* xii, 5: As the body is one and has many members, so we the many are one body in Christ, and members one of another.

To the texts we have quoted, we should add *Rom.* vu, 1, ff: "Do you not know, my brethren, for I am speaking to those who know what a law is, that the law exercises its power in a man as long as he lives? For the married woman is bound by law to her husband as long as he lives. But if the husband dies, she is released from the law of the husband. Therefore, as long as her husband lives, she will be called an adulteress if she is with another man. But if her husband dies, she is free from the law, so that she is not an adulteress when she is another man's. So then, my brethren, you also have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another who has been raised from the dead, that you may bear fruit for God." - You have died to the law through the body of Christ, διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Is this body of Christ, by which we have died, the physical body, in which Christ died, or the mystical body, by which he communicates to us the fruits of his death? In the context, what would advise thinking of the physical body of Christ, would be the article: τὸ σώμα, whereas, in the great epistles, to designate the mystical body, Paul says σώμα at all; and then the idea of death, which dominates the development, and which can only suit the physical body. Would advise, in the opposite direction, to see here a mention of the mystical body, the idea, which fills the verse, that the death of Christ gives us a new life (cfr. also *Gai.*, n, 19, 20, rather similar context). The clear solution does not seem possible to us, because the comparison of which the context is made is too badly handled, according to Paul's habit. So we quote the text only for the record. - TERTULLIAN heard it from the mystical body, *De monogamia*, xxii, P.L., 11, 949. - Likewise THEODORE OF MOPSUESTE, in *illud*, P.G., LXVI, 805: a We believe that Christ, in a "typical" way, is in those who are baptized, that is, that they have become part of his body by the resurrection." - It, S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, in *illud*, P.G., LXXIV, 800. - THEODORET, in *illud*, P. G., LXXXII, 116. - S. GENNADIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (?), in *illud*, P.G., LXXXV, 1680 - S. JOHN DAMASCENE, in *illud*, P.G., xcvi, 489: "If you too have died, buried with Christ in baptism..." - ŒCUMENIUS, *Commentaria in epist. ad Rom.* ix, in *illud*, P.G., cxviii, 448 - ATTON OF VERCEIL, in *illud*, P. L., cxxxiv, 189. - NICHOLAS OF LYRA, *Postilla*, in *illud*. - S. THOMAS, in

Rom., χι, 4" 5 :

Καθάπερ γάρ ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι

(b) πολλά μέλη ἔχομεν,

(o) τά δέ μέλη πάντα οὐ την αὐτήν
ἔχει πραξιν,

(d) οὕτως οἱ πολλοί Ἐν σώμά ἐσμεν
ἐν Χριστῷ

(e) τὸ δέ καθ'εἰς ἀλλήλων μέλη.

it comes back to this: Christians, united with all, are one, they are one whole, they are one body (1).

A body of Christ, σώμα Χριστοῦ. The image, it would seem, has not yet all the desirable sharpness, or at least it is not yet one of those representations which habit makes familiar and determinate to him who employs them; for Paul uses the word body, σώμα, without the article, * a body of Christ, a kind of body, of Christ, we might - comment (2).

illud: "that is, having become members of the body of Christ, dead as you are and risen with him. - B. GIUSTINIANI, S.J., in *illud*, in *In omnes beati Pauli apostoli epistolas explanationes*, Lyon, 1612, t. 1, p. 198 - Noël ALEXANDRE, O.P., in *illud*, in *Commentarius literalis et moralis in omnes sancti Pauli apostoli et in VII epistolas catholicas*, Rouen, 1710, p. 48. - J. AGUS, S.J., *Epistola ad Romanos*, Regensburg, 1888, p. 367 - ESTIUS sees in the *corpus* the physical body of Christ, or better, he says, and more in harmony with the context, the fact of being incorporated into Christ as into another man and of having become with him one flesh, *Absolutissima in omnes beati Pauli epistolas commentaria*, Cologne, 1531, p. 74 - CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, *Opera*, vol. ix, Antwerp, 1656, p. 93, has the opposite preferences. - See also in the *corpus* the mystical body, but in various ways: MAC EVILLY, *An Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Dublin, 1891, 2 vols. M.-J. LAGRANGE, O.P., in *illud*, pp. 160-162. - See, in the "body", the historical body of Christ crucified for us, REMI D'AUXERRE(P), in *illud*, P.L., cxvii, 420 - ORIGEN, *Commentaria in epistolam ad Romanos*, vi, 7, P.G., xiv, 1074 (cfr. however 1075). - S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Rom. horn*, xii, P.G., LX, 498. - AMBROSIAS, in *illud*, P.L., xvii, 106. - HERVE DE DEOLS, in *illud*, P.L., CLXXXI, 682 - HUGUES DE SAINT-CHER, in *illud*, *Opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, Lyon, 1669, 8 vols. vu, p. 41 - J. S. MENOCHUS, S.J., in *illud*. - PETER LOMBARD sees faith in it, in *illud*, P.L., cxci, 1414, according to the *Interlinear Glosis*. - Many commentators speak here of baptism (cf. *Rom.*, vi, 3, 4). Thus S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, THEODORET, S. JOHN DAMASCENE, CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, AGUS, LAGRANGE, PRAT, MAC EVILLY, CORNELLY. The meaning would be: baptism unites us to the death of the physical body of Christ by incorporating us into his mystical body.

(1) *I Cor.* x, 17; xii, 12-27; *Rom.* xii, 5. The opposition: one - many, is not expressed in *I Cor.* vi, 15, nor in *Rom.* vu, 4, - except in an inconspicuous way: ὑμεῖς - τὸ σώμα Χριστοῦ.

(2) Ὑμεῖς ἐστε σώμα Χριστοῦ. *I Cor.* xii, 27. Σώμα still retains some indeterminacy, except in *Rom.* vu, 4, if the mystical body is mentioned there; in *I Cor.* x, 17, and *Rom.* xii, 5, σώμα is slightly clarified, by mention of its unity, ὅν σώμα.

In relation to this body, Christ is the principle of unity, the one who gives life and cohesion to the whole; he is the person who possesses the whole body and who is, in a way, its "self" (i).

To find more complete information about this body, we must study the epistles of the captivity.

In the epistles of the captivity, the doctrine of the mystical body is much more developed. The Apostle is no longer merely making occasional references to it (2). (2) The "mystery," that is, the wonder of the "body," is here the central thought which he wishes to expound for its own sake (3) and which God teaches us through him.

From the very first lines of the letter he enters into his subject, he thanks God for having chosen us all and loved us all in Christ, for having "recapitulated" us all, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, in the Son. Recapitulate, the word is still imprecise (4). But

(1) *I Cor.* vi, 17: "He that cleaveth to the Lord is one spirit with him." - *1 Cor.* xii, 17: Οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός.

(2) Cf. however *Col.* in, 15; *Eph.* iv, 4, etc. "Ephesians, iv, 25. This precept, except for the final word about members, is borrowed from the prophet Zechariah, who said: "Do not lie, but speak the truth, each one of you, in your dealings with your neighbour, for we are members of one another. *Eph.*, iv, 25. This precept, except the final speaking of the members, is borrowed from the prophet Zechariah, *Zech.*, vnr, 16. In *Colossians*, ni, 9, the mention of the new man replaces, in this place, the mention of the members.

(3) "The theme (κεφάλαιον) of the epistle is to teach them the grace of Christ, and this grace is the assumption of us all into Christ (αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ ἀνάληψις ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ) and our sanctification. And these consist in our having become his body and having received him as our head." S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *In Eph.*, P.G., xcv, 821. Let us add that, as much as the truth of the mystical body is central in these epistles, so much are these epistles themselves central in the teaching of St. Paul. "None promulgate so much blessing for the people of God," says S. AMBROSE, *Epist.* LXXVI, 5, P.L., xvi, 1260. - To no Church did the Apostle write so mystically, says St. JEROME, *In Eph.* n. 51, P.L. xxvi. 513; nor, he adds, is any Church filled with such difficult questions. *Ibid.*, prologue, P.L., xxvi, 441; cfr. 478.

(4) F- PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, p. no, shows very well that ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι comes from κεφάλαιον and not from κεφαλῇ. But it is cer- the context will explain it. Only, to grasp these explanations, we need divine light.

May the Lord," he writes, "give you a spirit of wisdom to reveal to you

his knowledge, and enlighten the eyes of your heart, so that you may know the hope to which he has called you, the riches of the glory of his inheritance reserved for the saints, and the exceeding greatness of his power toward us who believe, as evidenced by the efficacy of his victorious might.

With the eyes of their hearts, illuminated by God, the faithful can look :

This power," Paul continues, "God displayed in Christ, when he raised him from the dead and seated him at his right hand in heaven, above all principality and authority and power and every name that can be named, not only in this age but also in the age to come.

He has put all things under His feet, and He has given Him as head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fullness of Him who gives to Himself His fullest completion [by making Himself His members] (2).

This is the whole picture. Regenerated humanity presents itself to God as one body. Of this body Christ is the head. He infuses into the whole body the power to grow; and in this body appear all the energies of sanctification contained in the head.

The image is complete. But it still does not tell the whole story. So Paul takes it up again in chapter four. He wants to inculcate

tain that, in spite of the etymology, the sense which the context demands evokes the idea of κεφαλή - and the word κεφαλή is frequent in Rept. (1, 22; IV, 15; v, 23). Cfr, *in illud*, ORIGEN, S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, S. JOHN DAMASCENE, ESTIUS, CORNELIUS A LAPIDE; also S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Adversus Nestorium*, 1, P.G., LXXVI, 17. - SUAREZ, *De incarnatione*, disp, ni, sect. 3, *Opera omnia*, t. xvi, Venice, 1745, p. 24.

(1) *Eph.* 1:18, 19.

(2) *Eph.*, i, 20-23. Καί πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτόν ἐδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν ᾧ πληρουμένου. The translation of the final, in this sentence, is rather difficult, cfr F. PRAT, *Op. cit.* t. n, p. 408.

once again to his faithful that the diversity of graces, far from causing division and jealousy in their "body", should foster union.

Christ descended into the lower regions of the earth," he explained, "and the same Christ ascended above all the heavens to fill everything.

He also made some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ (1), until we all come to the unity of the faith, to the full knowledge of the Son of God, (2) That we may no longer be children, floating and carried about with every wind of

doctrine by the deceitfulness of men, by their craftiness to mislead, but that, holding fast to the truth in love, we may grow up in every way into him who is the head, Christ.

It is from him that the whole body, well coordinated and united together, thanks to the mutual help of its parts, each of which works according to its own measure, produces the increase of itself for its own enlargement in charity.

The description is certainly loaded. Paul did not want to finish this sentence without having put into it everything that was pressing on his soul. The expressions follow one another, repeating themselves, completing each other, complicating each other, and the whole is convoluted and difficult to understand (4). But nevertheless, the general meaning, the only one that matters here, is immediately obvious. Christ is the head. By mysterious influences, he spreads strength and life throughout the body, throughout the Church. Gathered and joined together

(1) Εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The comparison with *Eph.* 11:21-22 and with the verses that follow suggests that we see, in Γοικοδομή, the growth of the building; cfr. p. 144, n. 2.

(2) The idea contained in this passage will be discussed below, pp. 184-185.

(3) *Eph.*, iv, 10-16. Here, in Greek, is the final and most significant passage: βς ἐστίη κεφαλὴ, Χριστός, ἐξ οὗ παν το σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καί συμβιβάζόμενον διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνδς ἐκάστου μέρους τὴν αὐξησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται εἰς οἰκο δομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπῃ.

(4) "U expresses himself very obscurely, because he wanted to say everything at once," says S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Eph. hom.* 11, 4, P.G., LXII, 84.

Through him, the members exchange their blood, their energies and their help. And the whole body, by the vivifying virtue of this head, possesses within itself its principle of development and growth. The body therefore lives, it really lives, and its development, it gives it to itself. Paul insists on this interior life: the body, as he says, makes the body grow for the sake of itself (1). (1) It would be difficult to repeat this any further. And yet, the thought is even more complex, and the expression will follow it: this growth that the body takes by itself, it is not the principle of it; it comes from the head. As Paul says, it is from Christ, it is through the assistance of Christ that the body develops and builds itself.

The epistle to the Colossians already said the same thing, but in a less loaded sentence. Beware of being like those unfortunate people who only want to act and believe as they please,

and do not adhere to the head, from which the whole body, maintained and united together by means of joints and ligaments, receives the growth [willed] by God (2).

The same role of head is again attributed to Christ in another passage of the epistle to the Ephesians. Only, here, the image is double. Paul no longer speaks only of the body and the members, but also of the bridegroom and the bride; he mixes the two comparisons, explaining and complicating one by the other. But the very confusion of the image reinforces

(1) It is this statement, thus turned in on itself, that makes the ending of the passage we are analyzing so entangled: ἐξ ὃς παντὸς τοῦ σώματος... τὴν αὐξησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ. *Eph.*, iv, 16.

(2) *Col.* π, 19- Ἐξ ὃς παντὸς τοῦ σώματος, διατῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβάζόμενον αὐξοῖ τὴν ἀδξῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. The statement common to this passage and that of the epistle to the Ephesians would be expressed in the words, ἐξ ὃς παντὸς τοῦ σώματος... διὰ ἀφῶν συμβιβάζόμενον... αὐξησιν ποιεῖται. On both sides the body is represented as, 1° all of itself, 2° increasing itself (always Paul insists on this point), 3° by means of the joints uniting its parts, 4° by the virtue of the head. - See also *Col.* 1:18 for an explanation of the role of the head, in what it includes of primacy.

The expression shows how much the living unity in question goes beyond all the representations that can be given.

For the husband is the head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the Church, whose body he is the Saviour. Just as the Church is subject to Christ, so wives must be subject to their husbands in all things. Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her with the water of baptism in the word, to bring her before him, the glorious, holy, and undefiled church, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

And husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cares for it, as Christ does for the Church, because we are members of his body. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and of two they shall become one flesh." (*Gen.*, 11:24). (*Gen.* 11:24) There is a great mystery here, and I say, in relation to Christ and the Church (2).

Christ, then, is the head, the Church is his body, and she is "the same flesh" as he. And this union is the mystery, the mystery that Paul preaches in this letter and that God, through Paul's preaching, manifests to Christians, a mystery so august that it gives a mysterious and sacred character to what is only its imitation, to the union of man and woman.

Still other verses in the same Christological epistles represent Christ as head.

So then, Paul urges the Colossians, as you have received Christ Jesus, so walk in him, rooted and built up in him (3),

(1) "And we are of his flesh and bones," adds the Vulgate, from some Greek manuscripts. - Have the same ending: S. IRENAEUS, *A. H.*, v, 2, 3, P.G., vu, 1126, and S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Eph. horn.* xx, P.G., LXII, 139.

(2) *Ephesians*, N, 21-32. J. A. ROBILLARD, *le Symbolisme du mariage selon Saint Paul*, in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, t. xxi, 1932, p. 242.

(3) Cfr *I Cor.* ni, 9: ■ You are God's field, you are God's building." established in the faith, as you have been taught, and making progress in it with thanksgiving. See to it that no one leads you away as a spoil through philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world and not according to Christ; for in him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. (1) And you were filled in him, who is the head of all principality and power. In him you were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, with the circumcision of Christ.

These verses add little to the knowledge of "body and head" given in the earlier passages. The same is true of some other texts which we now quote:

[Christ] has reconciled both Jews and Gentiles to God in one body through the cross.

Be careful," the same epistle says, "to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; one body and one spirit, just as you were called in the same hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

(1) Σωματικώς, according to F. PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, p. 184, is said to mean the incarnation. - Others have seen in it the mention of the mystical body, which was spoken of i, 24; it, 11, 19, and the idea of which is recalled in the following verse, In him ye were filled: καί ἐστέ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι (cfr, in the verse we are considering: ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ παν τὰ πλήρωμα σωματικώς). In verse 10 ESTIUS sees a mention of the mystical body. "The meaning is this," he declares, "according to the explanation of the Greek Fathers: in him, who is your head, you have been filled with the Godhead, and that in so far as the dignity of the head reflects in the members." ESTIUS, *in illud*, in *Absolutissima in omnes beati Pauli., epistolas commentaria*, Cologne, 1631, p. 695. - "Since you are his flesh and have him as your head, because of this you are filled with the Holy Spirit." S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *In Col*, P.G., xcvi, 893.

(2) *Col*. 2:9-11.

(3) *Eph.*, he, 16.

(4) *Eph.*, iv, 1-6 : "I beseech you therefore, being a prisoner in the Lord, to conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the calling to which you have been called, with all humility and meekness, with patience, bearing with one another in love, striving to keep the unity

I complete in my flesh," writes the Apostle to the Colossians, "what is lacking in the tribulations of Christ for his body, which is the Church.

He writes to the Colossians: "Put on love, which is the bond of perfection. And let the peace of Christ, to which you were called as one body, reign in your hearts; be thankful.

But all these last passages, if they say little about what is the head, give some indication about the body, which is the Church.

About this body, we must now say a few words.

The Church, as shown especially in the captivity epistles, is the completion, the fullness, the πλήρωμα of Christ, as Paul repeats (3). It is to Christ what a building is

of the spirit (τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος, unity that comes from the spirit, cfr. next verse) through the bond of peace. *Εν σώμα, καὶ ἐν πνεύμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μὲν ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν. Cfr F. PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, t. i, p. 426. Cfr *Col. H*, 18-19.

(1) *Col. i*, 24. Τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ... ὑπέρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία.

(2) *Col. ni*, 15. Again, we must quote *Col. 11*, 16-17: "Let no one [Judaizer] judge you in eating and drinking, or in matters of feasts, neominy, or Sabbath. These are a shadow of future things, whose body belongs to Christ (ἃ ἐστὶν σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ)." A difficult passage to translate, because the parallelism of the two members of the sentence is more in the words than in the idea: ἃ does not correspond ἀτὸ δέ, and μελλόντων is not the same genitive as Χριστοῦ. The translation we give, the one followed by F. PRAT, *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, 392, is almost unanimous: TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, N, 19, P.L., 11, 521. - THEODORET, in *illud*, P.G., LXXXII, 612. - S. AUGUSTINE cuts the sentence differently: ... *quae sunt umbra futurorum. Corpus autem Christi, nemo vos seducat*, etc., *Epist. CXLIX*, P.L., xxxni,⁶ 4^s - - L^a Ordinary gloss suggests "*corpus Christi*"; *vel illa omnia sunt corporis Christi, vel quod sumpsit de Virgine, vel quod est Ecclesia*. - T. SCHMIDT, in *der Leib Christi*, Leipzig, 1919, pp. 191-192, proposes to gloss the phrase: τὸ δὲ σῶμά ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, for reasons not to be despised. The meaning would be, "the reality represented by the Jewish rites is (the Church), the body of the Chnst: therefore do not cleave to these rites"; a frequent thought in St. Paul (cfr *Gal.*, ni, *passim*).

(3) Cfr F. PRAT, *Op. cit.* t. 1, pp. 352,3f. For the πλήρωμα of *Col. 1:19*, Theodore of Mopsuestis and Theodore understand it of the Church. THEODORE OF

It is what the stem is to the root (2), what an organism is to the life that animates it. It continues it, it expresses it, it develops all the potentialities of sanctification that it contains (3). Without it, Christ would be incomplete, like a head without a body. (4) The formula is energetic. The Apostle, however, says it over and over again: Christ, without the faithful, lacks his totality.

This totality, moreover, adds nothing to him. As we have already said when speaking of the growth of the body, it comes from him entirely, and it is his merits, his grace, his holiness which make the life and activity of his own (6). In everything he is the principle and origin, ἐν πασι προτεῦων (7); from him descends upon all

MOPSUESTE, in *illud*, in *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas beati Pauli commentarii. The Latin version with the Greek fragments*, edidit H. B. SWETE, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1880-1882, vol. 1, p. 275 - THEODORET, *Interpretatio epist. ad Col.* 1, P.G., LXXXII, 601.

(1) *Eph.* iv, 12; ii, 14-15; *Col.* 11, 7.

(2) *I Cor.* in 9; *Eph.* 11:7.

(3) "So that all things which are in power and virtue in Christ are developed and made explicit in the members of the Church." S. THOMAS, in *illud*.

(4) It is obviously a question of the mystical Christ. Cf. St. JEROME, *In Ephesians*, P.L., xxvi, 464: "Christ is completed by the Church, as the general by his army." - "Christ receives completion in all his members. As a hand, he is completed by him who gives alms; as a foot, he is completed by him who travels for preaching, and so on." THEOPHYLACT, *Expositio in epist. ad Eph.*, 1, P.G., cxxiv, 1049. Cfr S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Eph. horn*, ni, P.G., LXII, 26. - "If the righteous did not all rise to the last, the body of Christ would remain incomplete." S. BRUNO (?), *In Eph.* i, P.L., CLIII, 322 - "The Church is not, for Christ, an artificial or monstrous body; but it constitutes His integrity and is necessary for His consummation," says J. NACLANTUS, O.P., *Enarrationes in divi Pauli epistolas ad Ephesios et ad Romanos*, Venice, 1567, p. 98.

(5) Thus the Church is, mystically, Christ himself. On this point, we return later, cf. ch. vu, pp. 187ff.

(6) "For the members can complete it only through him," explains S. BRUNO (?) (*loc. cit.*); cfr. *Ordinary gloss.* - "As with the years man grows and becomes an adult, so Christ grows to the day of judgment, not in himself, but in us who are his body." REMI OF AUXERRE (?), *In Eph.*, iv, P.L., cxvn, 720.

(7) *Col.* i, 18: "All things were created by Him and for Him. He is the one before all

God sees and blesses men only because of him, in him and through him. But he needs this supernatural expansion in order to show to all eyes the fullness that was not apparent in his individual existence.



This picture, as drawn in the captivity letters, is more extensive than it was in the early epistles. Then it was only a question of a single body composed of many members. Now Paul has added mention of the special role of the head, of the extension of the head into the body, and of the vital exchanges between the members (i).

So now the "body" presents itself as a more concrete reality. In the earlier epistles its design, we have said, was less clear-cut; the Apostle then called it, in an indeterminate manner, σώμα Χριστού, without the article, a body of Christ. Now he calls it τὸ σώμα Χριστού, with the article. A very slight change, indeed, but one which perhaps indicates that now the image has become more concrete in his mind, and that, at the same time, he himself, having employed it more often, quite naturally regards it as a definite thing.

To this modification we must add another, which does not change the thought expressed. In the great epistles, Christ appeared to be within the whole body; He was its "I", as it were; He brought harmony and unity to all the members, adapting them to each other in Himself, as if they were one soul and one body.

And in him all things endure. He is the head of the body of the church, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things he may have the first place. For it was God's will that all the fullness should dwell in him. All fullness - either the Church itself, which is the πλήρωμα - or the life of grace which flows through the Church (ESTIUS) and which is first in Christ. Cfr p. 160, n. 3.

(1) This idea is already present in *I Cor.* xn, 21-26 and *Rom.* xn, 5.

vital principle. Now, in the Christological epistles, Christ appears, in the first place, as superior to every body. He is the head, says Paul - the word was not yet used in the previous letters - and it is above all from above that he spreads life and unity throughout the body. The difference between the two images is well formulated by Cornelius a Lapide, in the commentary on the epistle to the Galatians: "If you are of Christ," he writes, "that is, if you are the members of which he is the head, if you are the mystical body of which he is the soul.

This difference, moreover, whatever may have been said (2), affects only the vocabulary. The thought has not changed. From the very first epistles, the role of head, of head - to the word and to the image - is given to Christ. He is the foundation of the whole building, he is the first fruits, he is the one who distributes the graces, and it is through him that salvation comes to us (3). (3) His personality, therefore, far from fading away in the multitude of the faithful whom he unites in himself, always remains clearly marked, and transcendent, since it is like the unity in itself, through which the rest is one.

On the other hand, the image of "head", as formulated in the epistles of the captivity, is far from excluding the role of Christ as described in the great epistles. Even though he is erected above the whole organism, he remains within it (5). He animates and vivifies everything, and this everything,

(2) *In Gai.* in, 29. *opera*, t. ix, Antwerp, 1556, p. 40.

(3) F. C. BAUR, *Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken, Briefe und Lehre*, Leipzig, 1866-1867, vol. It. several Protestant exegetes.

(4) *I Cor.* in, 11; cfr *Eph.* n, 20. - *I Cor.* xv, 20-23; cfr *Col.* 1, 18: There is first Christ, then οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. - *Rom.* vin, 29; cfr *Col.* 1:15, 18; it., *Rom.* xiv, 9: ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. - *I Cor.* xi, 3: Christ is "the head" of man. - Διὰ Χριστοῦ, used as ἐν Χριστῷ, shows the superior role of Christ: *I Th.*, iv, 14; cfr iv, 16, and *I Cor.*, iv, 16. - See also *I Cor.*, xn, 3, 5.

(5) We have seen that many formulas of the mystical body are summed up in this: by one, many are one. *I Cor.* x:17; xn:12, 13; *Rom.* xn:4. The thing is especially striking in *Rom.* vu:4, if we are to see a mention of the mystical body there.

(6) "For the head, in occupying itself with the whole body, holds in some way if it is its increase and fullness, comes nevertheless from it entirely. Entirely too, it must therefore have been contained in advance in him, *eminenter and causative*, the scholastics would say. His superiority of head is thus quite similar to the superiority which

characterizes a soul, when it puts life into all living things (1).

Besides, it doesn't matter to Paul if this is exactly the function of the head in an organism. He does not use images to enslave himself to them, but to make them say what must be said, even if he has to force them along the way (2). (2) Have we not seen him, on the same subject, take two images that are difficult to reconcile: to be in Christ and to have Christ in oneself, and put them together without even noticing the difficulty? Thus the image of the head: it must say that Christ, while superior to the whole organism, is nevertheless everywhere in this organism in order to penetrate it with his strength, and it will say so; too bad, if it is badly handled.

The time had come, moreover, in the epistles of the captivity, to stress the transcendence of Christ. At the time of the first epistles, it was only a question of the Church: the Judaizers were putting it down before Judaism, and it was necessary to show that the Church was not the only one.

the place of Pale." S. AUGUSTINE, *De agone christiano*, xx, P.L., XL, 301. - The formula has become traditional in the School. Cf. the *Summa* of ALEXANDER OF HALES, ni^a pars, qu. XII, membrum 2, art. 1, no. 1. - S. ALBERT THE GREAT, *In III Sent.* dist. xin, art. 2 - WILLIAM OF AUXERRE, I. ni, tract. 1, cap. 4. - Cfr the commentators: P. LOMBARD, HERVE DE DEOLS, etc... - The Church," writes SALMERON, "is like a body in which nothing is missing; Christ occupies it all, as the soul occupies all the parts of the body without leaving anything where it is not present." *Disputatio IV in epist. ad Eph. in the Opera*, vol. xv, Cologne, 1615, p. 188.

(1) So in the Christological epistles, even more than in the previous ones, the Apostle repeats that we are "in Christ. He says that through Christ all the elect are one man, one perfect man, one Christ. *Eph.* 11:11-19; iv. 13; *Col.* 11:11.

(2) Cf. the image of the olive tree, *Rom.* xi, 17; of the letter, *II Cor.* in, 1-3; it, *Rom.* vu, 1-5. - F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, p. 415. - "Paul," says S. GREGORY OF NYSSA, "uses words in a masterly way: κατ' ἐξουσίαν; he leaves the cold accuracy of the lexicon there, and expresses the meaning he wants with the words he wants." *In illud; Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1324.

that she has a divine life in her, that she is a body animated by Christ. Now the attack has shifted: dreamers are attacking Christ and his divinity. So it is this divinity of Christ that Paul will emphasize; he will stress the superiority that puts the head above the body, without separating it from it.

But, whatever the image used, the doctrine remains the same. Whether he exalts the Church, as in the great epistles, or whether he

exalts Christ, as in the epistles of the captivity, Paul always says the same thing: the Church is united to Christ and is his mystical body.

*
* "

In almost every passage in which it is mentioned (i), Christ's role as head is closely connected with the death on Calvary and the resurrection (2). Christ, says Paul,

is himself the head of the body, that is, of the Church, because he is the firstborn from the dead... God has reconciled all things through him..., making peace through his blood shed on the cross.

Thus, as the epistle to the Ephesians explains, he is at the same time, and as if by a single act, "the head of the Church and the saviour of the body" (4). He is head of all, in the sense that all

were buried with him in baptism, where they were then raised with him through faith in the operation of God who raised him from the dead.

Since this head is closely related to all the mem-

(1) These are *Col.* 1:18; 11:10, 19; *Eph.* 1:22; v. 23, which will be quoted, and *Eph.* iv. 15, where the mention of the glorification of Christ (iv. 8-10, 13) brings the verse.

(2) A. CHARUE, *la Résurrection du Christ chez saint Paul*, in *Collationes Namurcenses*, t. xxv, 1931, p. 65.

(3) *Col.* i, 18, 20; cfr. 21-24.

(4) *Eph.*, v, 23; cf. the mention of death, baptism and renewal of life, v, 25-28.

(5) *Col.*, π, 10, 12. Here again, mention of baptism, with its same

bres, all in His death died, and all in His resurrection were raised (i). The great work of God in the world, the incorporation of all men into Christ, is carried out, as it were, by the drama of Good Friday and Easter morning.

I want to speak," says Paul, "of the power that God displayed in the case of Christ, in raising him from the dead... He put everything under his feet. He made him the head of the whole church.

Between the death and resurrection of Christ and his universally life-giving role, there is union and continuity. (3) It is by making all men commune with his spilled blood and his life-giving body that, through the Eucharist, he gathers them all into a single organism. (4) It is because his death and resurrection make him the second Adam; (5) because, by them, he has, as it were, opened in himself the entrance through which the whole of humanity enters; (6) because, by them again, he has begun in himself the blessed change which will transfigure the whole race; (7) it is for this reason that, by them, he incorporates the multitude of sinners, it is for this reason that, by

double effect. The thought of this efficacy of baptism is already outlined in *I Cor.* 1:12-13.^{on} finds it again in *Ibid.* xn, 12-13; *Gai.* ni, 26-29; *Eph.* iv, 6; v, 23-27. See especially *Rom.* vi, 3-5.

(1) *Col.* 2:18, and we must look for a more distant context: n. 20 and ni. 1-5.

(2) *Eph.* i, 20-22. It will be noticed that this passage, perhaps the most significant of all, does not, strictly speaking, indicate a relation of dependence between the very headship and the resurrection and glorification of Christ: the three are expressed by co-ordinate verbs: ἐνήργηκεν..., καὶ ὑπέταξεν..., καὶ... ἔδωκεν.

(3) The next chapter will discuss this, in connection with verbs in συν, pp. 171 ff.

(4) *I Cor.* x, 16-17;^{cfr} *Rom.* vu, 4.

(5) *I Cor.* xv, 45, and context: Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδάμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν - ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. Notice that the whole context speaks of the resurrection. But it is not said that the resurrection gave Christ the quality of a life-giving spirit, which he would not have possessed before. It is only a question of the exercise of this quality, cfr xv, 20-23.

(6) *I Cor.* i, 30; vi, 17-19, near vi, 20; *Eph.* 11, 12-22.

(7) *II Cor.* i, 5; in, 17 - iv, 18; v, 14-15, 16-21; vm, 9; xn, 9-10; xni, 4'5 *Eph.*, ii, 4-6; *Col.*, 1, 11-14, 24; n, 30-111, 4. See also this set of texts on curse and justice: *Gai.*, ni, 13; *II Cor.*, v, 21 ; and *Rom.* ni, 22-27;^{IV} " 24-v, 10; vm, 11; *Phil.* ni, 9-12.

To them again, he becomes the head for all the members of his body.

It must be noted once again: the doctrine of the mystical Christ does not lose sight of the history of the empirical Christ; on the contrary, it assumes it and even integrates it. The events that took place in Jerusalem during the great week are also parts of the theoretical teaching that explains how, always and everywhere, the divine life emerges in humanity. Even though they have passed away in their material execution, they remain, in their supernatural efficacy, the leaven that acts in all events and even, in a way, the unique and continuous event (1).

But they have this mystical totality only because Christ himself is total and mystical - *operari sequitur esse*, one would explain. The gestures of Jesus - and, to the supreme degree, his supreme gestures - have their universal repercussion because they are the gestures of Jesus; they have, just by being of him, that power of universality and contagion which he has in himself just by being him, just by being the God-Man.

One would be hard pressed to find a verse in St. Paul that asserts or implies that before the resurrection God did not give Christ the status of ruler at all. On the contrary, many times this quality is mentioned without even mentioning the resurrection (2). (2) When the resurrection is mentioned, as it often is, it and the death of the Savior appear as the means, the simple means by which the life of Christ enters souls (3), or by which the life of Christ enters souls (4).

(1) Just by recounting this death and resurrection of Christ, we could make the whole history, the whole historical description, if we may say so, of the mystical body. This description could be done either by starting with Christ, who, by his death and his victory over death, gives us life, or by starting with us, who, in order to be reborn to a new life, die in his death, a death which makes us pass into God. A sketch of the plan that could be adopted in a similar description is given below (chap. vu, pp. 177.3ff.).

(2) *Rom*, vin, 28-29; *xm*, n-14; *Eph*, 1, 1-6; *ni*, 4-21; *iv*, 3-4; *Col*, 1, 26-27 *J ni*, *5-

(3) Cf. *I Cor*. xv, 20-22, 45; 1, 30. See also the texts quoted in the following note. The separation here is not watertight,

It appears as the model of the change which God wishes to bring about in the faithful (2), or as a motive for the faithful to act for God (3); it appears above all as the event which revealed to the outside world and manifested in its glorious unfolding and in its universal effectiveness a power which existed in Christ from the beginning (4). (4) Often it is even recalled only as an important element, but its place remains undetermined.

Generally speaking, it can be said that it does not appear, at least in the first place, in the doctrine of the mystery and life *in Christo*, (6) nor in the descriptions of the complex organism that is the mystical body, (7) nor in the formulas that say that this organism is so united that it is only one man and even only one Christ.

It is, therefore, for all its importance, a secondary thing. The essential thing, the final and total explanation, both of itself and of its mystical efficacy, and of all that it

(1) *II Cor.* v. 14-15, 18-21; *vin.* 9; *xn.* 9-10; *Gai.* n. 19-20; *in.* 13-14; *vi.* 14-15; *Rom.* 1:22-24 > *Eph.* n. 4-7, 14-22; *Col.* 1:15-20; *n.* 10-16; *II Cor.* vi. 19-20. Note especially the Pauline theology of baptism (see ch. v, p. 136 and ch. vu, p. 174): one becomes a member of Christ only by being buried with him to rise with him. If he acquires his members, in fact, only by death and resurrection, we can say that he is head, in act, only by death and resurrection.

(2) *II Cor.* i, 5 and *passim*; *Rom.* vi, 3-11 (cfr *vm.* 9-10).

(3) *Col.* ni, 1-4; *II Cor.* iv, 10-14; *xn.* 4-5.

(4) See the texts *Rom.* i, 4; *Eph.* 1, 20 (cfr *Phil.* π, 9; *I Cor.* xv, totum). All the passages which may seem, at first reading, to date the head power in Christ from the resurrection do not require a more affirmative comment. And there are other passages, many of them, where Paul links all the essential greatness of Christ to what he is in himself. *Gai.* n, 19-20; *iv.* 4-6; *II Cor.* v, 14-21, etc.

(5) *I Cor.* i, 13; *Gai.* ni, 26-iv, 7; *Rom.* vm, 14-17; *Eph.* 1, 7-14; *iv.* 7-16; *v.* 22-32; *Phil.* in, 9-16; *Col.* 1, n-14.

(6) See the previous two chapters.

(7) *I Cor.* xn, 4-31 (but see *xn.* 13); *Rom.* xn, 3-8; *Eph.* iv, 11-16.

(8) See the next chapter.

The mystical thing about the Savior is that this Savior is God. This is how Paul's teaching can be rigorously theocentric, without being any less totally Christocentric: if the center of everything in man is Christ, the center of everything in Christ is God (1).

In Christ dwells all the fullness of the Godhead in the body, and you have been filled in him.

What more could one want: the last gift is the last explanation:

He is the image of the invisible God... He exists before all things and all things subsist in him.

He himself is the head of the body which is the Church...

For it pleased God to make all fullness dwell in him.

"

All these fullnesses correspond to each other, and each lives by its connection to the previous one. Christ, having in himself the fullness of the divinity, has in himself also the fullness of all human supernatural life; thus, in him we too are filled, filled with all the fullness of God (4). (4) He, he alone, is all: he is first, first in all (5); he is all, all in all (6); for he is God. He is God, and we,

we are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus...

Are we not all one in Christ Jesus (7)?

This divinization which is given in Christ will be discussed later, and what must be said then will continue

(1) Cfr *I Cor.*, xi, 3. Θέλω δέ ὑμας εἰδέναι ὅτι παντός ἀνδρός ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν... κεφαλὴ δέ του Χρίστου ὁ Θεός.

(2) *Col.*, II, 9-10.

(3) *Col.*, i, 15, 17^{m8} "Σ 9-

(4) *Eph.*, ni, 19.

(5) *Col.*, i, 18; *Eph.*, 1, 22.

(6) *Col.*, ni, ii; cf. *Rom.*, vin. 32.

(7) *Gal.*, in, 26, 29.

the presentation that has just been made. For the moment, only one thing must be noted. It is that, just as it was God who decided to recapitulate everything in Christ, so it is God who, in Christ, recapitulates everything (1). (1) As theology would later say, if the

Savior is head through his humanity and in his humanity, he is head, in this humanity, only because of the divinity.

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(1) *Eph.* i, 3, iōi

CHAPTER VII

ST. PAUL. IV. - OTHER FORMULAS EXPRESSING THE "MYSTERY". THE MYSTICAL CHRIST. DIVINIZATION OF CHRISTIANS

COMPOUND VERBS IN $\sigma\upsilon\nu$. Their meaning, their genesis, peculiarities of their use, their relation to the idea that the Church is the pleroma of Christ. ASCETICISM AND THE MYSTICAL BODY. Charity and purity befitting the members of Christ, suffering and resurrection in Christ; Christ our life, life ever young, life divine. NEW CREATION; general and total renewal.

THE MYSTICAL CHRIST. Christians are one in Christ; one new man; one perfect man; one Christ. To divide the Church is to divide Christ; a body made up of many members, such is Christ; profane differences no longer exist between Christians, there is only Christ in them. Recall, in the Apostle's style, the vision of Damascus.

THE MYSTERY AND DIVINIZATION. The head, as head, being God, the members are divinized; they are light, life and glory. Union with the Father and adoption. Possession of the Spirit, who acts in the faithful and in the Church, who is their Spirit, otherwise than Christ is their head. Through Christ, union with the whole Trinity.

CONCLUSION. The doctrine of the mystical body in Paul is, without a doubt, multiple, but it all comes back to a single truth: all Christians, in Christ, are one body, one mystical Christ. This doctrine only transmits to the Church what Paul learned from the Savior.

It is often thought that St. Paul deals with the "mystery" only in the image of the head and limbs. This is not so; and we shall consider in this chapter other ways of speaking, less apparent perhaps at first sight, but certainly no less forceful.

First, a number of issues are available for consideration

verbs, compound verbs in συν. They are singular verbs and express a unique thought: they say what Christ does as head of a body or what the faithful do as members of that body. The unity of the mystical body, in fact, must betray itself in its way of acting: since we are the body of Christ, Christ lived, died and rose with us, and we with him. Now, the ideal for Paul, who is always in a bit of a hurry, is to say all this at once. Obviously, words are lacking: who ever had such things to announce? So we will forge them. Thus, in the vocabulary of the Apostle, verbs overloaded with meaning have arisen. They are verbs expressing the deeds and sorrows of Christ, but which Paul prefaces with the particle συν, with: so that the reader will know, as he begins to read them, that he is to think of two things, Christ's deeds and ours, and that he is to think of them as united. The expression, perhaps, will be inelegant; but it is indeed atticism! There is only the excessive charity of Christ (1), and we must exalt it in its entirety (2).

It is in the epistle to the Galatians that these verbs appear for the first time. Up to that time, the Apostle had been content to use - ordinary expressions to speak of our solidarity with the Saviour (3). (3) These are still used, and quite a few of them, at the beginning of the epistle (4). On the other hand, however, Paul, annoyed by the obstacles he is being put in the way, thinks especially of the Savior's cross (5). In chapter two, the synthesis is made between the two ideas:

As far as I am concerned, through the law I have died to the law so that I may live to God. I am "crucified with" Christ, and if I live, it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me. I live, it is true, in the flesh,

(1) *Nimia charitas*, says the Vulgate, to translate πολλή ἀγάπη, *Eph.*, 11, 4.

(2) F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, vol. n, pp. 52-54, and 40.

(3) Cfr *I Th.*, iv, 14 and 17 and especially v, 10: *Τνα είτε γρηγορώμεν είτε καθεύδωμεν, ἅμα σύν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν.

(4) ι, 14; n, ι, 12-13, ι8.

(5) in, ι; v, u; vi, ι2, 14.

but I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me.

Χριστώ συνεσταύρωμαι, I am con-crucified to Christ. Christ died on the cross, Paul declares, and I died there too. That cross made me die to the law and to all the life I had; that death poured into me a new life, the only one I really live by. So we died together, and I was crucified by his crucifixion.

The expression "I am crucified to Christ", which bursts forth in this way in the epistle to the Galatians, will not remain isolated. The Holy Spirit who, perhaps through a long psychological process, made the Apostle find it, will make him repeat it often. He will make him say that we died with Christ and were buried with him to be raised with him; that we are quickened with him and exalted with him to be seated with him at the right hand of the Father (2).

These verbs Paul uses to speak of the death, resurrection, and exaltation of the Saviour, and not to denote the very existence of Christ or the ordinary actions of his public life. At most, in thinking of these, he will use analogous adjectives; he will say, for example, we are "conformed-with" Christ, *σὺμμορφοὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ* (3). But such ways of saying are little characterized, and still they remain the exception. In general, it may be said, for Paul this mystical community of action exists only with the suffering and glorious life of Christ.

The explanation, it seems, is easy: it is to these latter

(1) *Gai.*, il, 19-21. Ἐγὼ γάρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα Θεὸς ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι- ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοί Χριστός. The passage gives the relation of the compounds in *συν* to another Pauline formula: *Χριστός ἐν ἐμοί*. The two expressions reinforce each other.

(2) The list of these verbs is in PRAT, *Op. cit.* vol. 11, p. 22. - < The things which he says of Christ, he says that we partake of, through the union which we have with Christ." THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, in *Eph.*, 11, 6, in *In epistolas beati Pauli Apostoli commentarii*, ed. H. B. SWETE, Cambridge, 1880, t. i, p. 145-

(3) *Rom.* 29, Cf. 21, *Phil.*

It is at these moments that Christ, if we may say so, is mystical to the utmost, because it is then that he lays down his life in us, that he redeems us so that we may be members of his body, that he institutes the sacrament which nourishes us from him. Did not Christ himself, moreover, reserve for these supreme moments the most complete confidences on the work of union that he was about to perform?

These verbs do not usually appear in isolation: they are usually found in groups, usually of three.

If we are "dead-with" him, Paul writes to Timothy, we will "live-with" him; if we endure, we will "reign-with" him (1).

The nations are "co-heirs", and "co-bearers", and "co-sharers" of the promise in Christ Jesus (2).

We are "heirs-with" Christ, if we "suffer-with" him, that we may be "glorified-with" him (3).

You were "buried with" him in baptism, in which you were also "raised with" him by faith (4).

This insistence, obviously, is not without reason: the inspiring Spirit wants us to be attentive.

And, in fact, the thought expressed by these verbs is one of the great thoughts of the Pauline doctrine of the mystical body. They mean that the actions and sufferings of Christ are prolonged and completed in the actions of Christians and that they also find their totality and their pleroma there. Their pleroma, yes. The verbs compounded in *συν* express, in the order of supernatural action, what is expressed, in the order of being and reality, by the doctrine, dear to Paul, that the Church is the continuation, the fullness, the πλήρωμα of the Saviour (5).

(1) *II Tim.* π, 12.

(2) *Eph.*, ni, 6; it., 11, 5-6, 22; iv, 16.

(3) *Rom.* vin, 17, and vi, 4-6; vi, 8; isolated: vm, 29.

(4) *Col.* U, 12, 13; isolated: in, 1. Cfr *I Cor.* xn, 24-26.

(5) "Everywhere (by these compounds in *συν*) Paul means to lead us close to Christ, as when he says *συνέγειν*, etc." THEOPHYLACT, *In Col.*, P.G., cxxiv, 1240.
- "The force of the prefix *συν* should be noted. It signifies

So true is it that God, who is the creator of everything, can use everything, even the structure of our words, to instruct us.

Since Christ's life is prolonged in our life (1), our life must be presented as a continuation of his.

There is, therefore, for the members of the mystical body, a special asceticism which, from their incorporation into the Lord, deduces the rules of their conduct (2).

We have already encountered these rules and, to avoid lengthy discussion, we will repeat them only in summary. Christians, says Paul - or rather, through Paul, the Spirit of Christ - Christians must love one another, because they are members of the same body. They must remain pure, out of respect for their bodies which are the members of the Savior. They are to be truthful to one another, for they are members of one another (3). Their life is a *κοινωνία* (4); they must live in union with men, with their brethren, rejoicing with those who rejoice, and weeping with those who weep, because they are all one in Christ. They must live in union with the Saviour and know how to suffer with him, since it is their union with his sufferings

It expresses, first, that in all these acts we resemble Christ. He then expresses that, united to Christ as branches to the tree, we somehow suck all these things, like sap, from the tree which is Christ and his passion." CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, in *Rom. vi, 5, Commentaria in omnes sancti Pauli epistolas, Opera*, t. ix, Antwerp, 1656, p. 86.

(j) *Rom. iv, 25.*

(2) On this subject, we must quote F. JUERGENSMEIER, *Der Mystische Leib Christi als Grundprinzip der Aszetik*, 2^e, Paderborn, 1933. He has noted very well all the indications of Saint Paul on the subject that concerns us.

(3) *I Cor. xii, 4ff; Rom. xn, 4; I Cor. 1:13; Col. 14-16, 11; I Cor. vi, 15; Eph. v, 29; Eph. iv, 25; Col. 8-11, 16.*

(4) *Acts ii, 42*, Communion among Christians produced by the Spirit: *Phil. ii, 1; II Cor. xm, 13* - "God is faithful, by whom ye were called to the fellowship of his Son." *I Cor., 1, 9* - On this *κοινωνία*.

Who save them. Just as in their lives Christ takes the complement, the πλήρωμα of his life, so in their sorrows he takes the completion and pleroma of his passion: "I complete in my flesh," writes Paul, "ἀνταναπληρώ, what is lacking in the sufferings of Christ, for the sake of the Church, which is his body" (1).

Suffering, therefore, is a duty of state for Christians; they are even already dead and their life is hidden with Christ in God (2). (2) Baptism, by burying them with Christ, (3) has exalted them with Christ. (4) His victory over death gives them birth to a higher life, (5) and this transfiguration of their existence manifests the fullness that was contained in the Savior's resurrection, just as their death to sin shows the mystical totality that was found in his death.

This idea that the history of Christ is prolonged in the history of his mystical body is familiar to the Apostle, as it was, as a previous chapter has shown, to the author of Acts, his faithful companion (7). It would provide, if necessary

See E.-P. GROENEWALD, *Koinwōnia (Gemeenschap) bij Paulus*, Delft, 1932. - J. CAMPBELL, *Koinwōnia and his cognates in the New Testament*, in *Journal of biblical literature*, vol. LI, 1932, p. 322. - H. SEESEMAN, *der Begriff koinwōnia im Neuen Testament*, Giessen, 1933.

(1) *Col.* i, 24; cfr *Rom.* vi, 3-5; *II Cor.* 1, 5-8; iv, 10-11; v, 14-21; *Rom.* vu, 4; *Phil.* ni, 7-12. "As the disciples did greater miracles than Christ... but all this was attributed to Christ working in them; so did they suffer more than He did, but all these sufferings are nevertheless Christ's, who comforts them and helps them to bear these evils." S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In II Cor. hom.* 1, P.G., LXI, 387. - Cfr J. SCHMID, *Kol.* 1:24, in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxi, 1933, p. 330 -- For the text *II Cor.* v. 14-21, see pp. 179-181.

(2) *Col.* in, 3; H, 20.

(3) *Rom.* vi, 3-4; *Col.* 11, 12; Cf. on baptism, *I Cor.* xn, 13; *Gai.* in, 27 and even *I Cor.* 1, 13, ff.

(4) *Rom.* vi, 4; *Col.* 11, 12.

(5) See especially the texts concerning baptism.

(6) *Rom.* v, 12-21; vi, 2-12, 22-23; n, 5-6; *I Cor.* xv, 20-22; *Gai.* il, 19-20.

(7) See ch. 11, p. 67 and ch. ni in full.

a plan for expounding the Pauline doctrine of the mystical body, as seen in the Compact of its growth (1).

According to Paul, then, Christians are no longer of this world, any more than Christ is (2); for them, the things of the earth no longer count, and they have to appreciate only the things above. In all that they are, in all that they do, whether they live or die, eat or breathe, they are of Christ.

They are of Christ, Χριστοῦ εἶναι (4), this expression of St. Paul does not designate a vague relationship of the Christian to Christ, but the closest of belongings, it designates a profound way of being, deeper than natural being. Christians are of Christ by being of his body: in themselves they are no longer simply themselves (5). (5) This is why in their souls they must experience not so much their own impressions as the very feelings of the Saviour.

(1) It should be shown first of all, as far as Paul is concerned, that he learned the mystical body by seeing Christ living, suffering and yet triumphing, in his own (*Acts*, ix, 1, ff.; cf. ch. in, p. 82). Very soon he experienced that this life of the Lord, with its sorrows and victories, was prolonged in him and in the Church (*Acts*, ix, 16, et passim; *I* and *II Th.*). Also, it should be shown next, the mystical body, for the Apostle, lives, expiates, and is strong, "in" Christ; it is always in the painful and crucifying, but exalting, act of its formation in Christ (study of the preposition ἐν, of the edification of the body, of the sacraments, of asceticism): between it and Christ it is an exchange of greatness and misery (*II Cor.* esp.), till he passes all into Christ (see the present ch. vii), so as to accomplish the mystery (ch. iv) by divinizing the Christians (ch. vu).

(2) *Col.* ii, 20.

(3) *Col.* in 17; *Rom.* xiv 7ff; *I Cor.* x 31.

(4) Οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, mystical genitive, it has been said (O. SCHMITZ, *die Chvistus- Gemeinschaft des Paulus im Lichte seines Genitivgebrauchs*, Gütersloh, 1924)-What is certain is that it often, not always (cfr. the party which claimed to be the party of Christ at Corinth, *I Cor.* What is certain is that it often, not always (cf. the party that claimed to be the party of Christ at Corinth, *I Cor.* 1:12; *II Cor.* x:7), expresses belonging to Christ, as a member of his mystical body: *Gai.* y:24; *I Cor.* xv:23; *ni:*23; *Rom.* vin. 9; 1:6; *xiv:*8.

(5) Οὐκ ἔστέ ἑαυτῶν. *I Cor.* vi, 19; cfr *Ibid.* vu, 23; *Phil.* in, 12.

178 P. I, CH. VII. - S. PAUL. IV. THE MYSTICAL CHRIST

Paul asks them to have in your hearts the same sentiments as Christ (1).

We, he says elsewhere, have the way of feeling of Christ: νοῦς Χριστοῦ (2).

Christ is everything to them: hope, wisdom and redemption (3); when they die, it is in him that they will fall asleep (4), and as long as they live, their life, their act of living, is him.

My "living", writes Paul, is Christ, and dying is my gain (5).

And again:

When Christ, your life, appears, then you will appear with him in glory (6).

*



Such a transformation is the greatest of changes. Next to it, death is little (7), and creation itself is only a beginning.

This last very forceful statement is found for the first time in the second epistle to the Corinthians. It occurs there in a passage that does not speak directly of the

(1) *Phil.* π, 5.

(2) *I Cor.* π, 16; *Col.* νι, 17; *I Cor.* x, 31. See also *Rom.* xm, 14: to put on Christ.

(3) *I Cor.* i, 30; *II Cor.* iv, 10; v, 21.

(4) *I Thes.*, iv, 14-16; *I Cor.*, xv, 18.

(5) *Phil.* i, 20, 21 - "And so," notes St. Ambrose, "we no longer live our lives, we live Christ. AMBROSE NOTES, we no longer live our lives, we live Christ." *Epist.* XLIV, 14, P.L., xvi, 1141.

(6) They will have to, as Pascal says (*Mystère de Jésus, Pensées*, BRUNSCHWIG ed., no. 553), "do small things as great, because of the majesty of Jesus who does them in them, and great things as small and easy, because of his omnipotence". - On divinization and its requirements in relation to asceticism, see the end of the chapter, pp. 193-205. - According to P. JOÜON, *Notes philologiques sur quelques versets de l'Épître aux Philippiens*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xxviii, 1938, p. 89, τὸ ζῆν would mean the true life after death. This is not obvious.

(7) Compare *Rom.*, vi, 3-7, 23 and *Col.*, 11, 12, with *I Th.*, iv, 14, 16; *I Cor.*, xv, 23. - One is born a second time: *Tit.*, in, 5. - Cfr V. IACONO, *la Παλιγγενεσία in S. Paolo e nell'ambiente pagano*, in the *Miscellanea biblica*, Rome, 1934, t. i, pp. 249, 5f.

The Apostle, directly, is only defending his gospel, but the greatness of this gospel is that it is the work of Christ himself. The Apostle, directly, only defends his Gospel, but precisely, what makes this Gospel great is that it is the very work of Christ. Christ is hidden in it, Christ grows in it, Christ wants to transfigure everything in it (1).
(1) Such ardent expansion cannot be stopped.

The love of Christ urges us," he writes, "convinced that if one died for all, then all died [in him, mystically]; and he [Christ] died for all, so that those who live may no longer live their own lives, but the life of him who died and rose again for them.

(1) Cfr *II Cor.* in, 18; iv, 6-17. St. Cyril of Alexandria has often commented on this last text.

(2) Cfr F. PRAT, *Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, p. 291. - If one Jesus Christ died for all, then all died in the person of this one Saviour who died for them, and his death must be imputed to them since it was endured for them, and in their consideration... He died for us, for us and in us. S. FRANCIS DE SALES, *Treatise on Divine Love*, Annecy edition, vol. 11, pp. 33-34. - "And he died for us, and in him we all died, that we might live for God." S. AMBROSE, *Epist.* XLIV, 14, P.L., xvi, 1141. - HERVE DE DEOLS, *In II Cor.*, P.L., CLXXXI, 1048.

(3) Καί ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ὥστε οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγεγέρθη. *II Cor.* v, 15. Part of the sense would be lost, it seems to us, by translating τῷ ἀποθανόντι by the dative of advantage. This dative would no doubt be explained. Paul defends himself from self-interested views (11-13); he declares that, when one has died in Christ, he must live, not for himself, but for Christ. But there is another idea underlying the whole passage: that we live from Christ (11:17; ni, 18; iv, 5-6; iv, 10-12; cfr iv, 17-18 and v, 1-10); this other idea is expressed immediately before the passage in question (v, 14) and after (v, 17 and v, 21). It is logical to leave some reflection of this thought in the passage which it thus surrounds. As the τῷ ἀποθανόντι may mean: for Christ or by Christ, and as the context seems to lead to both these meanings, especially the latter, it seems best to render them both in the translation. This is what we have tried to do. - Moreover, we think that this is a question of accuracy. When a text can have two meanings, both of which are related to each other, and both of which agree with the context, there is a chance that the author has not made a clear distinction between the two; thought is so often conditioned by the words we use. The safest, in this case, and even the most rigorous, is to express both meanings in the translation. Without doubt, the lines

Therefore, we are no longer interested in what people are like according to the flesh - and if even in the past we thought of a Christ according to the flesh, that is no longer the case [now we only want to know the Christ who renews the spirit] (i).

So everyone who is in Christ is a new creature. The old things are passed

away; behold, they are become new.

All this comes from God who has reconciled us to himself in Christ and who gives us the task of preaching this reconciliation. For it was God who, in Christ, reconciled the world, forgetting sins and offering peace. So it is for Christ that we speak, and

will be less clear-cut, but the author's thought will be better rendered. By not excluding any meaning, by not adding any precision, we leave the richness of meaning and the multitude of currents of ideas which circulate in a piece of true living literature and which animate it. - So far as the present passage is concerned, it is to be noted that the idea of a living " from someone, is elsewhere rendered in St. Paul by the same formulae : *Rom.*, VI, 10, n : ζῆ τῷ Θεῷ... ζώντα τῷ Θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; it., *Rom.*, vu, 4; - to live for God: *Rom.*, xiv, 6-8; cfr. *II Cor.*, xm, 4; *Gai.*, 11, 20; *Phil.*, 1, 21. - Have translated in the sense we propose: DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA (?), *In II Cor.* p.g., xxix, 1705. - S. EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, LXV, P.G., XLIII, 133. - St. AUGUSTINE, *Sermo* cxciv, P.L., xxxvm, 1016; *Contra Faustum manichaeum*, n, 8, P.L., XLii, 251, 252; *Contra Julianum*, vi, 48, P.L., XLIV, 850; *De civitate Dei*, xx, 6, P.L., St. John Chrysostom often translates in this way; for the sake of brevity, we indicate only the reference to Migne: P.G., LXI, 474; LX, 486; LUI, 319. - Likewise St. Cyril of Alexandria. Ζῆν τῷ Χριστῷ means in him, ordinarily, to live a new life, P.G., LXXVII, 821; LXXVI, 213, 797; LXXV, 472, 1356; LXX, 1185, 1189; LXIX, 436, 437; Lxviii, 1068, 688; see especially *In Joh.*, I, P.G., LXXIII, 192: "In him and with him we all escaped death, for we were all in him who died for us and rose again." The saint often brings *II Cor.* v, 15 nearer to the significant text, Christ lives in me (*Gal.*, n, 20). - S. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Diversa capita*, 1, 59, P.G., xc, 1201, and especially in K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Munster, 1933, p. 28, etc. It, ESTIUS, *In II Cor.* v, 17.

(1) A difficult passage, and translated in several ways by the commentators: Ὡστεήμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲν ἰδοῦμεν κατὰ σάρκα: εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. The translation which we propose is the one which seems to us to be most in continuity with the following verse, the meaning of which is clear, and also with the last of the preceding verses whose meaning is clear (14). ESTIUS and CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, basing themselves on parallel passages of the Apostle, comment: If we once dreamed of a Messiah for the Jews, now it is done. Cfr S. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH: a Let no one regard his neighbor according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα βλέπετω), but in Christ Jesus; love one another." *Epistola ad Magnesios*, vi, 2.

God exhorts you through us. In the name of Christ, be reconciled to God.

"Whoever is in Christ is a new creature. Old things are passed away: behold, they are become new." One will have noticed, in passing, the triumphant affirmation. What do the small opponents matter! New life is bubbling up in men, the Creator is at work: who can stop these all-powerful energies?

The same thought is found in the epistle to the Galatians. There too, opponents had wanted to destroy the work accomplished. But they will have someone to talk to: they are, says Saint Paul in concluding his letter, men who want to stop God.

I want to glory in nothing but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Through it the world is crucified to me, and I to it [the whole old state of things has come to an end, the ancient distinction of Jew and Gentile no longer exists]. Circumcision is no more, nor is uncircumcision. There is only a new creature (2).

The life of grace, he says elsewhere, is free like creation.

You have been saved by grace through faith, and that, not only

(2) *II Cor.* v. 14-20. "It is to be observed here that the renewal which is effected by grace is called creation... because by it men are produced into the being of grace, and this is a creation made out of nothing; because those who have not grace are nothing [in the supernatural order]. "S. THOMAS, *in illud.* - St. Athanasius and the other Fathers who wrote against the Arians insisted on this "creation" of the mystical body to explain that Scripture can say of eternal Wisdom that he is created: he is created in us who become his members. We will see their affirmations later. Saint John Chrysostom comments on this text as follows: "When, at baptism, the neophyte confesses eternal life, he confesses a new creation. The first time, God took dust to form man. Now, it is no longer dust, but the Holy Spirit that he takes. From him we are as it were fashioned, as was Christ in the Virgin's womb." *In Col. horn*, vi, P.G., LXH, 342. The Christian εἰς ἑτέραν ἡλθε δημιουργίαν, *In II Cor. horn*, xi, P.G., LXI, 475. - Cfr S. AMBROSE, *Epist.* xxxix, 6, and *De fuga saeculi*, P.L., xvi, 1100 and xiv, 596.

(3) *Gai.*, vi, 14-15-

It is a gift of God, so that no one may boast. For we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand for us to do.

This work of God, this creation, is so powerful that it reaches through man to nature itself, and a thrill of anguish and hope spreads through the universe (2). (2) The birth of this new world has something so fresh and victorious about it that it evokes in Paul's mind the young light that illuminated the newborn world. But now it is much better than in the beginning.

God," he says, "who once commanded the light to shine in the darkness,

228 P. I, CH. VII. - S. PAUL. IV. THE MYSTICAL
CHRIST

has now shone in our souls, to make the knowledge of the glory of God shine in the face of Christ.

The light of the first day was a mere creature. Now the light that shines in us is God and it is the eternal light.

Christians have thus undergone a second contact with the creative hands: humanity begins again, there is a new Adam (4), there is a new race (5), and this new race (6)

(1) *Ephesians* 2:8-10; cf. *Col.* 2:10.

(2) *Rom.* 18-23. See text, p. 198.

(3) *II Cor.* iv, 6.

(4) *I Cor.* xv, 20-22, 45-49; *Rom.* v, 12-18. - From this point of view of the two Adams, a whole aspect of the doctrine of the mystical body takes on a peculiar meaning: unity in Christ is shown as restoration and struggle, as release from sin and suffering. It would have been possible to explain it in this way; but to do so now would be to repeat everything. Cfr ch. i, p. 7.

(5) See also *Titus*, in, 5; cfr *I Petr.* 1, 23.

(6) Christians are "new": *I Cor.* v, 7; *Hebr.* x, 20; ix, 8; vi, 6; *Rom.* xn, 2: μεταμορφοῦσθε τη ανακοινώσει του νοός. Christians are buried with Christ in baptism, so that, as Christ was raised, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν, *Rom.* vi, 41

is so united that it forms one man, a new man, one perfect and complete man.

This is what remains to be said, and we shall see how these affirmations of the Apostle singularly complete, and in a very realistic sense, his doctrine of the mystical body. Not only are Christians one "body," but even they are one man. Paul affirms this against those who exalted the law and put Gentiles who were converted far below the Jews.

Let there be no more talk of Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female. You are all one in Christ (1).

XII, 2 and *Gai.* vi, 15; *II Cor.* v, 4; *Col.* ni, 10; *Eph.* iv, 24; *Tit.* ni, 5; *II Cor.* iv, 16; ni, 6.-Clement of Alexandria has a page full of freshness on this new life: "We are the chicks of God. An admirable word, full of mystery, in which the Word describes the simplicity of our childlike souls." Elsewhere he calls them children; elsewhere, little ones, or sons, or very little ones,-and the new people, and the new people. "To my servant," he says, "I will give a new name. This new name is new and everlasting, spotless and simple, and young, and true." *Pedagogue*, 1, 5, P.G., wine, 275, ff. - S. AUGUSTINE: *Exuite vetustatem, nostis canticum novum, novus homo, novum testamentum, novum canticum...* *Ei suspirat omnis amor, et cantat canticum novum.* *In Ps.* xxxu, *enarr.* n, P.L., xxxvi, 283, *et saepius*.

(1) *Gal.* in, 28. Οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδέ "Ἑλλην, οὐκ ἐνὶ δούλῳ οὐδέ ἐλεύθε- ρος, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θήλῃ - πάντες γάρ ὑμεῖς εἰς πάνστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. - "As matter puts on form, so the body puts on the soul as a substantial garment, to cover and adorn its ugliness, nakedness, and coarseness; so you in baptism have put on Christ by grace, so that the spirit of Christ may be your form and soul," writes CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, *Commentaria in omnes sancti Pauli epistolas*, vol. ix, in *Gal.* in, 27, Antwerp, 1656, p. 40. And he adds, a few lines further on (*Ibid.*, in *Gal.*, in, 28): "You are one, one form, one life, one soul... so that you all seem to be one man, one Christ." - A more intimate union can neither be said nor conceived", notes J.-A. VAN STEENKISTE, in *Gal.* ni, 28, in *Sancti Pauli epistolae breviter explicatae*, Bruges, 1876, t. 1, p. 556 - Cfr *Rom.* x, 12: "There is no difference between Jew and Gentile, it is the same Christ who is Lord of all, generous to all who call upon him." - "You are all together one man, and in him the differences that existed under the law can find no place." J. SERIPAND, *In epistolam ad Galatas*, Antwerp, 1567, p. 55.

One, εἰς; not in the neuter, as if it were a thing, a vague concord, an abstract entity; but in the masculine, because it is a person, a mystical person.

The Apostle returns to this, and in the epistle to the Ephesians he explains what this one is.

Remember," he said, "that in the past you Gentiles in the flesh were called

uncircumcised by those who are called circumcised [and who are] in the flesh by the hand of man; [remember, I say,] that you were at that time without Christ, excluded from the theocracy of Israel, strangers to the covenants of promise, and without God in the world.

But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who of the two is one (έν, in the neutral, one thing), having broken down the wall of separation, enmity, having annulled in his flesh the law of precepts [consisting] of [multiple] ordinances, that he might create in himself with the two one new man, - he the author of peace - and reconcile them both to God in one body by the cross, destroying by it enmity.

And he came to proclaim peace to you who were far off and to those who were near, for through him we have access to the Father in the same Spirit. So you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the family of God.

Three times in these verses the Apostle returns to the same thought in similar terms (2). First, the statement is rather vague: you who were separated, God has made you one, gv, one thing. Then the statement becomes more precise: Christ has united you all, creating you in himself so as to make.

(1) *Eph.*, he, n-19.

(2) The three parallel statements in this passage, *Ephesians* 14-19, are as follows:
'(A) Αὐτός... ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν || ὁ ποιήσας || τὰ ἀμφοτέρα || έν || ... λύσας, τὴν ἐχθραν, || έν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ...

(B) ... ἵνα τοὺς δυο || κτίσῃ έν αὐτῷ || εἰς ένα καινόν ἄνθρωπον || ποιοῦν εἰρήνην.

(C) ... καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ || τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους || έν ἐνὶ σώματι... || ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἐχθραν έν αὐτῷ || καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν...

of you all one new man (εἰς ένα καινόν ἄνθρωπον). Finally, the statement is repeated, and this time in a well-known vocabulary: Christ, by his cross, has reconciled you into one body.

One thing, one man, one body: in this triple affirmation, only one moment contains the formula that we are especially concerned with for the moment, the second: it expresses, in fact, but in a more explicit way, the thought that we have just seen in the epistle to the Galatians, that Christians are only one person: one new man. Moreover, he comments on this expression by the two others with which he surrounds it: this new man is a single thing, it is the mystical body of Christ.

The Apostle speaks of this one new man in other places (1). (1) He

is, as we see it, a collective reality; he is made up of Jews and Gentiles together. However, while it is collective, it perfects in what is most individual those who are included in it: it makes them closer to God, more like the Father, more holy, more charitable and more upright, and finally, more new, in the candor of an innocence and gentleness that is always young.

But with this double aspect, collective and individual, this new man is no less one. Similar to the "body" of Christ, with which it is often related (3), it constitutes a single reality; it is even more one than ordinary individuals are, for it is one in the unity of the Master, it is one in his blood, one through his cross (4), and in him are sup-

(1) *Eph.* 11:15; *iv.* 24; *Col.* 1:10; and the "perfect man" of whom we shall soon speak (except *Col.* 1:28). On Philo's speculations about the heavenly man, see HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2^e, Tubingue, 1906, p. 316.

(2) There we are united to God: *Eph.* n, 18; *Col.* ni, 10, 12; - sanctified: *Eph.* n, 20-22; *Col.* m, 8, 10; - made innocent: *Eph.*, n, 14; *iv.* 24; - made new: *Eph.*, *iv.* 24.

(3) *Ephesians*, n. 14, 16; *Col.* in 11, 15.

(4) *Ephesians*, n, 13-15.

The divisions that too easily get in the way of the narrow personalities that we are (i).

Of this mystical man, Paul speaks again a little further on, in the same letter to the Ephesians (2). Only, this time, he calls this supernatural organism a perfect man, and no longer a new man.

Christ," he says, "who descended [into the lower regions of the earth], is the same one who ascended above all the heavens to fill them all. He also made some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ. Until we all come to the unity of the faith, making one perfect man,

(1) *Eph.*, π, 15; iv, 24, 25; *Col.* ni, 10, 11.

(2) *Eph.*, iv, 10-13. The passage is an exhortation to concord (vv. 3-6). Perhaps Paul is aiming at divisions and jealousies, each envying the grace received by others (vv. 7 and 11). Here he shows that we all stand together, all one (w. 3-6), and that Christ brings all things (the highest and lowest positions) together in himself, to make all one body: *εις οικοδομὴν του σώματος του Χρίστου*. Οικοδομή is active (cfr v. 17) and signifies the activity which gives the body its development, its fullness (w. 11-12, cfr 13 and 17). Therefore God has established various ministries, to procure the development of the body of Christ, until all Christians together make one fully developed mystical Christ, one perfect man. The description of the mystical body which is found there is introduced by the formula: Grace has been given to all according to the measure of the gift of Christ (v. 7); which has the same meaning as verse 11, ch. xn of *I Cor.* which also introduces a mention of the mystical body (*I Cor.*, xn, 12, 13).

(3) Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως του υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον. This perfect man, whom the believers compose, πάντες, is a collective reality. This interpretation is self-evident. It is that of most Latins and some Greeks (ESTIUS). Collective sense (for the sake of brevity, we give only the reference to Migne): S. AUGUSTINE, very often : P.L., xxxv, 1568; xxxvi, 161, 179; xxxvii, 1295, 1417; xli, 779. Cf. also: S. *Augustini sermones post mauri- nos reperti*, Rome, 1930, p. 313. - HRABAN MAUR (one of the senses), P.L., cxu, 43² - REMI D'AUXERRE (?), P.L., cxvn, 72o. - P. LOMBARD (one of the meanings), P.L., cxcii, 202. - *Ordinary gloss* (one of the senses). - S. ALBERT THE GREAT, in *Joh. vi, Opera omnia*, Lyon, 1661, 21 vols. xi, p. 127. - S. THOMAS (one of the senses). CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, BOTTENS, THOMASSIN, GIUSTINIANI, NOEL ALEXANDRE, NACLANTUS, SALMERON, NIC. DE GORRAN, KNABEN-

to the measure of the fullness of Christ (1). (1) It is important, however, that we no longer be children, etc., but that we become more like children.

This perfect man, like the new man, is a collective reality: for, like him, he is made of us all together, and, like him again, he says what the body of Christ is.

*
* *

One man, one new man, one perfect man, all this shows emphatically the unity of the Church. But not yet enough, and what remains for us to hear is what the Apostle has said most strongly. Christians, he assures us, ... but they are Christ himself.

The first time Paul dares to say it is very early, in

BAUER, MEINERZ, PRAT. - CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Pedagogue*, 1, 5, P.G., vin, 269. - S. HIPPLYTUS, *De Christo et Antichrisio*, ni, P.G., x, 732, C.B., HIPP. 1, p. 6. - ORIGEN, *In Ez. horn.* ix, P.G., XIII, 732; *Comm. in Joh.* tomus x, P.G., xiv, 373. - S. ATHANASIUS, *II Contra arianos*, 74, P.G., xxvi, 305; *Id, III Contra arianos*, 22, P.G., xxvi, 369. - S. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Tunc ipse Filius subjiçietur*, etc., P.G., XLIV, 1317. - THEODORE OF MOPSUESTE, *in illud*, apud H. B. SWETE, *In epistolas beati Pauli commentarii*, Cambridge, 1880, vol. 1, p. 169. - St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Bernard often speak in the individual sense. In the latter sense, "the perfect man" has been understood in many ways.

(1) Εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας του πληρώματος του Χριστοῦ. The meaning of this final depends on the context. Now, the whole passage speaks of the completion which Christ finds in the Church (w. 12 and 15-16). The word πλήρωμα is prepared by the πληρώση of verse 10, and commented on by the great description of the growth of the mystical body (w. 11 and 15-16). It follows the mention of the perfect man whom we all form. This fullness of Christ (cfr 1:23) is the mystical Christ, the *Christus totus, caput et corpus*, of which St. Augustine speaks (cfr, for the present passage, *De civitate Dei*, χχι, 18, P.L., iv, 780); see also S. THOMAS, CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, ESTIUS, CALMET. So understood, the verse is in line with the development of the chapter, and the passage is very clear: Be in unity and concord, without jealousy (w. 1-6), each in his own place (v. 7); for Christ fills the whole mystical body with his virtue, so that his fullness may be in all (w. 8-9, 17)-that he may take into you all the fullness of his growth (w. 10-13), so that he may build up himself into a complete and well-knit body (w. 14-16). Repeated development, as Paul likes them; the theme of which, frequent in Paul, is that Christ in pouring out his graces forms himself into a perfect body.

the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is remembered that factious people had caused division in this Church.

I beseech you, brethren," writes the Apostle, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, let all of you speak the same thing, and let there be no faction among you, but be perfectly united in the same mind and in the same spirit. I have heard, my brethren, concerning you from the people of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. By this I mean that each of you says, "I am of Paul! And I am of Apollo! And I am of Cephas! And I am Christ's!

So is Christ divided?

Was Paul crucified for you, or was it in Paul's name that you were baptized (i)?

Divisus est Christus? Is Christ then divided? One can feel all the shuddering indignation in these words. Do you not see, you splitters," cries the Apostle, "that by dividing the Church you are tearing Christ apart?

Divisus est Christus? The formula is so true that it has become classic. The Church, which has the quality, even when it does not define, to understand Scripture, has found in these words the expression which stigmatizes schism: the sin of those who separate themselves from unity is that they tear the Savior apart.

Divisus est Christus? No doubt it would be possible to translate it differently, for example: is the Church of Christ thus fragmented? or: does Christ belong to rival factions? or again, with many moderns (2): has Christ been divided into portions, so that each one imagines he has a different one? But these translations, in our opinion, do not render the full force of the text itself, and this, because they

(2) *I Cor.*, i, 10-13: "Εκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει - ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφα, ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ. Μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; The first commentary on this text is given by the *I Clementis*. Cfr below, p. II, ch. i. S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA brings this passage nearer to *I Cor.*, x, 17. "For we are one body, who receive one bread." *In J oh.*, xi, n, P.G., LXXIV, 560.

(3) Cfr E.-B. ALLO, *Saint Paul. First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 10.

speak only of the Church, the body of Christ, or only of Christ without speaking of His body. Now the passage of the epistle is arranged otherwise. The foregoing speaks, not of different doctrines or heresies, but of factions and divisions: it is manifestly about the Church. On the other hand, and just as obviously, the verse itself and those that follow it speak of Christ (1). (1) In order to maintain the movement of the sentence, we must understand that it is about Christ and Christ himself, and that, nevertheless, this Christ himself is the Church; it is therefore about the mystical Christ, and the Apostle declares that to attack ecclesiastical unity is to tear apart the Savior himself.

That this is indeed the meaning intended by Paul and by the Spirit, other passages very close to it and of a very similar structure make it clear. Here, in fact, is another verse of the same epistle. The context, without being absolutely the same, is similar; it is no longer a question of factions, but of differences between graces received. These differences - such is, alas, the nature of man - excited jealousies, and jealousy always brings division. To this spirit of - separation and rivalry, which is always the same, Paul opposes the same affirmation of unity. There is, he says, a great variety of spiritual gifts, to be sure; but it must be well understood: they are produced by one and the same Spirit; they are made for the usefulness of the whole, and, consequently, for the cohesion and unity of the whole:

As the body is one and has many members, and as all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so also is Christ.

(1) Especially verse 17 and also 12 d.

(2) Καθάπερ γάρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἑστίν καὶ μέλη πολλά ἔχει, πάντα δέτα μέλη τοῦ σώματος, πολλά βντα, ἐν ἑστίν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός. *I Cor.*, xii, 12 (cf ch. vi, p. 149)-The same antithesis as in the preceding text between unity and multiplicity (ἐν - πολλά) will be noticed here. It is repeated in the next verse, more like what it was in chapter 1: "All of us, Jews and Gentiles, slaves and free, were baptized into one body."-xii, 13. U must bring nearer to this passage what St. Paul says about this same mystical identity, *Eph*"

Always the same imperative turn of phrase. At the beginning, it is a question, here again, of a plurality of members, a multiplicity. The author, one would think, would say that this group is the same as the totality of Christians, the Church (i). But no, the sacred text goes

faster and further: so says Christ. The whole of Christians is not only in Christ, one in Christ, it is Christ himself, the one Christ, the mystical Christ (2).

v, 28-30: a The husband should love his wife, for to love her is to love himself (ἑαυτόν). No one has ever hated his own flesh (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα). Each one instead loves her and cares for her. So does Christ for the Church (καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) (cfr. *I Cor.*, xii, 12), "for we are members of his body." We see the force of the comparison: the Church, Paul teaches, is to Christ what the wife is to the husband, that is to say: she is himself (ἑαυτόν); she is his own flesh (τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα)-finally, explanation he adds-the Church is the members of Christ (μέλη αὐτοῦ). Christ therefore regards the Church as being him, *scilicet dilexit eam sicut aliquid sui* (S. THOMAS, *In Eph.*, v, lectio 9). Of the texts *I Cor.* xii, 12, and *Eph.* v, 28, we have already spoken in ch. vi, pp. 149 and 158; there we considered the description they give of the mystical body.

(1) "It should have said, so also the church; that is what the context led to. But Paul speaks differently. Instead of Christ, he puts the Church, thus raising the discourse, and making the reader attentive. What he says is this: "So is the body of Christ, which is the Church." As the body and the head are one, so Christ and the Church are one. Therefore he names Christ instead of the Church, thus designating the body of Christ. As our body is one, though composed of many members, so in the Church we are one. And [in the next verse] Paul does not say, "That ye may become one body," but "That ye may all be one 'body. He always takes the strongest expressions... He does not say that we are many and diverse. For this is precisely what is admirable and astonishing about the body, that these many, these diverse [that we are] become one in it." S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In I Cor. hom.* xxx, P.G., LXI, 249-253.

(2) "St. Paul, without explanation, calls the community by the name of 'Christ,' the mystical Christ." E.-B. ALLO, *Saint Paul. Première épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1935, p. xxxi, and passim. "He boldly calls it 'the Christ,' the mystical Christ." ID., p. 329 - Mystical identity is also the expression used by F. Prat in connection with the same text. PRAT USES in connection with the same text. *Jesus Christ*, vol. n, ch. xv, Paris, 1933" P- 479- - "For both the small and the great are Christ himself, because of the excellent union of the head and the members," says the *Interlinear Glosis*. And indeed, in this place, Paul "calls by the name of Christ the whole Church, as several Fathers note in explaining his words."

A formidable identification, and one that Paul, once again, did not express by distraction. He returns to it, and in much the same terms, in Epistle to the Colossians.

Do not lie to one another, for you have put off the old man and his works and have put on the new man, who, being renewed continually in the image of him who created him, attains to perfect knowledge. In this renewal there is no longer Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian or Scythian, slave or free, but Christ, all in all.

Again (2) the same way of speaking, abrupt and energetic. Paul is impatient, one would say, with those short-sighted people who only want to see in the Church a multitude without deep unity (3). (3) Can one be so ignorant of things? But no, these many and different Christians, look at them

(BRUNET, *Elem. theol.*, t. n, p. 416). *Divisiones ergo charismatum ex uno Domino Jesu Christo, qui corpus est omnium, esse significat*, writes S. HILARY, *De Trinitate*, viii, 32, P.L., x, 260, "See," says S. FULGENTIUS OF RUSPE, *Ad Monimum*, n, 10, P.L., LXV, 189, "he does not hesitate to call Christ, and in all truth, the body of Christ." - Among the Fathers, none commented on this passage with so much force as St. Augustine; we shall have to quote later. - "Woe to him who does not meditate on these things," writes NOEL ALEXANDER, "woe to him who meditates on them and does not become better," in *illud. Commentarius literalis et moralis in omnes epistolas sancti Pauli*, Rouen 1710, p. 215. - HORST, in G. KITTEL, *Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, art. μέλος, interprets, "So Christ makes in him (cfr. verse n, ενεργεί, διαρρύν), that the multitude remain one body."

(1) *Col.* ni, 9-11/Οπου οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἑλλήν καὶ Ἰουδαίος, περιτομή καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δούλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ πάντα κατένπασιν Χριστός. Cfr *Gal.* in, 28, same sentence, but where the final is different: Εἰς ἑστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

(2) It is in this sense, we think, that we must interpret the passages in Ephesians where Christ and the Church are placed on an equal footing, the one corresponding to the other. "To Him (God) alone be the glory in the Church and in Christ Jesus throughout all generations, from century to century. ni, 21. "This is a great mystery. I speak of Christ and the Church. V, 32. The context is quite clear in this sense; it is not a question of syzygy, but of a rapprochement between the head and the mystical body.

(3) All these passages are parallel. *I Cor.* 1:12 is the enumeration of the factions. - *I Cor.* xii, 12 and 13; this is the mention of the numerous and remunerative members of the different kinds of Christians. Same enumeration in *Col.* ni, 9; cfr. *Gai.* ni, 28.

well: it is no longer a crowd. The unity of Christ has invaded and unified all this. They are one, they are the body of Christ, they are Christ. And those phrases which detail the multiplicity of the Church, he rejects; let there be no more talk of the different categories of Christians: there is now only Christ, all in all (i).

Nervous assertions, where everything is significant, even the structure of the sentence. This development which begins and continues, speaking of the Church and the crowd it contains, and in which, all of a sudden, the external aspect of things fades away; this sudden mention of Christ, suddenly replacing the rest, taking up in him the crowd of which we had been speaking until then ; and the

192 P. I, CH. VII. - S. PAUL. IV. THE MYSTICAL
CHRIST

sentence which at first represented only the faithful, suddenly ending by speaking only of Christ; this development thus continued, and thus broken, reproduces, in the Apostle's own style, the lightning appearance which one day overthrew him in the midst of his race, and set him before the Lord. Then, too, Paul, who saw in the Church only a sect of men and women, apostates of the synagogue, Paul who thought only of persecuting this multitude, suddenly found himself in the presence of a unique person: Christ had taken the place of his own.

This sudden revelation marked Paul's preaching and even his way of thinking and writing. At certain points in his sentences, we - suddenly see Christ rise up, taking his own people back into his fold, like an eagle that comes fiercely to cover its threatened young with its wings.

Thanks be to God! His gift to mankind in Christ is even more incredible!

United with Christ, living in Christ, the body and fullness of

(*) All these finales have the same brief and imperious appearance. *I Cor*, i, 13 : Is Christ divided then? - *I Cor*., xn, 12 : so Christ. - *Col*, ni, 10 : but Christ all in all.

Christ, Christs finally, we must dare to say it, Christians, as they are taken up in Christ, are taken up in God himself.

In Christ dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," says St. Paul, "and in him you are filled; for he is the head of all principality and power.

This is the last straw.

Christ is God. To be one with him is, necessarily, to be one with God.

There is, therefore, in the teachings of St. Paul on incorporation into Christ, a doctrine of the divinization of men in Christ (2). (2) It is this doctrine which explains what the "mystery" is and how it, having its principle in eternity, also has its outcome there; it is this doctrine which gives its last, most august and most essential features to the "body" of Christ; it is this doctrine, finally, which forms, in the Gospel of the Apostle, what is best and most definitive. This definitive aspect, no doubt, will be expressed even more forcefully by John. But Paul too, like the Synoptics, is its herald. We would not be exposing his message as it is, we would not be showing the mystical body as he describes it, if we did not evoke these supreme perspectives. We will therefore consider them after him. Only, in order not to repeat too much what has been said in the preceding pages and what will be said about the fourth Gospel, we will be quite brief about them.

Christ, then, even as the head of the Church, is God. Even more: it is by being head, by infusing supernatural life, that he best shows his divinity; and in fact, Paul likes to emphasize this divinity precisely by exalting the mystical function of the Savior (3).

(1) *Col.* π, 9-10.

(2) These developments are linked to what was said at the end of chapter vi, pp. 167 ff, on the divinity of Christ insofar as this is the *raison d'être* of all that is mystical in his humanity.

(3) These Christological texts are collected in F. PRAT, *the*

He is, he says, the image of the invisible God. He was begotten before all creatures, since in him all things were created, those in heaven and those on earth, the visible and the invisible, thrones, lordships, principalities and powers. All things were created by him and for him. He himself exists before all things and all things subsist in him. He himself is the head of the body, that is, of the Church, being the firstborn from the dead, so that he is first in all things. For it pleased God to make all the fullness of things dwell in him.

We see that, according to the Apostle, the primacy of head is for Christ the continuation of his primacy as Word, and these two transcendences are explained by each other, "so that he may be first in all things. It is therefore in God that Christians are all incorporated, and the greatness, the very transcendence, we can use the word, that they have as members of Christ cannot go without a greatness and a transcendence which comes to them from the fact that, in this head, they are united to God.

It should be remembered, moreover, that Paul presents incorporation into Christ as the "mystery", and that the mystery is the merciful gesture in which God unites all men and divinizes them all in his beloved Son: incorporation into Christ and divinization are therefore inseparable. The passages that have been quoted about the mystery in chapter iv are significant enough. To revive their memory, it will suffice to quote once more one of the most important. Let us remember the opening lines of the epistle to the Ephesians.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in Christ has showered us with every spiritual blessing and

Theology of St. Paul, vol. n, p. 510. - For our part, we see only four passages in which the transcendence of Christ is mentioned, and in which the idea of the mystical body is absent: *Phil.* π, 5-11; *Rom.* ix, 5; *Gai.* 1, 1; *TU.* u, 13-14. In all the others the thought of this body or its members is present or underlying. *Rom.*, 1, 1-7; wine, 3 (cfr wine, 1-2, 9, ff.); wine, 35, cfr 39; *I Cor.*, x, 4; xv, 45; *II Cor.*, wine, 9; *Gai.*, iv, 4 (cfr ni, 27-29 and iv, 5-7); *Eph.*, 1, 21-23; *Col.*, i, 15-19; *I Tim.*

(1) *Col.* i, 15-19.

heavenly. Did he not choose us in him before the creation of the world to be holy and undefiled before his eyes? Did He not, in His love, predestinate us to become His sons through Jesus Christ, as it pleased His sovereign will, for the praise of His glorious grace, by which He sanctified us in the beloved?

He has poured out this grace abundantly in us, in the form of all wisdom and understanding, making known to us the mystery of His will in accordance with the purpose He was pleased to propose for a dispensation reserved for the fullness of time. That is to say, to gather together under one head in Christ all things, both things in heaven and things on earth.

We are of God, then, because we are of Christ (2); in Christ, it is God himself who unites the world (3). (3) Men have a new way of being: they were darkness, but now they are light (4), but light in the Lord (5); they are the children of the day, they are the children of the light (6) and their existence is summed up in the increasing brightness of a splendour (7).

As they are light, so they are life - Christ is the light of life (8) -; they were dead, but now in the Lord they are alive (9).

You have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ our life is manifested, then you also will be manifested with him in glory.

They are alive, and what a life! Their life is the life of

(1) *Eph.* i, 3-10.

(2) *I Cor.* in, 13; xi, 3-

(3) *II Cor.* v. 19*.

(4) Light, life, glory, divinization and adoption, these are the great ideas of the fourth Gospel; see ch. ix and x. As we can see, they are also found in St. Paul.

(5) *Eph.*, v, 8.

(6) *Ibid.* and *I Th.*, v, 5, 8; *Rom.* xm, 12; *II Cor.* λα, 14.

(7) *Rom.* H, 19; *Col.* 1, 12; *II Cor.* m, 18-iv, 6; *Eph.* ni, 9-.

(8) Grace "is manifested by the very manifestation of our Savior Jesus Christ, who abolished death and made life and immortality shine through the gospel."

(9) *Rom.* vi, 2-23; *Gal.* in, 10ff.

(10) *Col.* ni, 3-4.

Christ (i), the life in Christ (2), is the holy and pure life (3), it is above all the eternal life (4)" the life of God (5).

The life that Christ lives is a life for God. You likewise, look upon yourselves as dead to sin and alive to God (ζώντας δέ τω Θεῷ) in Christ Jesus (6).

So here they are, alive and well, in glory (7). (7) They are already reigning with Christ in the highest splendour of heaven, at the right hand of the Father, (8) and, although they still have much to ask, they have first of all to give thanks for everything, for everything, and always:

Let the peace of Christ reign in your hearts. Is it not in it that you were called to form one body? Adhere to the Faction of Grace (9).

Sing and celebrate the Lord in the secret of your soul. Give thanks always and in everything, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to God our Father.

The Father, in fact, in giving his son to Christians, has truly given them everything, and he will continue to give them everything. (11) Between the beloved monogenes and them, a marvelous exchange is established: their miseries are consumed in him,

(1) *Gai.* π, 20; *Phil.* 1, 21; *Rom.* xiv, 7-9; *II Cor.* v, 14-20 and 1, 3, ff; *I Th.* v, 10; *II Tim.* in, 12.

(2) *Rom.* vi, 23; *II Tim.* 1, 1.

(3) *Rom.* i, 17; vi, 4; vin, 6; *Gai.* ni, 11; v, 25.

(4) *Rom.* n, 7; v, 21; vi, 22-23 - *Gai.* vi, 8; *Z Tim.* 1, 16; iv, 8; vi, 12; *Tit.* i, 2; in, 7.

(5) *Eph.*, iv, 18.

(6) *Rom.* vi, 10-11.

(7) *Rom.* v. 1-2; vi. 4; vin. 21, 29-30; ix. 23; *II Cor.* ni. 7-iv. 7. It is the "glory" of God that is manifested in the mystery and that lifts us up. *Ephesians*, L5-²3; ni, 16-17 î *Col.* i, 11-20; ni, 26-27.

(8) *Rom.* v, 17; vi, 4-6, 8; vm, 17; *Eph.* 1, 20-π, 10; *II Tim.* 11, 12.

(9) *Col.* ni, 15, cfr π, 7.

(10) *Eph.*, v, 19-20, cfr 4.

(11) *Rom.* vm, 32.

and his greatness flows into their smallness (1). (1) In their souls, something unheard of, (2) superhuman, divine, is rising: they have passed into the eternal, and their element is the heavenly things (3); they have become worthy objects of divine complacency (4), they are holy and immaculate before God (5), and their everyday life is, in its banality, august.

Whatever you can do, whether word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him (6).

Since Christ is the Son, and since they are his members, they too are sons,(7) sons of adoption,(8) predestined to be conformed to the image of the only Son. (9) In baptism they have clothed Him; all together they are one Christ with Him; all together they are with Him and in Him,

(1) This exchange is expressed especially in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and even more so in the second (cfr. t. n, appendix i). It., *Gal.* ni, 13-14-

(2) *I Cor.* η, 9. These are those ■ things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard," and "which God hath prepared for them that love Him." These things are those of which the whole makes the mystery (*Ibid.*, 7); see above, ch. iv, pp. 103, ff. - "Thanks be to God for His ineffable gift." Here also (*II Cor.*, ix, 15) it is a question of the gift made in Christ, and of the exchange between His greatnesses to Him and our miseries to us.

(3) *Rom.* vin, 33-39; v, 5; *Eph.* n, 7, 10; ni, 18-19; *II Cor.* xm, 11-13; *I Cor.* vin, 3; *Gai.* iv, 9.

(4) *Eph.* i, 4, 12, 18-19; *I Cor.* 1, 5, 30; *II Cor.* v, 21; vm, 9; 9-10; *Col.* ni, 12-17; *Phil.* iv, 4-9; *Gai.* v, 22ff.

(5) *Eph.* 1:19-22; v. 25; *Col.* 1:22. We should note the passages where *in Deo* corresponds to *in Christo*, *I Thess.* 1:1; *II Thess.* 1:1, etc.

(6) *Col.* ni, 17.

(7) Ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ, says already the *I Cor.*, 1:9; see also, *Ibid.*, xv, 27, the passage which declares that the Son shall be subject to the Father, with his kingdom, as firstfruits and head (verses 20, 22, 23). *II Cor.* quotes the text of the prophets: Ye shall be unto me sons and daughters. It is the epistle to the Galatians, even more than the one to the Romans, that gives the teaching. *Gai.* ni, 26-iv, 7, prepared by ni, 7ff and 15ff; *Rom.* vm, 14-17, 28-32.

(8) *Gaius*, iv, 5; *Romans*, 15, 23; *Ephesians*, 1, 5.

(9) *Rom.* vm, 29.

198 P. I, CH. VII. - S. PAUL. IV. THE MYSTICAL
CHRIST

children of God, and heirs, therefore, of all that the Father gives to his monogenes (1).

Their attitude before the Father will be that of children (2); their confidence, that of children (3); their holiness and their interior way of being, that of children (4). (4) So august and splendid is the dignity they carry within them, still hidden, that the whole of nature is in anguish as it waits for it to be revealed.

We know the magnificent prosopopoeia of the epistle to the - Romans:

The great expectation of the whole creation calls for the manifestation of the sons of God. The creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own free will, but by the will of him who subjected it, in the hope that nature itself would be delivered from the slavery of corruption in order to share in the freedom of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groans and suffers, in all its component parts, the pains of childbirth until now.

It is to these depths that the grace of adoption penetrates: it gives a new way of being to the entire human universe, which is, for all humanity, like the great body in which it lives.

In fact, if we look closely at the reasoning of Saint Paul, they are not so much sons of adoption as they are members of the Son himself; the grace they have received is not a favor that would be completed in itself and that would be

(1) Same texts. Already *I Cor.* i, 9, hints at the collective aspect of adoption. It is clearly expressed in *Gai.* ni, 25-iv, 7.

(2) *Eph.*, N, i.

(3) *LT Cor.* v. 18-21; *Eph.* 11, 20; *Rom.* 32, ff.

(4) *Col.* in, 12-17.

(5) *Rom.* wine, 19.

(6) *Rom.* 18-23. Of c® text it will be spoken of again in t. H, ch. vin. - The creation, κτίσις, spoken of there has been understood to mean 1 whole humanity, condemned to the corruption of the grave; P. DULAU, "*Omnis creatura ingemiscit*," in *Divus Thomas* (Placentia), vol. xxxvii, 1934, pp. 386, ff. On our interpretation, see PRAT, LAGRANGE, LEMONNYER, and, *Ibid.* t. xxxvin, 1935, p. 320, the article of the same title by P. TRUCCO (Reply of P. DULAV, *Ibid.*, p. 430).

It is only one aspect of the incorporation into this eternal Son who became incarnate, and, if one may say so, it is the incorporation into his filiation. There is, there can be, only one Son. But, declares the Apostle, in this Son all Christians are taken up so as to be with him one, *unus, one* Christ and one son.

You are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus; all of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek; there is no longer slave or free man; there is no longer male or female; you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you are part of Christ, then you are Abraham's descendants and heirs according to the promise.

... When the time was fulfilled, in order to redeem those who were under the law, God sent his son, born of a woman, born under the law, that we might receive adoption. The proof that you are sons is that God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying out, "Abba, Father! So you are no longer a slave, but a son. And if you are a son, you are also an heir through God.

There is, therefore, only one Son; but in this one Son the multitude of poor human sinners are taken up, and they too, in him, are sons, sons by a filiation shared in his own and which is adoption.

The proof of this, Paul explains, is that they have the Spirit in them. For as real as the adoption in Christ is for them, so real is the possession of the Spirit in this same Christ. God has saved them

by means of a bath of regeneration and renewal through the Spirit, which he poured out abundantly on us through Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

With this Holy Spirit they are all filled (3); he is

(1) *Gai*, in, 25-29 and iv, 4-7.

(2) *Tit*. ni, 5-6.

(3) *Eph.*, v, 18. - The word πνεῦμα, in St. Paul, has several meanings (see ch. V, p. 140). In particular, it denotes, and the third of the divine persons,

(i) He dwells in them (2), they are His temple (3), and God's love is poured out on them through the Spirit they have received (4).

For them, the kingdom, that divine gift brought by Christ, is justice, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (5).

The Holy Spirit is their inner principle of life (6), of strength (7), of charity (8), of holiness (9), of joy (10); he leads them (11), he renews them (12), he gives them the pledge of their resurrection (13) and of the glory that awaits them (14), he infuses them with the way of appreciating and knowing that befits Christians (15); It is he who at baptism united them to Christ (16), he who seals their souls with the mark of salvation (17), he who daily draws from their hearts prayers that go straight to God, he who makes them cry to the Most High himself: Father (18).

Therefore, let them respect both this interior guest and themselves, whom his presence sanctifies (19). (19) Let them take care not to

which sanctifies us, and the sanctified life which it pours into us. These two meanings, besides being close to each other, are related to each other, and it is often difficult to separate and even distinguish between them. This remark is valid for all the texts here alleged.

(1) *I Thes.* iv, 8; *Rom.* v, 5; *Gai.* ni, 2; *I Cor.* 11, 12.

(2) *Rom.* 9, ii, 23; *I Cor.* 16; *II Cor.* 1, 22; *Gai.* 5; *II Tim.* 14.

(3) *I Cor.* vi, 19; ni, 16; *Eph.* 11, 22.

(4) *Rom.* v, 5.

(5) *Rom.* xiv, 17.

(6) *He Cor.* ni, 6ff; *Gai.* v, 22-25.

(7) *Rom.* xv, 13, 19; *II Cor.* 1, 21-22.

(8) *Rom.* xv, 30; *Gai.* v, 13; *Col.* 1, 18.

(9) *Rom.* i, 4; xn, 11; xv, 16; *I Cor.* vi, 11; *II Cor.* ni, 18, etc.

(10) *Rom.* xv, 13; *I Thes.* 1, 6.

(11) *Romans*, vin. 4; *I Corinthians*, xn. 3ff.

(12) *Tit.* ni, 5.

(13) *II Cor.* v. 5; *Rom.* vm. 11, 17.

(14) *Eph.* i, 13-14.

(15) *I Cor.* η, 10-16; vu, 40; xn, 3.

(16) *I Cor.* xn, 13.

(17) *II Cor.* 1:22; *Eph.* 1:13; iv:30.

(18) *Rom.* 15-16, 26-27 J. *Gai.* iv, 6-7.

(19) *I Cor.* vi, 18-20; ni, 16-17.

(i) not to grieve him, (2) not to extinguish him in their souls. (2) If they lost it, they would no longer be of Christ, and therefore they

would no longer be themselves.

In the same way that the Spirit forms Christ in each person, he also forms Christ in the whole which is the Church: so these are only two aspects of the same unique action. It is the Spirit, as Paul explains at length to the Corinthians, who gives to each one the grace which is proper to him and who adapts him to the total organism which is the Church, in the name of the whole Trinity:

Spiritual gifts are diverse. But the Spirit is one. The ministries are diverse. But it is the same Lord. The operations are diverse. But it is the same God who does everything in all. To each the manifestation of the Spirit is given as the common good requires.

To one, it is a word of wisdom given by the Spirit. To another, it is a word of knowledge according to the same Spirit. To another it is faith in the same Spirit. To this other, it is the gift of healing in the same Spirit. To this other, the gift of working miracles; to this other, prophecy; to this other, discernment of spirits; to this other, all kinds of tongues; to this other, interpretation of tongues. But it is always the same one Spirit who does all these things and distributes his gifts to each one in particular as he pleases.

For as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so also is Christ.

Yes, we were all baptized into one Spirit to make one body, Jews and Greeks, slaves and free. We were all made to drink of the same spirit.

Thus, the third person of the Holy Trinity is, in the mystical body, the principle of adaptation and concord:

(1) *Eph.*, IV, 30.

(2) *I Th.*, v, 19.

(3) *Rom.* wine, 9.

(4) *I Cor.* xii, 4-13. It directs the ministry (1) and the preaching (2), and unites "the body" to God (3) as it unites it to itself.

Be diligent to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There is only one body and one Spirit.

In this way the Christian community, as it is one in Christ, is one in the Spirit (5); it is a *κοινωνία* of the Spirit (6), as it is a *κοινωνία* of the Son of God (7).

The Spirit, in fact, is the Spirit of the Son, (8) the Spirit of Christ,

(9) and must therefore be the Spirit of the sons of adoption, the Spirit of adoption, (10) the Spirit of the mystical body.

Here, however, a remark must be made, one that is important for what concerns the theology of the mystical body. If the Apostle insists that the Spirit does everything in the mystical body and in the members of this body, if he even seems to say that the Spirit is everything in it, he never says, in any way, that this body or these members are an extension of the Spirit, or that they are, in a mystical manner, the Spirit. Such a link, according to his constant doctrine, regenerated humanity has it only with Christ, and, in Christ, with the Son.

In this lies the great difference he makes between the union of the Spirit with us and the union of Christ with us. He never said, as others have sometimes said, or seemed to say, that the Spirit is now united to holy souls and to the Church, somewhat as the Word was united to the humanity of Christ, and

(1) *He Cor.* ni, 6-8; vi, 6.

(2) *Eph.*, in, 5.

(3) *Eph.*, π, 18.

(4) *Eph.*, iv, 3-4.

(5) *Eph.*, iv, 3; in, 16.

(6) *Phil.* π, 2. On this κοινωνία, see the works cited on page 176.

(7) *I Cor.* I, 9. Cfr *Phil.* in, 10, and *Eph.* ni, 9, in the textus receptus of the Elzevirs and in the edition of J. MILLIUS (apud C. H. BRUDER, *Concordantiae*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 501).

(8) *Gai.*, iv, 6.

(9) *Rom.* wine, 9, II.

(10) *Rom.* wine, 15; *Gai.* iv, 5-6.

that the present or future era is the era of the Spirit, as the Old Testament is the era of the Father, and the New Testament the era of the Son.

For Saint Paul, there is only Christ; but, as we have seen, this Christ, according to him, is one with the Church and with Christians. Being mystically Christ, Christians therefore have all that he has, they are even, in him and in him alone, what he is, as it is in him and in him alone that they are all that they are.

There is only him. But in him there is all fullness (2): all the fullness of the divinity substantially (3), and all the fullness of humanity mystically (4). (4) Thus, in him and in him alone, all humanity has access to all the divinity, and the supernatural society of men is united to the divine society of the three persons who are one God.

You were at that time unconnected with Christ, outside the society of Israel, strangers to the provisions of the promise, without hope and without God in the world.

But now, in Christ Jesus, you who were once far away have been made near by the blood of Christ... He has come to bring good news of peace to you who were far away, peace to those who were near.

It is through him that we all have access, in the same Spirit, to the Father.

You are no longer strangers and sojourners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and members of the household of God.

(1) We will have to point out in passing reveries of this kind in the second volume. Let us think of the Joachimites and the Amauricians (cf. the following chapter, note on the exegesis of the Apoc., p. 214, and 2^d vol. p. 147, note on St. Bernard); let us also think - and let us excuse the comparison - of the passage by Manning which is quoted in the last chapter of the work, at the end of the paragraph devoted to the Vatican Council, p. 357. Moreover, in a very attenuated form, such ways of seeing are sometimes found today in works of spirituality.

(2) *Col.* i, 19.

(3) *Col.* ii, 9; cf. *Eph.* iii, 19.

(4) *Eph.* i, 23; iv, 13.

(5) *Eph.* i, 12-13, 17-20.

This relationship of the members of Christ with the whole Trinity is so close in the eyes of the Apostle that most of the texts in which he refers or seems to refer to the three divine persons are also texts that speak of the mystical body and the members of this body (i).

Several of these texts have just been quoted (2); here are some others according to Fr. Prat; to show the allusion to the Trinity, the names of the persons have been put in italics (3).

There is one body and one *Spirit*, just as you have been called in a common hope, the fruit of this very vocation. There is one *Lord*, one faith, one baptism. There is one *God and Father* of all.

As many as are moved by the *Spirit of God*, these are sons of *God*. For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear. You have received a spirit of adoption in which we cry out : *Abba, Father!* *The Spirit* himself bears the same witness as our spirit: that we are children of *God*.

Now if we are children, we are also heirs of *God*, joint heirs with *Christ*, if we suffer with him that we may be glorified with him.

I bow my knee to the *Father*... that he may grant you strength through the *Spirit to make* you firm... and so *Christ* may make his dwelling in your hearts by faith.

He who has strengthened us with you in *Christ* and who has

(1) Out of twenty-five texts which we have noted, with the help of P. PRAT, *the Theology of St. Paul*, vol. 11, note R, p. 518, and in which one can look for a mention of the Trinity, it is scarcely that one or two do not speak either of the mystical body or of the sanctification of the members of this body: e.g., *Rom.* xv, 16-17; and still one could argue. All the others consider the Holy Trinity in so far as it operates in souls in such a way as to connect them with Christ.

(2) See the preceding text, and *I Cor.* xn, 4-6, p. 201; *Tit.* ni, 5-6, p. 199; *Gai.* iv, 4-7, *ibid.*

(3) Apart from those which will be or have been alleged, *Rom.* v. 1-5; xiv. 17-18; xv. 30; *I Cor.* 11:10-12; vi. 11; xn. 3; *II Cor.* in. 3; *Eph.* v. 18-20; *Col.* 1:6-8; *I Th.* v. 18-19; *II Th.* 11:13-14.

(4) *Eph.*, iv, 4-6.

(5) *Rom.* 14-17.

(6) *Eph.* ni, 14-17.

The anointed one is *God*, who has sealed us and given us the *Spirit* in our hearts as a deposit (1).

In *Christ* you are co-equalized to form a dwelling place for *God* in the *Spirit* (2).

The Spirit of God dwells in you. If someone does not have *the Spirit of Christ*, he does not belong. But if *Christ* is in you... the Spirit is life through righteousness. And if *the Spirit of him who raised Jesus* from the dead dwells in you, *he who raised Christ Jesus* from the dead will quicken your mortal bodies by his *Spirit* who dwells in you.

Your bodies are the members of *Christ*... He who unites himself with the *Lord* is one spirit with him... Or do you not know that your body is the temple of the *Holy Spirit* which you possess by *God*?

May the grace of *our Lord Jesus Christ*, and the love of *God* and the communication (κοινωνία) of the *Holy Spirit* be with you all (5).

Not all these passages are equally significant. But their number is such that there is no room for doubt. The sanctification of Christians in Christ is, according to the Apostle's doctrine, a real divinization, and a divinization by union with that which is most interior in God, by union with the Trinity itself.

This divinization, however, important in itself, is not what is in the forefront of Paul's teaching. What is said most forcefully is the means by which God gives us this divinization: the union of grace which makes all Christians one Christ.

We have just gone through the preceding pages,

(1) *He Cor.* 1:21-22.

(2) *Ephesians* 2:22.

(3) *Rom.* 9-11.

(4) *I Cor.* vi, 15-20.

(5) *II Cor.* xiii, 13-

the main statements of Saint Paul concerning our incorporation into Christ.

As we have seen, they take on the most diverse forms. First of all, there is the very frequent mention of the presence and life of the mystical Christ in us and of our life in him; it is the affirmation, also frequent, that we all form, in Christ, one living body, which is the body of Christ; it is the affirmation that the life of Christ is inseparable from our own, and that we must therefore, in our conduct, express his sentiments and his virtues. We are, according to St. Paul, all changed, all new, all divinized; we are all together one new creature, one man, one new man, one perfect man, one Christ, and, in the sense just explained, one son.

The strongest of these formulas is not that we are the body of Christ; this one, as energetic as it is, does not say a unity as intimate as those brief sentences where Paul declares that all of us, in Christ, are *one*, *one* mystical person, one mystical Christ.

These affirmations of unity with Christ recur in the most diverse contexts. Sometimes Paul uses them to inculcate charity, or chastity, or concord; sometimes he uses them to explain what the Church and Christianity are; sometimes he uses them to explain to the faithful what their life as regenerated and children of God is; At other times, he uses them to support his polemic against those who claim to discover in themselves or in the law the reason for hope; at other times, he uses them to give, in summary, a glimpse of the divine plan for the world and of the whole economy of salvation.

But even though they take on different forms and are adapted to different contexts, they always express the same reality. Paul varies the formulas and developments only to exhaust the fullness of meaning of this central truth; and the expressions he gives of it, in their very variety, have common features. It will not be disrespectful to note these traits, to bring them together, in order to try to compose from them the fundamental affirmation of the "mystery" which serves as the theme of the variety

formulas, and which God repeats to us so insistently in the sacred text.

This overall expression, in our view, would be as follows: Οἱ πάντες (or οἱ πολλοί), ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, εἷς, or ἐν σῶμα, or εἷς ἄνθρωπος or εἷς Χριστός, we all, in Christ, are one body, one man, one mystical Christ (1).

This is a statement that Paul is spreading throughout the world (2). It was imprinted in his chest by Christ himself: he always hears Jesus say to him again, "I am Jesus whom you persecute; I am Christ in the Church."

Since that day, he has had a message to spread, and the voice that resounds in his soul can be heard still speaking in his preaching.

He is only saying what he has learned. He goes about repeating the central mystery of Christianity: Christ in us. He preaches it, on every occasion and in every environment, in time and out of time, in sentences as energetic as his soul, as bumpy as his life, as overloaded with meaning as his gospel is overflowing with love. And in these hurried and ardent sentences, at times, like flashes of light, brief mentions of Christ

(1) So in *I Cor.* x, 17: all, by the κοινωνία to the body of Christ, by the one bread, we are one body. - So *I Cor.*, xn, 12-13 > many members, one body; all (enumeration), one spirit, baptized into one body. - *Rom.* xn, 5 - *Eph.* 1, 10: recapitulate all things in Christ. - *Eph.*, iv, 11-12: various functions, for the building up of the body of Christ. - *Eph.* iv, 13: all in one perfect man, according to the fullness of Christ. - *Eph.* iv, 16: all the members growing in Christ who is the head. - *Rom.* vi. 3: all baptized into Christ. - It., *Gal.* ni, 27, etc. - This *unus* is explained by the formula *in Christo*, by the compounds in συν, by the idea of pleroma, etc.; this *unus* is Christ himself, as continued in us, the mystical Christ.

(2) "Paul is full of Christ, γέμων Χρίστου, and filled with the Holy Ghost. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *De Trinitate*, ni, 4, P.G., xxxix, 837. - Paul's breast was the tabernacle of Christ, which was to carry God through the world; cfr S. GREGORY, *Moralia*, xxvii, 11, P.L., lxxvi, 410. - "Thus, in Paul, God and Christ went to Rome." CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, *Prooemium in sanctum Paulum, Commentarius in sanctam scripturam*, Antwerp, 1714-1734" t XI, p. 7.

mysticism, burst forth, reminders of the sudden apparition that launched Paul into the apostolate.

And when we read the Apostle's epistles today, we are put in direct contact with the impulse he received. The conviction and the movement which impel him and which he communicates do not come from him. He is only the intermediary. In his hurried sentences, in which Christ suddenly intervenes; in his energetic affirmations that Christ is in us, that he suffers, that he lives, that he is one with us and we are one in him; in the Apostle's voice, still moved and trembling from the mystery he is preaching, the one we hear is not Paul.

As the Apostle tells the Corinthians (i), one has the experience of Christ speaking in him.

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(1) *II Cor. xin, 3*. The meaning is slightly different.

SAINT JOHN. I. - ORIGINS. THE APOCALYPSE

Introduction. The Gospel of Saint John. It completes the others, especially for the doctrine of the mystical body.

THE APOCALYPSE. Source, for John, of the knowledge of the mystical body. We are studying it from this point of view alone. It announces "a return" and, in each of its four parts, especially in the last, it shows this return: Christ unites with his own. It is a vision comparable to that of the road to Damascus; it influenced the Gospel of John.

Other source: INNER CONTEMPLATION? Clue: John is a meditative person and is interested in interior things. This is a sign of the inner work by which God makes him understand that the Christ who lived in Judea is the same one who also lives in us.

So HIS GOSPEL HAS A PURPOSE. A purpose declared at the end of the Gospel, at the end and beginning of the first epistle, and in the prologue of the Gospel: to show that Christ is God and that in him we are quickened; that the Incarnation, consequently, has, by itself, an effect on us. Conclusion.

The apostolic age is drawing to a close. The last epistles and synoptic gospels were written years ago, perhaps thirty or forty years ago. Peter, Paul, and the others who saw the Lord, went to contemplate Him in

(i) It is not easy to date the writings of St. John. It suffices to note here that the Gospel appeared around the year 100, and the Apocalypse shortly before. - To have more correspondence in the texts, we borrow the French text of our quotations, here as in the part concerning the synoptics, from C. LAVERGNE, O.P., *Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français, d'après la synopse grecque du P. Lagrange, O. P.*, Paris, 1927. The Apocalypse is quoted from E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Saint John. L'Apocalypse (Études bibliques)*, Paris, 1921.

John alone, as if he were not to die, is still living, but already old, on Patmos, then in Ephesus, it seems, and he himself will disappear.

It was then that the writings of the beloved apostle were spread throughout Christendom: his Apocalypse, his Gospel, his epistles; the last message of the inspiring Spirit, the last features given to revelation. The great Christian dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and justification receive their last scriptural formulation; the function of the Church, the nature of the Parousia, and the essence of the Christian life are further clarified.

And, at the same time, the truth of our union with Christ receives a new clarity; it receives it even in the perfections which occur in the other points of the faith; for it is in the centre of Christian doctrine that John places it.

In the Old Testament, we remember, God announced the union he was going to have with mankind. The Synoptic Gospels show how Christ achieves this union, and Paul makes us understand what it consists in. It remains to synthesize these two aspects, to explain that the unity of which the Apostle speaks, the mystical Christ who incorporates all Christians, is exactly the same as the Jesus of Nazareth whose actions the Synoptic Gospels retrace and whose words they repeat. This is what the beloved Apostle will in fact do, and this is the logical place of his teaching in the doctrine of the mystical body.

This teaching, it cannot be repeated enough, is not new; it is only a continuation. The other evangelists had already reported the words in which Jesus assures us that he himself who will come to judge the living and the dead is also the one who lives in the least of the Christians and who receives there all that is done to them. Only, John had the mission to give this assurance more forcefully. His writing, the latest of the inspired books, was to continue what had been begun in the others, to complete the whole and to close the system on itself.

Destined for such doctrinal work, the apostle John had need of special preparations. Two are known to us: one, which he told; another, which we can glimpse.

The first is the vision of Patmos, which the Apocalypse reports.

The Apocalypse is certainly, to a large extent, a sealed book. It is very delicate to discern in it what is affirmative, from what is due to the literary genre and the way of telling. It is even more difficult to discover what God wants to teach the Church through the visions it records.

Fortunately, we have only one point to see: what it says about our union with Christ; and we do not have to search long to find this teaching: it is everywhere. Had not Jesus already made, in the prophecies he pronounced on the end of the world and which have been called the Apocalypse of the Synoptics, an affirmation of the mystical presence he has in Christians?

The King will answer those at his right hand, "Truly I say to you, what you did to one of my brothers, to one of the least of these, you did to me" (i).

The Apocalypse which the Holy Spirit inspired in John repeats exactly the same message. After the few introductory verses which contain the title and the initial doxology (2), the announcement comes immediately.

Behold. He is coming on the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and all those who pierced him, and all the tribes of the earth shall be smitten at him. Yes, amen.

I am the Alpha and the Omega, says the Lord God, who has the name: He is, he was, he is to come, the Almighty (3).

(1) *Mt.* xxv, 40.

(2) *Apoc.* i, 1-6.

(3) *Apoc.* i, 7-8.

And the assurance that opens the book also closes it. Jesus tells John not to close his writing, for the time is near, and he will come down to fulfill everything; for he is the first and the last, the beginning and the end: the one who holds everything together.

This promise should raise great hope:

And the spirit and the bride say, 'Come. And let him who is thirsty come, and let him who wishes take the water of life freely.

It's clear; and it's repeated again right away:

He says, who testifies these things, "Yes, I come quickly." Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

The grace of the Lord Jesus [be] with you all (i).

Thus, in the last lines, as in the first, Revelation directs the reader's mind towards the return of Jesus.

This return, it can be further specified, is announced to Christians who suffer persecution: to those, as Saint John says, "who have a share in the tribulation, in the kingship and patience of Jesus" (2). (2) To these, Jesus comes to assure them that he is there and that, through all their sufferings, he is coming.

Framed in this way, the whole book, as one might expect, will speak of a return of Jesus, a hidden return which takes place especially when Christians suffer, and which will be made manifest in heaven, at the hour when the sufferings have produced their result.

(1) *Apoc.* xxii, 17; xxn, 20, 21. What we have quoted are the words of John summing up his book, and those of the Church animated by grace and awaiting Christ. Here are the words of Christ Himself (xxn, 10-12): "And He said to Me, 'Do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand. Let the unrighteous do wrong again, and let the wicked do wrong again, and let the righteous do righteousness again, and let the holy sanctify himself again. Behold, I come quickly, and my recompense is with me, to render to every man according to his work. Note this connection between the inner work of grace and the manifestation of Christ. Ἐρχομαι ταχύ, I will come, is repeated: ni, 11; 11, 5, 16; xxn, 7, 12, 20; cfr ni, 20; xvi, 15.

(2) *Apoc.* i, 9; cf. vi, 9-11; xiii, 10; xiv, 12; etc.

And, in fact, throughout the book, the announcement is scattered, less visible when it comes to the struggles and trials, clear when it comes to the rewards.

Of the first announcements, we will say nothing, except that they present the sufferings they describe and the triumph they suggest, as a rapprochement with Christ (1).

We can dwell a little on the latter, for they contain some interesting features. The victory which they promise and of which they depict is a communion with God and with Christ.

It will be the new Jerusalem, the holy city where people will be one in God:

And then," writes St. John, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away.

And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying, "This is the tabernacle of God with men, and he shall pitch his tent with them, and be GOD-WITH-THEM.

"And he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow, for the former things are gone."

And he said, who sat on the throne, "Behold, I make all things new.

It is a new creation, as Paul had already said. In this

(1) From the beginning (1:17), Jesus makes himself seen in the Church (1:13), communicating to her his struggles, his victories and his titles (see the seven letters to the churches, especially their finales). Later, in the description of the struggles to come, Christ shows himself as the one who fights in his own (ch. v, especially w. 4-10, cfr v, 6, 12; vu, 14; xn, 11; xiv, 1; xix, 19; see also vu, 9-10, 17). Also, the woman who is clothed with the sun and walks on the moon is as much the mother of Christ as of the Christians (xn, 1-18). When she escapes the dragon, it is Christ as well as the Christians who triumph (xn, 10-12; cfr xiv, 1-5, 12, 13).

(2) xxi, 1-5.

In the transfigured world, God lives with men, and the greatness of Christ passes into his own (i). He is their temple:

I do not live in it as a temple, for the Lord God Almighty is its temple, as is the Lamb.

And the lamb is his light:

The city needs no sun or moon to shine on it; for the glory of God has shone on it, and its torch is the Lamb (3).

And the lamb gave her the living water from which she drank, and the fruit of life from which she ate:

And he showed me a river of the water of life, shining like crystal, coming out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

In the midst of its place and of the river, on this side and on that side [is] a wood of life, bearing fruit twelve [times], one in each month (4).

The Apocalypse closes with these visions. Heaven will thus reveal in glory the union with Christ which had begun on earth in pain. And the whole of the Apocalypse, from our point of view, is summed up, once again, in this word, which opens the book, as it closes it: "He is coming. In this life, through the trials, what is taking place is a coming, the coming of Christ to his own people (5).

(1) *Apoc.* xxi, 3, compared with the Gospel of St. John, 1, 14.

(2) *xxi*, 22.

(3) *xxi*, 23; *xxii*, 5.

(4) *xxii*, 1-2.

(5) Most exegetes agree that Revelation speaks of both Christ and the Church. In this respect, it must be said that the commentary of Ticonius on the Apocalypse has contributed much to this. Ticonius is the Donatist of whom we shall speak in vol. 11, ch. iv. He composed a commentary on the Apocalypse, lost, but which inspired many commentators. [Cfr HAHN, *Ticonius- Studien (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, vi, 2), Leipzig, 1900.] Thus BEDE begins his commentary on the Apocalypse with a statement of the rules of Ticonius, P.L., xcm, 131. Likewise ALCUIN, P.L., c, 1087. According to S. MARTIN OF LEON, the subject of the Apocalypse is *Christi et Ecclesiae sacramenta, mystica et arcana nuptiarum Christi et Ecclesiae*,

Thus, that they may know the meaning of history, which has such

profane and sometimes scandalous appearances, Jesus reveals to John - ἀποκαλύπτω, to unveil - and through John to Christians, the meaning of events, of all events. The great prophecy covers all the centuries, those of the beginning and those to come; and if it is arduous, and sometimes childish, to seek in it the announcement of political revolutions which seem formidable to us, but which, in the balance of eternity, are so slight, it is always true to seek in it the eternal meaning, the only one that counts, of the whole course of events. Through everything, reveals the

P.L., ccix, 299. Cfr. well before him, PRIMASIUS, P.L., LXVIII, 800, 802, 803, 934-36. Then AMBROISE AUTPERT, *In sancti Johannis apostoli et evangelistae Apocalypsim libri decem*, Cologne, 1536, see preface (not paginated) and pp. 27 and 29, etc. Likewise RICHARD DE SAINT-VICTOR, *In Apocalypsim Johannis libri septem*, P.L., cxcvi, 685 - *Quid est integra Apocalypsis*, writes CORNELY, *Introductio in S.S.*, t. in, no. 250, Paris, 1886, p. 734, *nisi canticum triumphale atque nuptiale Christi post victoriam de omnibus hostibus nuptias cum Ecclesia celebrantis?* cfr *Ibid*, no. 249, p. 733. It is MANGENOT, in VACANT's *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, t. 1, col. 1478. E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Saint John. L'Apocalypse* (Paris, 1921, *Études bibliques*), pp. iv-v, has similar things. There would be a study to be made, on this subject, on the history of the commentaries on the Apocalypse. Elements of it would be found in such works as E.-B. ALLO, O.P., *Op. laud.*, and W. BOUSSET, *die Offenbarung Johannis*, 6^e edition, Gottingen, 1906; but the main work should be done on the pieces themselves. It would be a question of seeing to what extent and in what ways the consideration of the mystical body has played a role in the exegesis of the Apocalypse. We see, in fact, on a first examination, that sometimes this mystical body is the authentic mystical body, that is to say, the Church, and that sometimes it is a group of characters who are supposed to be more spiritual, more united to the Spirit; we also see that sometimes this mystical body is conceived simply as the dogma describes it, and sometimes it is represented in the manner of the visionaries. We know that the fratricelles and the "spirituals," using JOACHIM DE FLORE's *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, wanted to see in the Apocalypse the announcement of a new Christianity, of a new mystical body, animated by the Holy Spirit. See for example UBERTIN OF CASALE (xivth century), *Arbor vitae crucifixae*, Venice, 1485 (cfr 2^a prol., f. 3; 1. 4, ch. 7, f. 152). See also Augustine Favaroni, whose work, still unpublished: *In Apocalypsim sancti Johannis, tractatus tres priores, ad Carolum de Malatesta, quorum primus inscribitur de sacramento unitatis Christi et Ecclesiae sive de Christo integro, secundus...* etc. was condemned at the Council of Basel in 1435. He taught, as reported, that Christ sins and has always sinned in his members; that the elect alone are members of Christ,

The pains of the first century, like those of today and tomorrow, prepare and veil a return. The sorrows of the first century, like those

of today and tomorrow, prepare and veil a return. Lest patience should grow weary, Jesus himself, through the ministry of John, gives assurance of it to the churches, "Behold, through all that is coming, I am coming."

Thus, Christ had already spoken to Paul, telling him that in the Church, the one who is persecuted and the one who comes to the aid of his own is himself. And this word of the Savior was the origin and the seed of all the Apostle's teaching.

This same word is found at the source of John's teaching. Christ, the faithful witness (1), always bears the same testimony. At the end of the apostolic era, as at the beginning, he affirms to the persecuted Church that he is with her every day.

In this way, Revelation announces the fourth Gospel. Here again, of course, there are many differences. As much as the one book is tumultuous and full of colors, the other is calm and as if it were all interior. The first is written by the son of thunder, the other by the disciple whom Jesus loved.

But both are by the same John. The Apocalypse is a prelude to the teaching that the Gospel will give on the Word and on the incarnation (2). At times, it even speaks in advance in the same tone: its beginning and its end are characteristic from this point of view. Here, for example, are a few lines from one of the letters to the churches:

I rebuke and correct those whom I have in my heart, so be zealous and be converted.

(1) *Apoc.* i, 5; iii, 14.

(2) Similarly, the name of lamb is given to Christ only in 1 Apocalypse and the Gospel. From the introduction Jesus is presented on the same throne as the Father, 1:2-5; and at the same time He "receives" from the Father, to take a formula from the Gospel, cf. *ibid.* and the finale, xxi:16-21.

Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat the evening meal with him, and he with me.

I will give him who overcomes to sit with me on my throne, just as I also overcame and sat with my Father on his throne.

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

But these are only similarities of detail. There is another important point where the resemblance between the two works is more striking: it is the way of conceiving Christ. We will see, in these few chapters, that the Savior, for the evangelist, is exactly the Savior described in the Apocalypse: a Christ who comes to live in men.

In this sense, Revelation is a source of the Fourth Gospel. Not necessarily that the visions it recounts or other visions gave John any new information about the life or doctrine of Jesus. But it did help him to understand what the Saviour had said during his mortal life, and it did help him to see how, even then, Christ was the life of the Church. John reports only what the twelve saw and heard as well as he did. But he, instructed by God, aided in his work of recollection by the visions of Patmos and by the grace of inspiration, in what all perceived, grasped more.

It seems, moreover, that this external vision has not

(1) *Apoc.* ni, 19-22. See also, after the initial salutation, the opening doxology, especially its beginning: 'To him who loves us and has loosed us from our sins in his blood and has made us royalty (ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν) priests to God his Father, -to him be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.' (1, 5-6). - Τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς; these words bring to mind the beloved disciple, ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος δὲν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, of the Gospel. See also the last chapters, especially xxn, 16-21; xxi, 1-7.

It was accompanied, preceded or followed by an interior illumination. Of this second means which God seems to have used to prepare the sacred author for his work, it will be well to say a word now. This is how Providence had acted with Paul a little more than half a century before: at the moment of the objective vision which he had on the road to Damascus, or shortly afterwards, he received an interior grace which, within himself, made him see Christ. In the same way, John: God, who had given him to see the dazzling visions of Patmos, who had also given him to see the gentle and humble appearance of the Master in Judea, gave him to understand within himself how these two manifestations were explained by each other, and how the Christ he had contemplated in the past was the one who always lives in the Church and suffers in the Church.

We do not know whether it was an extraordinary illumination, visions, interior words, or the certainty of grace and faith. God did not deem it appropriate to leave us anything but clues as to the paths he had John follow. But, fortunately, these are numerous enough.

Let us note first that the apostle had time. He wrote sixty or seventy years after the events: that is a long time to live by his memories. Moreover, he was both contemplative and ardent, one of those souls that are quick to be moved and deepen (i). His way of thinking, which is reflected in his writings, is to come back to the same things over and over again, to take them up in successive streams in order to penetrate them better and push them further. In the Apocalypse, for example, there is, among other things, a single theme, but one that he says over and over again, the idea that Christ is coming. In the Gospel and in the epistles, there are some ideas, those of light, life, charity, faith, which he mentions endlessly and often within each other. His very sentence only advances by repeating itself. And yet, despite

(i) *Mk.* ni, 17; *Le.* ix, 54-56. This character is reflected in the fourth Gospel, 1, 38; ni, 19-21; *χvιτ*, 15*16, etc,

these perpetual repetitions, there is nothing of a disorder; all is calm and clear, and the lines, entering into each other, organize themselves (i).

Moreover, as a final clue, the object that occupies this contemplative is particular. It is Christ, but a Christ who declares that he dwells in souls, and souls in him. He even promises, and this suggestive detail is carefully noted, that the day will come when the disciples will know that he is in the Father, and they in him, and he in them; when they will see him, for he will manifest himself to them (2).

Did not this promised day have its dawn for John here below? This is a mere supposition, of course; but in the matter at hand, the slightest glimmer of light has its price.

Time, therefore, would have passed, doing its work of decanting and simplifying; the memories, in this soul which is occupied by a single thought and a single love, would have been brought together and organized: their ensemble, in the long run, harmoniously grouping all the features, would have drawn a single image. And Christ, who lives in souls, would not have allowed this work to be done alone: inspiring grace and divine assistance, and perhaps also, to a degree we cannot specify, the revealing light, would have presided over the psychological elaboration; so that, when it was finished, it would have been the operation of God through the reflections of John, and much more the work of God than the reflection of John. Through it, a second time, the Savior would have manifested himself to the disciple he loved, no longer only before his eyes, but in his

(1) See especially the passages of the Gospel where John appears more, i, 16-18; ni, 16-21, 31-36. See also i:4; vm, 12; *I Joh.* 1:7; 11:9; ni:13-20, 23-24; iv:7, ii:21.

(2) Ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με, βεῖ ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε. *Joh.* χιν, 19. The present tense θεωρεῖτε introduced by ἐτι μικρόν has the sense of a very near future. "I live, and ye shall live" seems to be an expression for saying, Ye shall live, ye are already living, with me, as I live, of my life. - Note again xiv, 20: ' Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς, etc. - And again χιν, 21: Ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με... ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν. Cfr χιζ, 24, 28. - Cfr also χιν, ιδ: "I will not leave you orphans, says Jesus, I come to you, ἐρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς." - "I will see you again >. xvi, 22.

not to teach him anything new, but to make him understand better what he had originally seen and heard.

The very first event had taken place one evening on the banks of the Jordan, and John had never forgotten the details. Jesus had passed by, the Baptist had pointed to him as the salvation of the world, and two disciples, John and Andrew, had wordlessly followed the Master; he had turned and said to them, "Come.

So they came and saw where he was staying.

And they stayed with him that day.

It was about the tenth hour (i).

The second time was during the long vigil which followed Pentecost; we do not know the day, the hour, or the place; perhaps it lasted a long time. Before the vision of Patmos, or at the same time, or after, once again, John said nothing.

But he wrote his Gospel.

The Gospel itself tells us what preoccupations the one who composed it had. John makes no secret of it: in writing, he has a thesis (2), and this thesis he formulates as often as he can (3).

(1) *J oh.*, i, 35-39. Here are the last words: Καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐμείναν την ἡμέραν ἐκείνην - ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη.-Μένω will become the ordinary expression of our mystical life in Christ; cf. below, ch. ix.

(2) Cfr H. RONGY, *le But du quatrième Évangile*, in *Revue ecclésiastique de Liège*, t. xxiv, 1933, p. 201 (see p. 213).

(3) At the beginning and end of the Gospel, at the beginning and end of the first epistle. All these passages are closely connected with each other: the end of the Gospel, xx, 31, corresponds to *I Joh.* v, 13. These two passages are situated a little before the end of the work and are very similar in wording. On the other hand, *I Joh.* i, 1-4, corresponds to 1, 1-14, of the Gospel: both passages have the same vocabulary, the same theme, a similar structure. They resemble each other

Thus stated in the inspired account, this thesis is inspired like the rest. It was God who saw fit to communicate it to us, lest, in reading the sacred verses, we should not understand all that He meant by

them.

Now, this thesis is this. The Gospel aims to make us know what Christ is in himself, and what he is for us: it is written so that we may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, that we are in him and that in him we have life. It is a double thesis, but its parts are closely linked: it is because he is God that Christ can vivify us, and it is by believing in his divinity that we receive his life in us. In the supernatural order, we are inseparable from him: this is what the Apocalypse announced.

The author says so, giving the conclusion of his Gospel:

Jesus, therefore, performed many other miracles in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book.

And these were written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God,

and that by believing you may have life in his name (i).

Two goals, therefore: to show that Jesus is the Son of God, and to inspire faith in Christians; and two goals that do not make it

like two eggs, says B. GIUSTINIANI: *Si quis forte dubitaret an hujus epistolae auctor esset Johannes evangelista, hoc exordium nullum relinqueret ambigendi locum. Tam enim est ejus Evangelii principio simile quam ovum ovo (In omnes catholicas epistolas explanationes, Lyon, 1621, 1.11, p. 17)*. It should be noted then that the two passages taken from the epistle are very similar to each other. They have the same structure: at the beginning, a development on life, then the affirmation of our communion with this life. As to the more general question of the relation between the Gospel and the first epistle, we need not consider it here closely. It is sufficient for our purpose that the doctrine of the two writings is very similar, and that they are sufficiently related to each other that we may look to the one for clarification of the other.

(1) *J oh.*, xx, 31. Ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

It is enough to believe that Jesus is the Son, in order to have, through him, in his name, eternal life.

The first epistle of John, so closely related to the Gospel, repeats

in its last verses the same statement (i), and with emphasis. The testimony of God to His Son has been mentioned.

And this is the testimony," she continued,
is that God has given us eternal life, and that this life is in his Son:
He who has the Son has life; he who does not have the Son does not have life.

And John emphasizes his statement:

These things I have written to you, that you may know that you have eternal life, who believe in the name of the Son of God.

...We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us understanding, that we may know the True One; and we are in that True One, in his Son Jesus Christ.

He is the true God and the eternal life.

Little children, beware of idols (2).

THE END OF THE EPISTLE

(a) Ταυτα έγγραψα

(b) να είδητε... [τοῖς πιστεύουσιν

(έγραψα)]

(c) βτι ζωήν έχετε αλώνιον

(d) [πιστεύουσιν] είς τδ βνοματοῦ

υίου του θεού.

(2) *I Job*-" v, u-ř3>Σ 4> 19-21. This is after the verse of the three witnesses (v, 7). The text continues (v, 9), "If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater; and this is indeed the testimony of God, who bore witness to His Son. He who believes in the Son of God has this testimony in himself; he who does not believe God makes him a liar, since he has not believed the testimony which God has given to his Son." There follows the passage quoted in the text which ends the epistle: Καί αύτη έστίν ή μαρτυρία, βτι ζωήν αιώνιον έδωκεν δ θεός ήμιν, και αυτή ζωή έν τφ υιφ αύτου έστιν- δ έχων τδν υλόν έχει τήν ζωήν δ μή έχων τδν υλόν του θεού τήν ζωήν ουκ έχει. Ταυτα έγγραψα ύμιν ίνα είδητε δτι ζωήν έχετε αλώνιον, τοις πιστεύουσιν είς τδ βνομα του θεού.

Always the same two aims: to show that Christ is God and eternal life, and to show that, in this Christ, or in the name of this Christ, which amounts to the same thing (1), we have eternal life and we are united to God. Even more clearly than in the first passage, these two aims are one and the same: it is by explaining how Christ is life that we will show how he is life for us.

The first few verses of the same letter make exactly the same sound, except that John speaks more explicitly of the union - κοινωνία - which unites us in Christ and, through Christ, to God. We know this beautiful passage, so similar to the prologue of the Gospel:

What was in the beginning," he writes, "what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what our hands have touched, of the Word of life - for the life has been manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness to it, and proclaim to you the eternal life, which was in the Father and has been manifested to us. What we have heard and seen we declare to you, that you also may have fellowship with us, and our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. And we write these things that your joy may be complete.

John is therefore going to write about what he is an eyewitness to: the manifestation of the eternal life which has made its way here below. But this is not the only object: he is thinking of the Christians too, and his thought is to bring them all by his account to a

(1) Here, as often in the New Testament, the formula "the name of Christ" is therefore only a more solemn expression to designate Christ himself. Sic S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Joh. hom.* LXVIII, P. G., LIX, 475. Cf. in the Acts, the formula: baptize in the name of Christ.

(2) Ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, δ ἀκηκόαμεν, δ ἑώρακάμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἔθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, -καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη, καὶ ἑώρακαμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν, -δ ἑώρακαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν, ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν. καὶ ἡ κοινωνία δέ ἡ ἡμετέρα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Τῆ σου Χρίστου, καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ἡμεῖς ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ἡμῶν ἡ πεπληρωμένη. *I Joh.*, 1, 1-4-
 communion, κοινωνία (i), which unites them both to each other, and to the Father and the Son.

This prologue of the letter leads us to the prologue of the Gospel:

it too contains the same double affirmation. It even gives it with new indications, and also with a closer unity and a greater fusion, if one can speak in this way, of the ideas one into the other. So we must study it more closely.

Let us see first of all the explicit indications. The evangelist, in beginning his work, sets himself a goal: he will speak, he says, of the Word as he became flesh, that is, as he is one with his humanity. But at the same time, he

(i) Κοινωνία returns twice more, a few verses further on, *I Joh.*, i, 6 and 7. "If we say that we have fellowship (κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν) with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not practice the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he himself is in the light, we have fellowship (κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν) with one another, and the blood of Jesus, his Son, cleanses us from all sin." The word does not come elsewhere in St. John. St. Paul sometimes replaces it in a similar sense: "God is faithful, who has called you into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord." *I Cor.*, 1:9. - Κοινωνία του αγίου πνεύματος. *II Cor.* xni, 13. cfr *Phil.* π, i. - Κοινωνία παθημάτων αὐτοῦ. *Phil.* in, 10. - The meaning of the word here, according to Denys the Carthusian, is "a supernatural union and assimilation through charity and grace and the other gifts of the Holy Ghost." *Enarratio in epistolas J oh., in illud, Opera omnia*, t. xiv, Montreuil, 1901, p. 4. - In the same sense B. GIUSTINIANI, S. J., *In omnes catholicas epistolas explanationes, in illud*, t. 11, Lyon, 1621, p. 85. - Salmeron explains this κοινωνία by the mystical body. *Commentarii in Evangelia, actus apostolorum et epistolas*, Cologne, 1612-1615, t. xvi, p. 164. - It is the communion of saints, say, in *illud*, CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, *In epist. canonicas*, Antwerp, 1717, p. 430, and NOEL ALEXANDRE, *Commentarius in omnes epistolas S. Pauli et in VII epist. catholicas*, Rouen, 1710, pp. 194, 196. J. LORIN, taken up by CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, speaks of Christ and of God "who influences us with an immediate, interior and life-giving influence", "as explained in the parable of the shepherd and the sheep, of the head and the members", J. LORIN, S.J., *In catholicas tres beati Johannis et duas beati Petri epistolas commentarii*, Mainz, 1610, pp. 29-30. - B. WEISS, on the Protestant side, is of the same opinion. It is indeed in the κοινωνία a "mystische übersinnliche Gemein- schaft". *Meyers Komm. in I Cor.* xn. It., J. WEISS, in *I Joh.* and Th. ZAHN, in *Joh.*, xvii, 20. - Cfr, on the meaning of the word in St. Paul, ch. vu, p. 175. will speak of men; for the words by which he designates the Saviour, are of those which best express his expansion over all our race. He calls Him life, light and Son; and this life, he says, is the light of men; and this light, he also says, enlightens all souls; and this sonship, he says again, must give us all the power to become children of God (1). The last words of the prologue are particularly significant from this point of view: the Word, he says, is full of grace and truth, and this fullness, this grace and this truth, he continues, are destined to be poured into us.

He is full of grace and truth (2).

So that from his fullness we have all received, and grace after grace; for the law was given through Moses, grace and truth were made (ἐγένετο) through Jesus Christ (3).

Again and again, one main goal, but one that extends into a second: to speak of Christ God, and in speaking of him, to speak of us who are animated in him by a divine life.

Not even the structure of the prologue does not announce the same teaching. The Incarnation appears there as an individual event, no doubt, but not isolated: at the same time as the Word and his holy humanity, it concerns all men. Indeed, from the beginning, the perspectives are established with this universality. We see, not a finite being before the infinite, but all creation, all that has been made, ἐγένετο, before the Creator who has being in perfection: ἦν.

(i) *J oh.*, i, 4; 4-9; L 12-13.

(2) L 14-

(3) i, 16-17. Let's put the two passages in parallel: Christ is: us:

| | |
|--|---|
| (v. 14) πλήρης χάριτος | (v. 16) ἐκ του πληρώματος αὐτου ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν (v. 16) καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος. |
| καὶ ἀληθείας | ... (v. 17 ^b) ἡ χάρις (v. 17 ^b) καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰ. Χ. ἐγένετο. |
| Cfr S. THOMAS, S. ad <i>Reginaldum</i> , 214. | 7® II ^m , qu. cvin, art. 1, c.; <i>Compendium theologiae</i> |
| Mystical body, I.I. - 1 | 8 |

In the beginning, there was only this most perfect being. Thus the Gospel solemnly opens:

In the beginning was (ἦν) the Word, and the Word was (ἦν) with God, and the Word was (ἦν) God. This one was (ἦν) in the beginning with God.

Then, in contrast, we see the creation.

All things were made (ἐγένετο) by him, and without him nothing was made (ἐγένετο) of what was made (γέγονεν) (i).

Towards this moving being which it has produced, Providence then bows; the Word, which was, ἦν, approaches what was made, ἐγένετο, and works it:

In him was (ἦν) [the] life, and the life was (ἦν) the light of men, and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not understand it.

Was made (ἐγένετο) a man, sent from God. His name [was] John. This one came for [the] testimony, that he might bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him. Not that he (οὐκ ἦν) was the light, but that he might bear witness to the light.

These are only preparations. What must come is the light itself, the light that "is".

Was (ἦν) the true light, that which enlightens every man coming

(1) *Joh. i, 1-3.* - There is, in this distribution of ἦν and ἐγένετο in the prologue, one more reason for adopting the more common punctuation: *Sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est. In ipso vita erat.* The ἦν and ἐγένετο mark the divisions of the piece, as the beginnings of the sentences in verses 6 and 8 in particular show; as the distribution of the verbs employed in the first few verses also clearly shows: first a group of four ἦν, then a group of three ἐγένετο, finally two ἦν. It would not be natural to cut the group of three ἐγένετο in half in order to attach one to the next group of ἦν. Now, this is what one would do by punctuating: *Sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in ipso vita erat.* - On the same opposition, see again *Joh. viii, 58*: "Before Abraham was born (γενέσθαι), I am (εἰμί). > Recall also that in the Apocalypse God has name: ἐ & ν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος (ι, 4, 8, etc.). Yet see *Joh. 1:15, 30.* Cfr P. GAECHTER, *Strophen in Johannesevangelium*, 1, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, t. LX, 1936, pp. 101, ff.

In this world. He was (ἦν) in the world - and the world was made (ἐγένετο) (i) by him - and the world did not know him. He came to his own home, and his own people did not receive him. But as many as received him, to them he gave power to become (γενέσθαι) children of God, to those who believe in his name, who were born not of blood, nor of carnal will, nor of the will of man, but of God (2).

The comparison has gone all the way to the end: the finite things, in the Word, can become children of God (3); what is has been given to what is becoming. And we shall see to what extent this is perfect.

And the Word became flesh - σαρξ ἐγένετο (4).

The two realities are united which, by themselves, are at an infinite distance: the Word, which was, came down among what was made.

And he dwelt among us - καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν (5).

(1) Here again, once more, the opposition between the uncreated and the created is asserted: ἦν, ἐγένετο.

(2) i, 4-13. Instead of 'who were not born of blood... but of God', some authors, e.g. TERTULLIAN (it., ZAHN and LOISY), read: 'who was not born of blood... but of God'. The passage then becomes an affirmation of the supernatural conception of Christ. But this lesson is not probable (cfr LAGRANGE, *in illud*). So even if one accepts this lesson, our adoption in Christ is still mentioned in the passage, in verse 12.

(3) The formulas of the Gospel and the first epistle are similar, and in analogous passages: introduction - either of the Gospel or of the epistle. The epistle says: Τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ βνομα του υἱοῦ του θεοῦ - the Gospel: Τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ βνομα αὐτοῦ. Τέκνα, in the Gospel, takes up the υἱοῦ of the epistle. It is not, therefore, arbitrary to illuminate one passage by the other-especially since, on the whole, the two pieces, as has been said, are very much related.

(4) The present verse (explained by verse 12) is the scriptural fulcrum of the patristic formula so frequently used: The Son of God became man, that men might become sons of God. Cfr S. JOHN CHRYSOS- TOME, *in illud*: Ἐγένετο γὰρ υἱός ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ γνήσιος ὢν υἱός, ἱνατοὺς των ἀνθρώπων υἱούς τέκνα ποιήσῃ θεοῦ, P.G., LIX, 79- Cfr THEOPHYLACTUS, P.G., cxxiii, 1156, etc.

(5) i, 14. Cfr *Apoc.*, vn, 15 and xxi, 3.

He dwelt in us. Not that the evangelist speaks here of the inhabitation of the Word in our souls (1): he only wants to mark how Jesus Christ showed Himself visible, and how he, John, is His eyewitness (2).

But the statement is directed, if we may so express it: the whole context goes to emphasize, in the one incarnation, a union of God with all creation, a boundless κοινωνία.

And in fact, as soon as the affirmation is situated at the center of such an unlimited perspective, John links it to everything around it: the doctrine of the prologue continues in the preaching of John the Baptist and in all the concrete events of the general history of mankind at the moment when Jesus enters into it.

This is the testimony of the beloved apostle, with all the passages in which he explains it.

The synoptics had already shown the Savior as He appeared outside.

But the Holy Spirit did not think that this was enough for us. He prepared him, enlightened him, and helped him to show us the same Christ as he is and as he makes us live in him, the Christ who is within himself and within Christians (3); the Christ who lives with a mysteriously intense life and, at the same time, with a life that is not

only the same, but also the same.

(1) In the opposite sense, S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *in illud*, P.G., LXXIII, 161, ff.

(2) Cfr *I J oh*, i, i, 2 and 3. Cfr the finales of the Gospel, xxi, 24; xx, 30; xix> 35.

(3) The purpose of the Gospel, says G. ESSER, *Religion, Christentum und Kirche*, Kempten, 1913" t- P- 234, is to show that: " der eingeborene Sohn Gottes, eins mit dem Vater, vom Vater ausgegangen und in die Welt gekom- men,. mit den Seinen in innigster Lebensgemeinschaft bleibend, wie der Weinstock mit den Reben, und sie auferweckend am jüngsten Tage, das ist der erhabene Klang der durch die Worte Jesu geht, das Grundthema seiner tiefsinnigen Reden." - LAGRANGE: "The impression which results from the reading of the fourth Gospel is not only that the same spirit circulates in the whole book, but also that this spirit, if one, is in love with unity. Christ, the Son of man, the Son of God, is one, and this Son is one with the Father, and he united himself to human nature by taking on his flesh: he calls all men to truth and at the same time to unity. It is through

wonderfully concrete. And John wrote his Gospel, so that we might know that Jesus is the Son of God and that we, in him, have life.

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Unity is achieved in him when, by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, we become partakers of his life. But one cannot be united with the Son without being

united with the Father. His disciples, who are one with him, will therefore be one with the Father. He and the Father will descend into them, waiting to receive them into the still more perfect unity of the vision. The Holy Spirit, who receives from the Father and the Son, who completes the work of the Son, and who dwells in the disciples, is also in unity and provides unity. We can never penetrate enough into this mystery of intimate and secret union." *St. John*, Paris, 1925, introd, p. CLXXXIV. The author then points out that John shows, in Peter, the center of unity, and he ends his chapter on John the Theologian on this point. - Cf. on the Protestant side, R. SEEBERG, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 1, 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1922, p. m. - "This doctrine of a mystical union in which the higher life flows uninterruptedly from Christ to the believers contains the central and characteristic thought of the fourth Gospel." SCOTT, quoted and reprinted in H. R. MACKINTOSH, *the Doctrine of the Person of J.-C.*, Edinburgh, 1920, p. 336; cfr *Ibid*, p. no.

CHAPTER IX

SAINT JOHN. II. - JESUS, OUR LIFE

CHRIST IN ST. JOHN. He is alive and concrete and, at the same time, the life of his people. A way of showing Christ in all the Gospels.

CHRIST, LIFE. Life received at baptism. Episode of Nicodemus. We must be reborn. Life that the Eucharist sustains. The Capernaum discourse. Incarnation and Eucharist; Jesus, being life itself, pours this life into his own.

CHRIST, LIFE AND LIGHT. Faith and life in Christ. God is light, Christ also. The light announced; then it is affirmed: I am the light of life. The meaning: light in us, which gives us sight. Episode of the blind man. Light also that makes us live. Discourse on the good shepherd.

CHRIST UNITED WITH HIS OWN. Discourse after the Lord's Supper: union with Christ, divinizing union. He dwells in us and we in Him. Meaning of the expression; it refers especially to the humanity of Christ. Comparison with St. Paul. Reciprocal interiority, in the same living organism. The vineyard which the prophets saw is realized in perfection in Christ.

Modern critics have found that the Christ of St. John did not live. They have seen it, of course, through a metaphysical theorem. In truth, when the evangelist wrote, his soul was still burning with the truth he had contemplated, and his body was moved by having touched the Word of life (i).

His God-Man is unspeakably alive (2). We see him

(1) *I Joh.* i, 1-2.

(2) *Joh.* i, 42. Jesus looks (ἐμβλέψας) at Simon and says to him, "You are Simon son of John; your name shall be Peter." This look Simon did not forget. It may be noted that Mark's Gospel, inspired by him, often notes the looks of Jesus: περιβλέπειν. m, 5, 34; v, 32; x, 23; xi, 11; ἐμβλέπειν, x, 21, 27; cfr *Le.*, xxii, 61. - *Joh.*, 1, 43. Jesus said to Philip; "Follow me, > --

tired (1); we can guess that he is indignant (2); we can even feel tears welling up in his eyes (3). He has his gestures, and they are very clear (4); his attitudes, and they are very firm (5); his words, and they are incisive (6), and his way of entering into conversation as a master: "Go and fetch your husband", he says to the Samaritan woman (7); and to Nicodemus: "You are the master of Israel and you do not know these things" (8); and to the crowds: "Why do you want to kill me?" (9) We can even feel his heart beating in words of infinite tenderness. "My little children (10), I am not

Peter has the same fiery love for him as in the Synoptics; *John*, Xin, 8-9. We must also hear Jesus ask, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" (xxi, 15, 16, 17).

(1) *Joh. IV*, 6.

(2) π, 15-17; cfr II, 24; iv, 48; vi, 15.

(3) xi, 35; cfr xiii, 21; it, xn, 27.

(4) So when he quickly makes himself a whip to drive the merchants from the temple, n, 15.

(5) i, 38. He feels himself followed by two disciples; he turns and asks them, "What do you want?" - vu, 37. Standing in the temple, He "cries out," "If any man thirst, let him come to Me." It., vu, 28; xn, 44. - wine, 6. He writes on the ground, surrounded by the accusers of the adulteress. Cfr x, 23-24.

(fi) I, 39: "Come and see." - v, 6: "Wilt thou be healed?" - x, 25: "I tell you, and you do not believe." - xi, 23: "Your brother shall rise again." - xxi, 22: To Peter, who asks him about John, "What do you care? You, follow me!" - He is the one who directs the interview: he intervenes as a very definite personality, To the Pharisees, who clamor against the expulsions of the merchants, "Destroy this temple, and I will build it again in three days." 11:19; To their objections against the healings done on the Sabbath, "My father worketh every day, and I also." v, 17.-Often he answers those who consult him, by barring, as it were, the road which they wish the conversation to take, in order to bring the conversation on higher ground. To the Samaritan woman who spoke of "giving" water, He spoke of another gift: "If you knew the gift of God" (iv. 7); to her, who thought only of material water: "He who drinks of this water will still be thirsty, but he who drinks of the water that I give will no longer be thirsty" (iv. 13, 21). Cf. also ni. 3; vi. 26.

(7) iv, 16; vi, 26 and vu, 6, 16, 27. His commands are formulated in short sentences. 11, 7, 8, ; 1, 43; vi, 10.

(8) ni, 10; cfr ni, 3.

(9) I know my Father, and if I said I did not know him, I would be like you, a liar. Cfr vi, 5.

(10) LAGRANGE, *Saint John*, Paris, 1925, *in illud*: "Jesus has

I will not call you servants, but friends. I will not call you servants, but my friends, for all that my Father has said to me I have said to you also. The Synoptics certainly have more concrete features, but they do not have as many deeply living words. In the whole of the fourth Gospel, we are brought into contact with the very interior of Jesus, with his life, with his "I" (2).

However, this "I" is not one of those closed and always hateful "I" of which Pascal speaks. Imposing itself by that very fact which makes it invasive, it shows itself interior, in law, to every man. In this very fact lies the wonder and, for some, the mystery and the scandal of the Johannine Gospel. The Jesus whose history it traces, whose actions and psychology we perceive in perfect light, is, at the same time and without the one detracting from the other, a mystical reality, that is to say, while being in himself extremely alive, he is also alive in all. It is even in the places where he speaks most of himself, of his life and his excellences, that he also speaks most of his union with men and of the greatness that comes to them from his presence in them.

The most detailed facts of his life, the most concrete and historical, are prolonged in the teachings which he gives on the life of Christians in him, or in the explanations which the apostle gives on the same subject. Between the fact and the doctrine, as between the doctrine and the authentic commentary on it, there is no clearly marked break. And this is understandable: what must be shown is precisely

probably spoken in Aramaic, which could not distinguish τέκνα and τεκνία." The word would therefore be due to John, who would thus render the tone, or other words, in short, the charity of Jesus, which he knew well,

(1) *Joh.* xv, 15 - Cfr xiv-xvi, passim. And now," says Bossuet, "He is going to gather up all his tenderness to give them the precept of fraternal charity. For, in order to proclaim this law of love, he wanted to make his disciples feel hearts all penetrated with tenderness." *Meditations on the Gospel. The Last Supper*, 1, 75® day. - Cfr xi, 5.

(2) Εγώ and καγώ: nearly 150 times, LAGRANGE, *St. John*, pp. CLIX-CLX.

(3) Chapters χiv-χvπ, for example.

that there is no total break; that the fact, that is to say, the actions of Christ, continue in our faith and take on their fullness; that the doctrines proposed by the teacher have their inseparable extension and their completion in the preaching of the Church; that the head and the body, finally, do not make two.

Obviously, only the Word of life can have a story so full of lessons, because only the term of the supreme intellection can be so full of light for our intelligence. Obviously, only the Holy Spirit can be the principal author of a story of this kind, a story which, without ceasing to be concrete and rigorously historical, is at the same time a perpetual doctrine, a doctrine on the eternal life of which Christ lives and of which Christians live in Christ.

Thus it appears throughout the Gospel that the gestures of the Word are verbs (1). The story of the blind man, for example, is accompanied by a teaching on the light which makes our souls clairvoyant; indeed, it is one with this teaching, and this, not by a pedagogical device of the writer, but by the intelligible meaning of the event itself (2). (2) Thus again the resurrection of Lazarus: it is, in the inspired narrative, that is to say in truth, inseparable from a doctrine of the resurrection. (3) Thus everywhere, and even there, we would add, where the sacred narrator has not emphasized the matter, the lesson which concerns us, the word of our life, is one with the history of the Word of life, by which and in which we live.

This is not, moreover, a way of teaching Christ

(1) S. AUGUSTINE, *Tractatus in Johannem*, xxiv, 2, P.L., xxxv, 1593-

(2) *Joh.* ix, 4, 5 and ix, 35-41.

(3) Ch. xi.

(4) This is the case each time John gives "his theology" in the Gospel. Already the prologue brings without any solution of continuity the description of the ministry of John the Baptist (1:15), and then, nevertheless, takes up for three verses, I, 16-18. See also m, 15-21, 31-36; v, 21, 27. See also x, 22-31; xn, 20-50.

The other evangelists also have recourse to it, and, in the very picture they give of the life of Christ, they evoke, as a background, and as an explanation that everything else suggests, the mystical body of this Christ.

The first chapter of this book has tried to show this. St. Mark relates the life of Jesus in such a way that it seems unfinished and even incomprehensible, as long as we do not see in it the beginning and introduction here below of a universal and mystical life. St. Matthew, in reporting the preaching of Christ and the proclamation of the kingdom, teaches that the Church is nothing other than Christ continuing in his own people his presence, his action, his prayer, his magisterium and all his functions. Finally, St. Luke, in writing his Gospel, presents it as the preface and the first part of what will be, in the book of Acts, the history of the nascent Church, as if the total work in two parts were only the picture of one total Christ, but in two states: Christ in his mortal life first, Christ in his mystical life second, but the two making but one complete Christ.

St. Mark by his direct and picturesque narration, St. Matthew by his doctrine of the kingdom, his discourses, his ecclesiology, St. Luke by the economy of his double λόγος, each of the three evangelists by what is most personal and proper, bears witness to the mystic Christ. Thus St. John. He is, among the evangelists, the most spiritual, the most interior, the most meditative, the most theological (i); so are his teachings on the mystical Christ: if they are the repetition and development of the lessons contained in the other Gospels, they are, as we shall see, more

(i) We understand the meaning of the word: John wants to show that Christ is the Son of God. From the beginning his work is directed: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was in God, and the Word was God." I, i. Thus he speaks of Christ in the first verses. In the last verses he will say of us that we are, in this Christ, beloved of God, living of the divine life, xvii, 26; xx, 31.

But they are not detached from the life of Jesus himself. But neither do they detach themselves from the very life of Jesus: the authentic Christ, the only authentic Christ, the one whom God wanted to tell Christians through all the Gospels, is a Christ who lives in the hearts of his own people.

Nowhere in the sacred narratives is there any mention of a Christ who is only an individual, completely separate from others and closed in on himself. Nor, it is worth recalling, is there any mention of it in the preaching of Saint Paul. The Apostle, as we remember, no more than John, no more than Mark, Matthew or Luke, sees a break between the historical life of Christ and his mystical life; the two lives, to him, are one, and it was expressly to describe the history of this marvel of unity that he coined the compound verbs in *συν*, those so peculiar verbs which say at once and that Christ died, rose, and was glorified, and that we, in him, and as it were by the same act, died, rose, and were glorified with him.

What Paul expresses by doing violence to the lexicon, John formulates in his turn, but in calm and collected sentences; for the mystery has become closer. Closer, it is also better known. Its greatness is more apparent; it is no longer just a question of Jesus' last moments, his passion and his glorious life, but of his whole life and of himself. Everything about him has the same richness of reflection: as soon as we look closely, we see the Church living from him and in him (1).

(1) Cfr. *John*, ni, 14-21, 31-36; 1, 16-18; it., ch. v, vi, etc. The very tone in which St. John makes Christ speak is, at the same time as being well accentuated, "penetrating", in the sense that his words are easily transformed, when we read them, into an interior meditation. They are, so to speak, a piece of our inner Christian life "in the making". The Christ who speaks in them is also the Christ within John and within Christians. This virtue of Christ's words makes them catch on: 'Never man spoke as this man speaks, οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος, ὡς οὗτος λαλεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος', seen, 46 say the soldiers sent to take him. And the Pharisees, jealous, to characterize his power of entering into the souls of men and crowds, call him the deceiver (so already in St. Matthew (xxvn, 63): ἐκεῖνος

The very composition of the Gospel thus bears witness, implicitly but strongly, to the mystical Christ; so strong is the Spirit who inspires everything in it to speak to us through everything. But the content of the Gospel bears the same witness with much more vigor. It is this that we must now consider.



This testimony becomes more precise, while remaining identical, as the Gospel develops. From one end to the other, it is a question, from our point of view, of the life given to us in the incarnate Word. But, by successive repetitions, according to his method, John explains better and better how we are animated by this life. The prologue (i), and also the first lines of the epistle (2), outline the order that the author will follow: he will show that the Word is life for us, that he is also light for us, and that in himself he - communicates to us his divine glory (3) and his filiation. This sequence of thoughts is found in the Gospel. In the first chapters, he speaks especially, though not exclusively, of the eternal life which comes to pour itself into our souls; then, especially from the eighth chapter, he adds that this life is light and that, in living it, one's intelligence is open to God. Finally, to conclude, he takes up again these ideas, especially that of life, with a new emphasis, but also by saying, what all the

ὁ πλάνοϛ). "Others said, 'He seduces the crowds.'" *J oh.*, vu, 13. "Would you also have allowed yourselves to be seduced?" vu, 47. Cfr *J oh.*, ni, 26; xi, 48; xn, 19. It., *Mk.*, i, 37. - Besides, Jesus himself knows this penetrating power of his word: "My sheep," he says, "know my voice." x, 4, 5, 14, 16, 27. "The good shepherd calleth the sheep by name: κατ' ὄνομα." x, 3.

(2) Life: v, 4; - light: w. 4-11; - communicated glory and sonship: w. 12-13.

(3) *I J oh.* : Life: w. 1-2; light: vv. 5-7; filiation is replaced here by κοινονία with the Father and the Son, Jesus Christ: v. 3. -Cfr A. CHARUE, *Vie, lumière et gloire dans saint Jean*, in *Collationes Namurcenses*, t. xxix,^T 935> PP- 65 and 229.

(4) S. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In cant. horn*, xv, P.G., XLIV, 1116-1117, explains that the glory of the Son is to send the Spirit of adoption.

MAN OF THE GOSPEL HAS THIS POINT OF VIEW 237 book, moreover, already implied that this life is the eternal life and that by communicating itself to us in Christ, it makes us all, in Christ,

children of God.

Secondary order, obviously. In the first line, the plan indicated by the prologue marks the stages of the struggle between life and death, between light and darkness. But it is an order which extends, in a way, under the main plan, and which details, one after the other, the different aspects of this new life which comes to take us from our death. That it was explicitly intended by St. John we would not dare to affirm; but what does it matter? If it is there, it is because the inspiring Spirit wanted it to be there, and what more could we want? Was he followed rigorously by the author? Certainly not: John is not one of those analytical minds that advance without anticipating or retelling: he unites everything; but his thought, nevertheless, proceeds with a very sure and even methodical step. To expose his doctrine, we see no better order to follow than the order of this secondary plan: Christ life, Christ light, Christ uniting his own in himself, as he, the Son, is united to the Father.

First of all, then, the Gospel is anxious to say that Jesus is the life, and that, by believing in him, we have eternal life (1). Also,

(1) Καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. *I Joh.*, ι, 2. - "And I know that his commandment is eternal life," says Jesus of the Father, to end the last discourse of the public life, xii, 50. - So also begins the priestly prayer, "Thou hast given him authority over all flesh, that, whatever thou hast given him, he may give him eternal life." xvii, 2. - "He is true God and eternal life. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος." This is the penultimate verse of the epistle. The last is a moral recommendation, "My little children, keep yourselves from idols." The Gospel, in 4^e verse, also says that life was in the Word, i:4 and v, 25. In addition, Jesus declares that He is the life: "I am the resurrection and the life." xi, 25. "I am the way, the truth, and the life." xiv, 6. In the Apocalypse Jesus is called the one who lives, ὁ ζών, i, 18. And the Apocalypse ends with the same preaching of life, "He that is thirsty, let him come; he that will, let him take of the water of life, freely." xxii, 17. This water of life (ὕδωρ ζωῆς) is the Chnst itself, cfr xxii, 20.

238 P. I, CH. IX. - S. JOHN. II. JESUS, OUR LIFE

As soon as the first two chapters, which can be considered as chapters of presentation, in which Jesus makes himself known to different people and in different qualities, are finished, there come, linked together, several events: two facts and two speeches, all of which have the same subject. This is the episode of Nicodemus, with the reflections which follow it, and the testimony of John the Baptist,

also followed by reflections. This whole ensemble, which fills the third chapter, speaks of baptism, that is, of our entry into true life.

Everyone knows the alert account of the interview with Nicodemus, one of the leading Jews. The Sanhedrite, who was upright but fearful, it seems, and very concerned about what people would say, came to Jesus during the night. It was a spring night (1), and the breeze filled the air with the first scents. The setting is precise, the iron framework of the lived details solidly supports the episode. But soon, and without leaving this solid support, we will enter into the ineffable, with John as our guide, or rather, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Nicodemus, therefore, as a courteous man and friend of - discussion, greets Jesus as a rabbi, but a rabbi sent by God:

He said, "Teacher, we know that you have come from God as a teacher, for no one can do the miracles you do unless God is with him.

But Jesus suddenly throws him into the sea:

Truly, truly, I say to you, no one who is not born from above can have the kingdom of God.

Here we are at the heart of the mystery. The time is not for

(2) Probably the first interview took place around the feast of Passover (n, 23), the first year of public life.

(3) *Joh.* in, 2.

(4) in, 3-

It is a question of a new life, the only really serious one, and in order to exist, one must be born a second time:

No one can enter the kingdom of heaven unless he is born of water and the spirit. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; that which is born of the spirit is spirit.

A new order of realities is established; it is mysterious, like its origins:

The wind blows where it wills, and you hear its voice, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the spirit.

The spring breeze blows, we hear it; but it comes from unsuspected beaches and goes towards unknown regions: of all its action, we know only the small corner where we listen. This breeze, which is real, is also a symbol: it represents an immense life, wider even than space and time, into which we are plunged when we are reborn and of which we know only the tiny place through which we enter eternity.

This is what Jesus is leading to:

... that whosoever believeth may have eternal life in him [in the Son of man].

For God so loved the world, that he gave [his] only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

The prospects of this world are gone; there is no more death to come, no more judgment.

He who believes in him [in the Son] is not judged. He who does not believe is already judged, because he has not believed in the name of God's only Son.

Now, this is what the judgment is: that the light is

(1) *Joh. in*, 5, 6.

(2) *in*, 8.

came into the world, and men preferred darkness to light, because their works were evil...

He who believes in the Son has eternal life (i).

All of this third chapter therefore speaks of the first coming of life into us, that is, of baptism.

The next two chapters do not have the same importance for our subject. They are different episodes, teachings and miracles. However, their two main passages, those which have the most doctrinal significance, contain some verses which we must collect. These are the story of the Samaritan woman, and that of the paralytic healed at the pool. Christ declares, at Jacob's well, that it is to him that we must ask for living water, that which quenches thirst for ever and becomes in the soul a spring welling up to eternal life. He also declares, with regard to the sick person whom he has healed, that he is the absolute master of life.

The Father, he says, raises the dead and makes them live. So the Son gives life to whomever he wishes.

So that the Father does not judge anyone; but He has handed over the whole judgment to the Son.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath eternal life, and is not put into judgment, but hath passed from death unto life.

After these various features, we come to the sixth chapter, which again speaks only of life. Only, it is no longer a question of the first bestowal of life, but of its preservation and growth: it is the discourse on the Eucharist, following the talk on baptism.

Here again, we are in the midst of the realities of the story. The bread has run out, Philip has made the calculation: it would be necessary to buy two hundred denarii and more, if we

(1) *St. John*, in, 15-16, 18-19, 36.

(2) v, 21-24; cfr iv, 10-14.

He wanted to give everyone even a small piece. Jesus, however, will feed all these people, and so in the thick, high grass the five thousand men sat down and ate the miraculous food. Then came the storm during the night, then the calm restored on the lake by Jesus and the arrival at Capharnaum, and finally, the return of the men who also crossed the Sea of Tiberias. The setting, again, is real: sails, ropes, the waves of the sea, and the bread given to these fishermen. But all this is the beginning of a doctrine. Jesus is going to raise all this from the earthly plane to the heavenly plane; the episode will continue without interruption and everything will take on a meaning, its full meaning, in contact with the Word. The bread that these people received and that perishes is nothing; only the food that remains, that is worth for the eternal life and that the Son of God gives, counts.

Truly, I say to you, Moses did not give you the bread from heaven, but my Father gives you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world.

I am the bread of life: he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst.

For this is my Father's will, that everyone who sees the Son and believes in him should have eternal life. And I will raise him up at the last day.

Jesus is the bread par excellence, for he has life in abundance, enough to give life to all his people. So we must see him in the Eucharist, in the act of his gift, in order to understand all that he is. The teaching continues, underlining this last point, and always without separation from the concrete. The thought of the manna that the fathers ate serves as a starting point:

They ate the manna in the desert and died. This is the bread that came down from heaven: he who eats it does not die.

(1) *Joh.* vi, 32, 33, 35, 4°-

I am the living bread (ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν) that came down from heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he shall live forever. And the bread that I will give is my flesh, [delivered] for the life of the world.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,

and drink his blood, ye have no life in yourselves. He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day... He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.

This is the living bread that came down from heaven, not such as the fathers ate, and they died. He who eats this bread will live forever (i).

Jesus said this in a synagogue instruction in Caphar-naûm.

Jesus says who he is: a man in the flesh, and also the Son of God and the life of man. And all this is one. His Eucharist is not separable from his incarnation; it is so closely related to it that he speaks of both at the same time and that commentators do not easily divide what has to do with the hypostatic union and what deals with the holy sacrament. Such is the life that Jesus Christ is for his own: it is himself, himself become food, himself making his own live from him as he lives from the Father.

These verses overflow with meaning: tradition, as we shall see, will discover in them the magnificence of doctrine. For the moment, we will content ourselves with commenting on them by means of a few ideas that Saint John proposes in other places.

Christians," he says, "and we can understand this from those who eat this bread, Christians have in them something greater than themselves (2); a kind of divine seed, *semen Dei* (3), has been deposited in their breasts; they are in germ (4), therefore, and what they

(1) *Joh*, VI, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58.

(2) *I Joh*. iv, 4.

(3) ^e Whoever is born of God, does not practice sin, because the seed of God (σπέρμα θεού) dwells in him." *I Joh*., ni, 9.

(4) "Beloved, we are now children of God, and what we shall be has not yet been manifested; but we know that when it is manifested we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is." *I Joh*. ni, 2.

are so little in the open (1) that, for themselves, in what they have received of greater and more beautiful, they are objects of faith.



Therefore, in order to know themselves accurately, they need a new light. In fact, from the seventh chapter onwards, Jesus, while still speaking of life, insists on the truth and clarity which, through faith, those who unite themselves to him will receive (2). As the account of his miracles and actions continues, the mystical teaching takes on its fullness.

Faith, light, truth. Faith, as we know, is one of the great ideas of the fourth Gospel, and is even its goal, since it was written entirely so that we might believe that Jesus is God and have life in him. Faith, moreover, is the condition of life; without it, one cannot possess eternal life (3) and, with it, just by listening to Jesus, the sheep of the fold will receive life in them (4). "Whoever lives and believes in me," says Jesus, (πας ο ζών καί πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ) "shall never die (5); he shall have the light of life" (6), or, as the prologue of the Gospel says, "the life which is light" (7).

(1) *Joh.* xiv, 19-21. Same idea in *I Cor.* 11:10-12.

(2) The question most often asked in this part of the book is that of the person of Christ: "Who are you? Cfr vin, 25, 53; ix, 17, 36; x, 24; xn, 24. - In so far as it relates to this question, this part has its introduction in ch. vu, verses 4, 11, 15, 25, 28, 41. It has its climax in ch. xi. See J. HUBY, *De la connaissance de foi en saint Jean*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xxi, 1931, P- 3[^]5*

(3) Very frequent formula: ni, 15, 16, 36; v, 24; vi, 40, 47; x, 27-28; xi, 25; xvii, 2-3; cfr xn, 47-50. See also xiv, 12: "He that believeth in Me shall do the works that I do"; that is, (xiv, 10), "the works that the Father, dwelling in Me, does. The connection between the two passages suggests that the power of believers will come to them from Christ abiding in them. See also xx, 31; cf. *I Joh.* v, 13.

(4) Ch. x. Cfr v, 37-47; ni, 33-36; x, 25-30.

(5) xi, 25, 26.

(6) "Ἐξεῖ το φως της ζωής, wine, ἵ2.

(7) Καί ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φως. I, 4-

In the first epistle, it is the divinity that is light. To be with God, then, is to be in the light, in the eternal light, and charity, especially fraternal charity, is what brings us into this radiant atmosphere.

In the Gospel, it is Christ, properly speaking, who is light (2).

A few splendid words in chapter seven prepare the statement. It is the feast of tabernacles, there is a rush in the temple. Now, on the last day, the most solemn,

Jesus stood and cried out, "If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink who believes in me. As the Scripture has said, *rivers of living water will flow from his bosom.*"

He said this of the spirit that would be received by those who would believe in him. For there was no spirit yet, because Jesus had not yet been glorified (3).

Jesus had not yet died for us, so the outpouring of the Spirit had not yet taken place. But that does not change what he is in himself. Also, at the same Feast of Tabernacles,

Jesus spoke to them again, saying, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.

And the same statement comes up several times. Thus, he says at the end of his ministry:

(1) *I Joh.*, i, 5-7. This passage is connected with the opening verses of the epistle by 1 idea and word of ἀγγελία, ἀγγέλλομεν (i, 2-3, 5); it also indicates the subject of John's "proclamation," "gospel." - *I Joh.*, 11, 7-11. This, says the text, is 1 ἐντολή par excellence, that is, the moral doctrine of Christianity: the light of charity.

(2) Illumination and vivification are, moreover, related. Compare *I Joh.* n, 7-9, to ni, 14-15, and iv, 7-14; it, 1, 5-8, to 1, 1-4. See also in the Gospel, in, 19-21, compared with in, 15-16; vin, 12; - ix, 39, and x, 10. - Faith regenerates, in, 7, 15-16; - and quickens, m, 15-16, 36, passim.

(3) *Joh.*, vu, 37-39: ὁπω γάρ ἦν πνεῦμα. The Vulgate adds *datum*, the codex of Boesy: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, which is, moreover, the meaning of the passage.

(4) wine, 12.

I, the light, ἐγὼ φῶς, have come into the world, that whoever believes in me should not abide in darkness (1).

The whole part of the Gospel that goes from the Eucharistic discourse to the passion is included between these two statements. The Lord affirms that he is light. But this light is not primarily the clarity in which things are bathed: it is above all the limpidity that makes the eye luminous. For the Hebrews, in fact, the eye was the creator of clarity in us, it was, for us, light and torch, and it is according to these conceptions that Jesus expresses himself (2).

The story of the blind man, which serves as the center of these teachings, is characteristic. In it Jesus shows that he is light, and light because he makes our eye able to illuminate us all.

We have already alluded to these pages, realistic as an account, and yet symbolic, because the Word plays a role in them. Everything follows its own movement, but everything moves towards a meaning. Thus, in heaven, we will understand the whole of history as a journey towards Christ.

Jesus gives the word, right from the first lines:

We have to do the works of him who sent me while it is day; then comes night, when no one can work.

While I am in the world, I am the light of the world (3).

Then he made mud with his saliva and rubbed it into the eyes of the blind man - always the same union between our prose and the splendors of the universe - and the blind man saw. He saw, but this brilliant miracle bothered the Pharisees and scribes, who were used to their half-light. They rebelled and would not believe; but the blind man bore witness to the light that made him see, and deserved greater light: he believed.

(1) *Joh.* xii, 46. The same statement is already implied in verses 32-36: there Jesus declares that His death will be the extinction of the light.

(2) *The.* xi, 34-35-

(3) *Joh.* ix, 4-5.

Then Jesus said, "I have come into this world to bring about discernment, so that those who do not see may see, and those who see may become blind.

Thus the concrete facts and the revelation of Christ unfold in the same movement; the same Spirit leading the narrative, which also led the Saviour in the days of His mortal life.

Jesus, then, is light, and his very actions show that he is a light that must penetrate us, to make us light too.

Jesus therefore said to them, "Yet a little while, the light is near you. Walk while you have the light, that the darkness may not overtake you; for he who walks in darkness knows not where he goes. While you have the light, believe in the light, that you may be sons of light.

This light is not a cold phosphorescence. As we have already seen, John represents it as life, as a light of life. Also, in connection with it, the evangelist, who likes to explain at the same time everything that is dear to him, will begin again to speak of life; not like Paul, by tumultuous connections, but in his own way, by insensitive transition. Or rather, because it is always necessary to go back to the principle, the inspiring Spirit who showed through Paul how much these supernatural things, whatever one may think, are linked together, shows through John how much their linkage is natural.

Moreover, it was Jesus himself who showed the connection. On the day of the healing of the blind man, he already saw the time of Calvary approaching, and he wanted to prepare the minds of the twelve for those hours when the light would not be with them (3).

(1) *Joh.* ix, 39.

(2) xii, 36.

(3) The death of Christ and the reason for it were discussed at the very beginning of the first Gospel. See, for example, the first speech of the teacher to

This is what He did, especially in the double discourse on the good shepherd, which is found in chapter ten. The discourse is closely connected with the episode of the blind man; the priests of Israel have put the miracle-worker out of their synagogue, which is like their own fold. Jesus takes him back into his own fold, among the sheep who believe in him and who, through their faith, live off him.

The sheep listen to his [the good shepherd's] voice, and his own sheep he

calls by name and leads them away. When he has brought out all his own, he goes before them. And the sheep follow him, because they know his voice (1).

So from him who is light, the sheep receive light. And from him who is life, they receive life. For the whole flock is not only attached to the shepherd because it follows him; it is attached to him by the very flow of the life it lives. For the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep, and he lays down his life for his sheep, and the time is near when he will sacrifice himself for his own.

I have come that [the sheep] may have life, and that they [Γ] may have abundance.

And I offer my life for my sheep.

My sheep hear my voice. And I know them. And they follow me.

And I give them eternal life (2).

And, in fact, events are going to be precipitated. After this double discourse, Jesus withdraws to the other side of the Jordan, and it is there that he is told of Lazarus' illness. It is from there that he goes to raise his friend from the dead, and thus to show that he is the resurrection and the life.

Nicodemus. However, it is only from the tenth chapter onwards that Jesus prepares his people for his departure. It is, but less marked, the same order as that of Saint Mark.

(1) x. 3. 4> 14-

(2) *Joh.* x, 10, 15, 27-28.

I am the resurrection and the life.

He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall not die for ever.

And the resurrection of Lazarus is the miracle that decides the Sanhedrin to put the Savior to death.



* *

But this death will be for the life of the world. This is what Jesus

explains in a long conversation he had with the apostles on the evening of Holy Thursday. He gives them the meaning of the events that are going to fall upon his work. Failure, an apparent failure, is very close. But it will bring about the real triumph: at the blessed and tragic hour that will take him from the eyes of his own people and bring about his death, Jesus will come to live in their souls and bring them to life.

The discourse has some important teachings about this life, to which we shall return in the next chapter. For the present, we shall consider only one, which is in line with our present study: that this life comes to us through union with the Saviour, through His dwelling in us and our dwelling in Him, and through our attachment to the vineyard which He constitutes, as the Gospel says.

Christ dwells in us, and we in him.

Remain, μένειν, the word is one of those which John is fond of using (2). Perhaps he had become accustomed to it through contact with the teacher; for in his Gospel the expression is always placed on the lips of Jesus.

(1) *Joh.* XI, 25.

(2) MALDONAT, *In IV evangelistas comm*, vol. n, Mainz, 1602, col. 645 ff; it, CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, *Opera*, t. x, Antwerp, 1662, p. 443; G. PECORARA, *De verbo "manere" apud Joannem*, in the *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza), t. XL,^T 937" P- *59- - Μένειν is used 76 times in St. John, 51 times in the rest of the New Testament. *Manere in Christo, in Deo*, is found about 24 times in St. John. As to the verb μένειν, see 1:39, referred to above, in chapter vin, p. 220; see also below, chapter xi, p. 275.

Often, the Johannine writings bring it together with another expression, very similar, and which helps to fix its meaning. The Father, says the Gospel, dwells in the Son, and the Son in the Father (1). (1) This is the height of interiority, due to consubstantiality itself, and which places the divine persons one in the other, by what theology, later, will call *cir- cumin- session*.

Our dwelling in Christ must be understood in an analogous way (2): it too is an ineffable interiority, similar from afar to the *cir- cumin- session*. The contexts in which it is mentioned in the Gospel clearly comment on it in this sense. The first time it is mentioned - the only time outside the discourse after the Lord's Supper - is in the discourse on the Eucharist.

He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood, Jesus says, abides in me and I in him.

The first part of the verse explains the second with complete clarity, realistic even: as food becomes interior to the one who eats it, so Christ will become interior to Christians, and Christians to him.

The other passages are equally clear. They are all gathered in the few verses where the allegory of the vine is found, and we will quote them shortly in allegorizing this one (4). They are perfectly clear: it is a question of the interiority which links to the whole all the parts of an organism, and which deposits, in each of them, the life of the whole.

Let us consider, moreover, the circumstances. The Last Supper has just taken place. John has not recounted the institution of the sacrament; he has contented himself with a brief allusion to this excess of love. But the order of events remains the same. Jesus,

(1) *Joh.* XIV, 10, IX, 12, 13, 20; XV, 10; XVII, 21, 23; x, 38.

(2) This inhabitation is also attributed to God, especially in *I Joh.* see *il*, 24; *iv*, 12, 13, 15, 16; sometimes to the divinity of the Saviour, *Ibid.* v, 20.

(3) *Joh.* vi, 56.

(4) xv, 1-16. See p. 250.

When he speaks to his apostles, he has just lived in them and they in him for the first time. What he says to them then naturally follows on from the discourse on the Eucharist, which we have already read: he speaks of the same life and the same interiority (1). The disciples, the Master explains, will have so much of his life in them that they will be exalted before God himself; from this will come in their souls a purity, a fidelity, a charity, a fruitfulness, a docility to the divine commandments, which will prove that they are living from Christ and that Christ lives in them (2).

"Abide in me, and I in you." Their interiority with the Savior, in fact, will be reciprocal: they will be one in the other. Already Paul, we remember, conceived things in this way: in the same contexts, sometimes in the same place, he said that the faithful are in Christ, and that Christ is in the faithful. John, usually, says both at the same time: we dwell in Christ, at the same time that he dwells in us.

For him, as for Paul, the synthesis of the two apparently contradictory expressions is the image of a single organism: the body, said Paul; the vine, said John.

The vine... Jahve spoke of it to his people a long time ago and it is a whole tradition that Isaiah summarized when he wrote:

The house of Israel is the vineyard of the LORD of hosts. And the men of Judah are the plant which he cherished (3).

This was the parable in the days of the prophets. But

(1) Παν κλήμα ἐν ἐμοί, *Joh. xiv*, 2.

(2) "As what is known is in him who knows, and the object loved in him who loves..., as the stars are in the sky..., as gold is in the fire..., as the fish is in the water, as one can be in a foundation, in a root, in a head, in a center, in a nest, in a neat mirror." A. SALMERON, in *I Joh, Disputationes in epistolas catholicas, Opera*, vol. xvi, Cologne, 1615, p. 213.

(3) *Is. v. 7*; cf. ch. 1, p. 12.

Now, at the hour of the Last Supper and the Cross, figures everywhere give way to reality (1). (1) God therefore takes up again, and completes, what he once said.

I am the true vine," says Jesus, "and my Father is the vinedresser.

Every branch in me that bears no fruit he takes away, and every branch that does bear fruit he cleanses, that it may bear more fruit. Already you are clean because of the word that I have spoken to you; abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself unless it abides in the vine, so neither can you unless you abide in me. I am the vine, you are the branches. He who abides in me and I in him, the same bears much fruit, for without me you can do nothing. If anyone does not abide in me, he is cast out like a branch and withered; then they are gathered up and thrown into the fire and burned. If you abide in me and my words abide in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will come to you. It is to my Father's glory that you bear much fruit, and so you will be my disciples.

I am the true vine, ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή. The other was only a shadow. It was only a belonging to Jahve; now it is a kind of identity, a mystical identity that is fulfilled; in the incarnate Son Jahve declares, "I am the vine." The ancient vine represented the people. Even now it represents them: there are dead branches and others that must bear more fruit. But, in addition, the whole vine is Christ (3).

(1) "As I have already intimated, faith, in the deepest sense of the word, involves life-union with Christ... The allegory of the Vine and the Branches contains the most striking representation of this idea." G. B. STEVENS, *the Theology of the New Testament*, 2^e ed. ed., Edinburgh, 1911, p. 229 - This allegory shows that "there is real, physical communication of the life of the Head in the members.... If there could be any doubt as to the physical reality of this communication, the doctrine of vivification by the flesh of Christ would be sufficient to demonstrate it." MICHEL, VACANT's *Dictionary of Catholic Theology*, art. *Jesus Christ*, t. vin, col. 1243.

(2) *Joh.*, xv, 1-8.

(3) And St. Cyril concludes from the passage that we are therefore united to Christ by a μέτεξις φουσιική, P.G., LXXIV, 332, ff. Cfr. further below, part 11, ch. vin, pp. 504, ff.

In this unique vineyard, the faithful remain: they are in Christ, and the life of Christ is in them. More than that. In this vineyard they have a real activity; they really produce fruit. But these fruits, at the same time, and even first, are formed by the vine: they would not be the fruits of the faithful, if they were not in the first place those of Christ.

If they are pulled up, the branches are only dry wood. But, rooted in Christ - Paul spoke in the same way (i) - the faithful are rooted in

life. They have, if one may say so, a hard life (2): if one branch is cut off, others spring up, and God, to multiply the grapes, prunes the plant.

Her life is the eternal life. Through the root which is Christ (3), it receives, participated, the divine life, the life of glory, the life which, from the Father, flows into the Son.

(1) *Col.* 2, 7; *Eph.* ^ι in, 17. Cfr *Mt.* ^χ in, 21; ^χ n, 33.

(2) They have ^αίζαν εἰς τήν ἀνάστασιν. S. ATHANASIUS, *De sententia Dionysii*, x, P.G., xxv, 496.

(3) The idea is in the Gospel, the word in the Apocalypse, *Rev.* v, 5; xxii, 16.

SAINT JOHN. III. - OUR DIVINE LIFE. LET THEM BE
ONE LIKE US

UNITY in the speech after the Lord's Supper. Unity with the Son, making us "children of God". Unity in the Gospel and in priestly prayer.

ONE LIKE US. In the priestly prayer, everything converges on the request for unity, "that they may be one like us". A request prepared, then formulated, then explained. A request made for the apostles, then made for all Christians. Taken up in this unity, we receive a share in the glory that comes to the Son of his eternal generation.

EXPLANATIONS. Unity really similar to that of the Trinity, making the greatness of the Church: unity, not equal, but dependent. Ordinary pattern of Johannine affirmations: our supernatural privileges are in fullness in Christ, who receives them from God. Unity coming from Christ and sign of Christ. Collective unity.

CHARITY. Charity in the Gospel. God is love, love unites people to God and to each other. God loves us with the love he has for his Son, because the Son is in us. The end and summit of all things. Value of divine order that Christ puts in us, in the eyes of the Father himself. The story in the Gospels.

The discourse after the Lord's Supper overflows with doctrine, as it overflows with affection. In these last words of him who is love and light we have already found many lessons. But if we look again, and more closely, we shall gather even more: in the last sentences come the fullest affirmations, of which the rest was only the preparation.

As a whole, it can be said, the entire speech is a teaching of unity. Before his death, before the dispersion

254^p - b^{CH} -χ - -s - JEAN -III -(< LET THEM BE ONE "

of the eleven, Our Lord denies in advance all that separates. There is only union, union of the Father and the Son (1), union of Christ and Christians (2), union of Christians among themselves (3), union of charity (4), union of faith (5), union which the Holy Spirit brings about (6), union, finally, similar to the union of the divine persons (7). (7) And these unions themselves are united and linked together (8); the thought of the master goes from one to another, then returns and returns again, confusing and mixing them all. (8) The thought of the master goes from one to another, then returns and returns again, blending them all together and mixing them, for in him they are all

synthesized, and through him they come together to Christians. The union which brings about all the others is his union with the Father, inasmuch as this union, by grace, is communicated to Christians. From this union, everything bursts forth in men: union with God, faith, charity, light, the very possession of the Holy Spirit and confidence in the Father.

As many as believe in the Son, he gave them power to become children of God (9).

This was the third of the points announced in the prologue of the Gospel. Having explained that Christ is the life which pours itself into every man, and having shown that this life is the light which brings to light this divine outpouring and the supernatural realities, it remained to say that the very quality of Son, which brings life into the Saviour, passes, with this life, into those who believe in him, and that the Incarnation, therefore, is also what divinizes, vivifies and unifies humanity. The two

(1) *Joh.* XIII, 31-33; xiv, 7-11, 24-31; xv, 1-2, 8; xvi, 3, 28, 32; xvn, *passim*.

(2) Xin, 16, 20, 33-35; xiv, 1-7, 12-15, 18-21; xv, 1-20, 26; xvi, 16-25, 32-33; xvii, *passim*.

(3) xni, 34-35 Z xv, 1-19; xvn, *passim*.

(4) xiii, 34-35; xiv, 14, 20-24; xv* 9-19-

(5) xiv, 10-12, 17-20; xvi, 27.

(6) xiv, 15-17; xv, 26; xvi, 7, 13-15.

(7) xiv, 13, 20-23; xv, 9-10, 16; xvi, 3, 27; xvn, *passim*.

(8) Thus xvi, 34-35; xiv, 20-23, etc.

(9) i, 12, 14; cfr *I Joh.* 1, 3.

The things that the fourth Gospel wants to announce are, once again, one and the same.

Several times in the course of the Gospel, the thought is affirmed.

As the Father has life in him, so he gave the Son life in him.

The perfection of life which makes the Father the principle of all divinity, πηγαία θεότης (2), flows into the incarnate Word, and constitutes him universal life, making him the only Son.

As the living Father sent me, and I live for the Father (διὰ τὸν πατέρα), so he who eats me will live for me (ζήσκει δι' ἐμέ) (3)-

This expansion of glory and divinity which flows into our souls, Christ had only indicated in passing in the words which go back to his public life and of which the synoptics, too, have kept the memory (4). At the end, when the discourse after the Lord's Supper is about to end, He proclaims it one last time, but now with force. He has spoken at length to men; now he will speak to the Father and give him an account of his mission at the end. Only, in this solemn conversation of the Son with the Father, it is almost exclusively of us that it will be a question of, so much so that he and we are one.

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The prayer is recounted in chapter seventeen. It consists of three parts: Christ's prayer for himself, his prayer for the apostles and his prayer for the Church (5). (5) These three prayers, moreover, are closely linked to each other. From the

(1) *Joh.* v, 26, 21.

(2) PS.-DENYS, *De divinis nominibus*, II, 7, P.G., ni, 672.

(3) *Job*, vi, 57; Cfr x, 28-30, 15; xii, 49-5°-

(4) Ch. il, pp. 49> ff.

(5) *Primo orat pro seipso, secundo pro discipulorum collegio, tertio pro universo fidei populo*. S. THOMAS, in *illud*.

At the beginning of the first one, it is about the glorious life that Christ pours into every soul. This is how he had always spoken.

So Jesus spoke. Then, looking up to heaven, he said, "Father, the hour has come: glorify your Son, so that your Son may glorify you, since you

have given him authority over all flesh, that whatever you have given him, he may give them eternal life.

Now the life of the world is that they know you, the only true God, and him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ. For I have glorified you on earth, having finished the work which you gave me to do; and now, O Father, glorify me with you with the glory which I had with you before the world was.

Christ, therefore, asks for glorification for himself, and this glorification is, in addition to the splendor that he had in the beginning, the life that the Church will receive through him and that will make it one in him. (2) There is no separation between him and his people.

So the prayer continues: Christ recalls His work and the care He gave to the twelve. They have believed in Him; through faith their souls are connected to the supreme outpouring of life which goes from the Father into the Son:

I have manifested your name to the men whom you took out of the world to give to me. They were yours, and you gave them to me, and they kept your word. Now they know that all that you have given me is from you: for the words which you gave me I gave to them, and they received them, and they understood truly that I came forth from you, and they knew that you sent me. For them I pray to thee: I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me: for they are thine: and all that is mine is thine, and all that is thine is mine, and I am glorified in them.

This preamble is a preparation. Before formulating his request, Jesus shows that his people are ready to receive the divine bounty: all that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son, and the

(1) *Joh.* xvn, 1-5.

(2) xvn, 2; xii, 23; xm, 31, ff.; xv, 8. See especially xvn, 22: "And I, the glory which thou hast given me, have given to them, that they may be one, as we are one."

(3) xvn, 6-9.

The Son gave everything to his apostles: his words, his doctrine, his care.

From now on I am no longer in the world, and they are in the world, while I go to you. Holy Father, keep them in your name, which you have given me, that they may be one as we are.

"That they may be one." It is all there. At the center of His prayer, Christ has put His main concern. He is going to leave; He will no longer be with His own; therefore the Father must preserve them, and all will be safe if they have unity.

The Lord does not ask for more: the following requests only detail the consequences and aspects of this primordial gift.

While I was with them, I kept them in your name which you gave me, and I preserved them, and none of them perished but the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled. But now I go to thee and speak thus in the world, that they may have the fullness of my joy in themselves. I have given them your word, and the world has hated them, because they are not of the world, as I am not of the world. I do not pray that you take them out of the world, but that you keep them from evil. They are not of the world, as I am not of the world. Sanctify them in the truth: your word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world, so have I sent them into the world, and I consecrate myself for them, that they also may be consecrated in truth.

In these words again, everything is an outpouring of unity. Everything will be common between the apostles and Christ, as between the

(1) *Joh.*, xvii, 10-11: "ἵνα ὥσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς.

(2) *χvii*, 12-20. With regard to the last words, "I consecrate myself that they may be consecrated," we emphasize only the identity of the verbs employed: this is an indication that the thought is the same both times. As to the meaning of the word ἀγιάζω (sanctify, consecrate, sacrifice?), we incline to believe that it means to sanctify, in the sense of separating from the "world" and bringing nearer to God. Christ compares his own work, which is, at this hour, to return to his Father, with what he desires for the apostles: that he should send them into the world, as he himself was sent; that they should be holy, united to God and in God, as he himself is going to enter into the divine glory.

vine and branches. They will carry within themselves the joy of Christ

(1); they will keep in their souls the same words that he received; they will present themselves to the world with the same mission. The world will not be deceived; its hatred will pursue them, as it has pursued itself. It is because, like Christ, they are strangers to it.

Belonging to a new order of things, a new creation, (2) they are changed and sanctified, and the consecration which makes Christ the supreme priest and host makes them holy also: "And I consecrate myself for them," he says, "that they also may be consecrated in truth."

With these words Jesus' prayer for the apostles ends. And immediately the prayer for the Christians begins. The horizon widens: behind the eleven appear all those who will believe because of their word. For them too, Christ will ask, and he will ask the same thing, in the same terms, in the same order. Taking up and taking up again, the prayer will become ever more insistent. Jesus, it would seem, wants only this one thing, this one thing, alas, which we have torn apart, and which, in part, is yet to come, but he wants it with all his might:

But I do not pray only for these, but also for those who will believe in me because of their word, that they may all be one, as you yourself, O Father, are in me and I in you; that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me. For I have given them the glory which you have given me, that they may be one, as we are one, I in them and you in me, that they may be consummated in unity, so that the world may know that you have sent me and loved them as you have loved me.

The introduction is short in this prayer. The Christians believed, as the apostles believed, and faith put them on the

(1) /ολ., χνπ, 13. "ἵνα ἔχωσιν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμήν πεπληρωμένην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

(2) χνι, 14, and χνι, 16.

(3) χνι, 20-23.

the way of grace. That is enough. For them too, Christ asks for unity at once. He asks for it three times, *eundem sermonem dicens*, as he prayed in agony (1).

And when he asks for it, he does not give up: he adds to the capital request requests that explain and complete it. All the faithful, united to him, must be with him, for they have believed. They must have his glory; they must be united with God in him. Already for the apostles he had asked, in closing, that they should be consecrated (ἡγιασμένοι) as he is consecrated (αγιαζω). The prayer for the Church ends in the same way: they must be loved by the Father, as he himself, the Son, is loved by the Father.

For these last requests, the tone of the prayer becomes more urgent. Jesus commits all his rights, so to speak. "Father," he says, "I will," and, with eyes raised to heaven, the incarnate Son tells his Father his last dying wish:

Father, what you have given me, I want them to be with me (2), that they may see my glory, which you have given me, because you loved me before the creation of the world.

Righteous Father, if the world has not known you, I have known you, and these have known that you have sent me, and I have made your name known to them, and I will make it known to them, that the love with which you have loved me may be in them, and I in them.

Unity could go no further.

But what is this unit?

(1) "How close this union must be, he signifies by these burning words, *ignitis hisce significat verbis*: "I in them, and you in me, that they may be consummated in unity. PIUS X, Apostolic Letter *Quoties animum*, February 2, 1911, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, t. ni, 1910-1911, p. 59. - ... *diligentissime commendavit, hanc ipsam (unitatem) summis precibus petiit*. H.H. PIUS XI, Encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei*, November 12, 1923, *Ibid*, vol. xv, IC23" P- 574-.

(2) Cfr *Joh.* xiv, 3.

(3) xvii, 24-26.

Let them be one, as we are one, says Jesus, (να ὡσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς. Whenever he mentions this unity, he determines it by the same comparison. A comparison intended, loved, repeated, and which appears four times in a single Gospel page:

May they be one like us (i).

May they all be one, just as you, Father, are in me and I am in you.

Let them be one, as we are one (3).

You in me, and I in you, that they may be consumed in one (4).

Jesus was not afraid to say it again. And, in truth, his insistence was necessary. Without it, who would ever have imagined such a resemblance?

Tradition has not always been so bold. Also, the Arians hampered it, as we shall see, in the explanation of these verses. They claimed that this passage justified their errors and that, by comparing her unity with the Father to our unity among ourselves, Jesus wanted to lower her to our level and not to raise us to her level. Men, they said, are one only by affection, by likeness; in the same way the Son is one with the Father; he is similar to him, and even then by a long way, but he is not the same God. This heretical interpretation made the Fathers defiant. Therefore, when they explain these words, their concern is to limit their scope, and to note that they do not go so far as to identify the unity of the Father and the Son with the unity of creatures among themselves.

(1) *Joh.* xvii, 11.

(2) xvii, 21.

(3) xvii, 22.

(4) XVII, 23 - *Rogat unitas pro unione. Verbum cum Patre unum est in natura, homo cum Verbo unum est in persona, membra sunt cum capite unum, primum in justitia, postea in gloria.* HUGUES DE S.-VICTOR, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, lib. 11, pars 1, caput 12. P.L., CLXXVI, 412, text taken up by INNOCENT III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, P.L., ccxvii, 886.

(5) This concern is expressed, for example, in ch. 11 of the Fourth Lateran Council. DENZINGER, 432. See below, p. 395.

No doubt. But the sole function of exegesis is not to clarify what the texts do not mean. Especially in places like this, where Christ does not know how to reiterate a truth, not everything is done when one has guarded against possible exaggerations. The Fathers, moreover, understood this well, and the greatest among them, as we shall see later, after having repeated the usual warnings, have made, in their commentary on this place, the most energetic pages that have been written on our incorporation into Christ.

This is the direction in which we must move (1). The Arian danger has passed; the modern heresy attacks the divine character of the Church, and the very opportunism of the struggle, as it were, forces the exegetes to insist, in these passages, on what Jesus Christ noted most strongly.

"One like us." No one, of course, will think of putting a strict equality here: there is no question of such an enormity in the Gospel. Indeed, it is not so much a question of likeness as of dependence and participation.

Already Saint Paul represents things in the same way: in the principal passages where he proclaims the divinity of Christ, he notes, in addition, the ennoblement which reflects on the whole mystical body (2). Such is exactly the schema of Johannine thought. In his perspective, two communications, closely linked to each other, make up the entire supernatural plan (3). There is what the Father communicates to the

(1) J.-M. LAGRANGE, *in illud*. - L. VENARD, art. *John*, in VACANT's *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. vin, col. 575. - M. LEPIN, *la Valeur historique du quatrième Évangile*, Paris, 1910, vol. n, p. 375 - F. TILLMANN, *dos Johannesevangelium übersetzt und erklrdt*, Bonn, 1916, pp. 237 ff (see *Ibid.*, p. 239, quotation from Keppler). - D. B. VON HANEBERG, *Evangelium nach Johannes übersetzt und erklrdt (die Heiligen Evangelien)*, Munich, 1880, vol. 11, p. 25. - J. MALDON AT sees here the mention of the mystical body. Similarly J. LEBRETON, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, vol. 1, pp. 512, 528 - On the Protestant side, B. WEISS, *in illud*. On the Protestant side, B. Weiss, *in illud*, "something far more than a mere moral unity.

(2) Cf. above, ch. vn, p. 193.

(3) *J°h* > 1" 2, 3, 4, 14, 18; xvii, 24.

There is the communication of nature and grace, in the eternal generation and in the incarnation which make Christ Jesus, and the

communication of grace, in the justification which makes the members of Christ (i).

This twofold outpouring, often sketched in the Gospel, takes on its perfect formulas in the discourse after the Last Supper and in the priestly prayer. The perfection of all truth, of all power, of all life, of all love, is in the Father. From the Father it pours into the Son. From the Incarnate Son, then, it passes, by participation, into us (2). We, indeed, are his fullness, his πλήρωμα as St. Paul said. Only, John insists, as Paul insists, far from adding anything to it, we receive from it that very thing which seems to give it completion (3).

(1) *Joh.* xvii, 3, 4, 10, II; xvn, 2, i^b; xvn, 22% and especially xvn, 23. Of this, St. Augustine, then the Scholastics, will give the theory, as we shall see in the second volume, ch. ni and end of ch. vu.

(2) Passages of similar structure occur: xvn, 15, 16; xvn, 18; xvn, 23, II, 21, 22; xv, 9; xv, 10. See also: vi, 57. Cfr xiv, 10-12; xni, 20, and x, 14-15; it., *I Joh.*, 1, 3, etc.; cfr *Apoc.* ni, 21: "The victorious one I will give to sit with Me on My throne, as I also (ὡς κάγώ ἐνίκησα) have overcome, and am seated with My Father on His throne." It., *Apoc.*, II, 27-28. Same pattern again in the Gospel: 1, 18; ni, 35-36; v, 20-30; vi, 32-33, 39-40, 44; vu, 16-17; x, 27-30; xn, 44-46; xvi, 26-27. - ἵνα ἡ χαρά ἡ ἐμὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ. xv, II; xvi, 13; cfr xvi, 24; / *Joh.*, I, 4, / *II Joh.* 12. - Εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν. xiv, 27; xvi, 33-- Similarly for prayers made in the name of Christ (xiv, 13, 14; xv, 7, 16; xvi, 23, 24, and xvi, 26): their efficacy is founded either on faith (xiv, 12), which gives us the life of Christ, eternal life, or on the mystical presence of Christ in the soul. - "On that day (the day when Jesus will see his disciples again, and give them a joy that cannot be taken away, xvi, 21-26; cfr 20), on that day you will pray in my name, and I do not tell you that I will ask the Father for you, for the Father [also] loves you, because you have loved me (reconciling xiv, 23, 21: he who loves Christ sees Christ manifested to him) and you have believed that I came forth from God." xvi, 26-27. See also xvn, 26; xvi, 27; xv, 7-8 compared with xiv, 12-13.

(3) Yet we give it some completion (xn, 24): "If the grain of wheat that falls into the earth does not die, it remains alone." The idea is also in xvn, 22: the glory which Jesus gave to His own, and which is the glory which He receives from the Father, consists, in part, in their being one.

So it is with unity.

We are one, ἐν, one thing in Christ, as the three persons are ἐν, one thing, one nature among themselves. A living unity no doubt, a unity of intelligence and love, but a supreme and ineffable unity, a unity whose principle, in God, is a unity of nature and not a unity of person, and which the neuter, from this point of view, renders more exactly than a masculine would.

The absolute unity, unity of nature, not of person, the Son has with the Father. By becoming incarnate, he communicates the likeness of the Father to men. We will therefore be one, insofar as we are, in Christ, linked to God.

Real unity, therefore, and real of the most supreme reality, since it will be sealed by the necessary unity itself (1).

Unity, too, is collective, not purely individual: it is the union of all Christians with one another that will be the participation and image of the union of the divine persons with one another.

Up to this point in the fourth Gospel, the union of each member of the faithful with Christ and with God has been the main topic. It is every Christian, he says, who has Christ in him and is in Christ (2), it is every Christian who has life in him (3), it is every Christian who has in him rivers of living water (4) and the light of life (5). (5) But now, in the final hour, in the last words, the perspectives appear in all their grandeur. It is no longer a question of individuals alone, but of the whole; Jesus, at the moment of death, discovers (6) what immense and august reconciliation will take place

(1) On this subject, we can read a few discreet but very strong words in F. KLEIN, *Vie humaine et divine de Jésus-Christ notre Seigneur*, Paris, 1933, P- 390-.

(2) *Joh.* vi, 54; xv, 2, 4.

(3) ni, 36; v, 24; vi, 40, etc.

(4) vu, 38; iv, 34.

(5) VIII, 12.

(6) This was already announced in the prologue of the Gospel (cf. p. 228), as several passages foreshadowed (xi, 52; xu, 24).

264 D I, CH. IX. S. JOHN. IS JESUS OUR LIFE "THAT THEY MAY BE ONE" his sacrifice: these are they who will believe, all without exception, who will be one in him as he is one with his Father (1).

Finally, supernatural unity, unity of grace, divine unity, a unity which, while coming through the humanity of Christ and while inserting in it the whole of humanity, will nevertheless be an outflow and a participation of God and of the Trinity. Christians will be one, by their very unity; they will all be united because they will be in Christ in virtue of an interiority derived from eternal circuminsession; they will all be one and the same thing, as the divine persons, by their consubstantiality, are one and the same God.

Holy unity, therefore, a unity which, by itself, exalts and divinizes; a unity which can only be understood by looking to God. Just as we know things well only by their cause, so it will be necessary, in order to have a good idea of the cohesion of the Church, to know by faith the Trinity itself.

In return, it will suffice to know by faith this participated unity, to know something of the mystery of the three persons. The more mysterious it is, the more the unity of the Church speaks for itself. This unity is like a sign: it will be seen, and in it, what will have been discerned, are not men united by a wise administration, but the unique outpouring of love and eternal life which, from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit, makes those of Christ one in Christ, through God. Jesus himself declares:

That they may all be one, as you, Father, are in me, so that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me.

Let them be consumed in unity, so that the world may know that you have sent me (3).

(1) *ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσιν. Joh. xvn, 2i.* The whole passage xvn, 20-26 is as general as possible.

(2) xvn, 21.

(3) xvn, 23.

By this sign all will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.

The unity of the Church will not be an ordinary thing, but a sign of credibility, a mark (2). As Jesus says in Matthew, he will be in the midst of his own when they are gathered in his name; to those who are pure in heart, he who is the light will know how to show himself.

In this unity, moreover, men will not be taken alone. God himself will have to take this into account, and in order to love his Son to the end, he will have to love those whom he makes one in himself.

Let them be consumed in unity, and let the world know that you have sent me, and that you have loved them, as you have loved me.

I have made your name known to them, and I will make it known, that the love with which you loved me may be in them, and I in them.

This last verse seems to us to be the strongest of the whole - discourse. At the heart of the mystery of unity, it expresses, if we may say so, the mystery of charity.

Charity is a central idea in the fourth Gospel and, even more so, in the first epistle (4). Charity is not a simple natural love. It is as mysterious as the God whose

(1) *Joh.* XIII, 35.

(2) P. SCHWANZ, *Kommentar über das Evangelium Johannis*, Tübingue, 1887, *in illud*. - Sic la *Pastille* de NICOLAS DE LYRE: "By the great charity and unity that was in the Church, many were converted." - "Unity so evidently supernatural that it can serve as a proof," VENARD, VACANT's *Dictionary of Catholic Theology*, art. *Jesus Christ*, t. vin, col. 585. - Cfr S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Joh.* x, 82, P.G., LIX, 444.

(3) *Joh.* xvii, 23 and 25.

(4) "He says many things, but almost everything is about charity... Nothing, so much as it, is recommended in it. If at times he seems to speak of other objects, he soon returns to her and brings back to her all that he has said. ■ S. AUGUSTINE, *In epist. ad Parthos*, tract, v, P.L., xxxv, 2015. It. *ibid.* prol. p.l. 1978. it comes, supernatural as the life of which it is the manifestation, transcendent as the unity which it cements, it contains, in a superior way, all that

man ought to will and do (i).

File also, like life and light, is a flow, a participation of God through Christ. God is love (2). (2) In this love, he made the incarnation; in this love again, he embraces us in his incarnate Son.

And this love must reign in our souls: it is the object of the new commandment. And it is so specifically Christian that it is at once the precept, the imitation and the mark of Jesus Christ.

By this sign all will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.

We know that we have passed from death to life because we love our brothers (5).

Our vocation is therefore to have charity.

(1) *I Joh.* ni, 23: ■ And this is his commandment: that we believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he has commanded us." Cfr *Ibid*, 11, 9, ff; ni, 14; iv, 7-13, 16.

(2) *I Joh.*, iv, 8, 16: Ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.- *Joh.*, xvii, 24; cfr *χλν*, iο; *χλν*i, 27- - *I Joh.*, ιν, 9-11; *Joh.*, in, iό.

(3) *Joh.*, *χλν*, 21-23: "If any man love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode with him." - xv, 9; *I Joh.*, iv, ii. - In the Gospel the apostle shows the mediation of the Son exercised to draw into us the love of God. In the epistle we see the effect of this mediation: the love of God is in us. On this point as on the others, the epistle is more "theocentric" than the Gospel. - *Joh.* xm, 34" 35 î *I Joh.* π, 8-10; *II Joh.* 5. - *Joh.* xv, 12, 17; *I Joh.* ni, 11, 23, and iv, 21. - *Joh.* xm, 34; xv, 12; *I Joh.* ni, 16; iv, 11, 20. - xm, 35.

(4) *Joh.* xm, 35.

(5) And this testimony is comparable to that which the Spirit gives us in ourselves. - Cfr ni, 24, and iv, 13 compared to iv, 12. See also iv, 7-16, quoted below. - Cfr *I Joh.* 11, 10: "He who loves his brother abides in the light." It., ni, 19: a By this (by our effective charity towards our brethren) we shall know that we are of the truth, and we shall reassure our hearts before God."

Beloved," says St. John, "let us love one another, for love is born of God and knows God. He who does not love has not known God, because God is love.

In this the love of God was manifested, in that he sent his only Son into the world, that we might live through him. This is love. It was not we who loved God [first]. He loved us and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.

Beloved, if God has loved us so much, we must also love one another (2).

This love puts God in us.

If we love one another, God dwells in us and His love is perfected in us.

And we have known love, and we have believed in the love that God has for us, and he who abides in love abides in God and God in him (3).

In the entire discourse after the Last Supper, Jesus spoke without tiring of this love: the love he has for the Father (4), the love the Father has for him (5), the love he has for his own (6), the love his own should have for him (7), and the love his own should have for one another (8).

(1) *I Joh.*, iv, 7, 8: 'Αγαπητοί, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, βτι ἡ ἀγάπη ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται.

(2) *I Joh.* iv, 9-11.

(3) ^{1 IV12 >> 16, cfr I T} h-> iv, 9. - Cfr *Joh.*, xm, 34; xv, 12, 18.

(4) *Joh.* xiv, 31.

(5) xv, 9-10; xvn, 23, 26.

(6) xm, i, 34; xiv, 21; xv, 9, 10, 12, 13-14.

(7) xiv, 15, 21, 23, 24, 28.

(8) xm, 34, 35; xv, 12, 17.

(9) All these loves correspond and are one in Jesus Christ. He who loves the Son is loved by the Father (xiv, 21-23) and ^{aime} I^e Father (^{XIV >2} 4) I as the Father loves the Son, the Son in turn loves us (xv, 9); and also, as the Father loves the Son, the Father must also love us (xvn, 23, 26) ; As Christ loves us, so we must love one another (xm, 34; xv, 12), and, by loving one another, we will show Him that we love Him (xiv, 15, 21 and xv, 10, read from xv, 12, 14, 17 and xm, 34). Moreover, he who loves God loves his brother (Z *Joh.*, iv, 11, 21).

the hour when sin and hatred go to the end of themselves. It is the hour when sin and hatred go to the very end of themselves; it is also the hour when love goes to extremes; and, as it overflows from the

heart, its name, at every moment, rises to the lips: *ex abundantia cordis os loquitur* (i).

It seems as if, for this final moment, Jesus has reserved the supreme instances. The request, from the very beginning of the discourse, bursts out in a way, like a secret that has become too heavy and can no longer be kept (2), just as the painful affirmation had burst out a few moments earlier: "Truly, I say to you, one of you will betray me", a confidence of love that wants to spread, after the confidence of love that knows itself betrayed. We must love one another as he has loved (3): the love he has in his soul will break through to his people, and they will love one another as he has loved and as God knows how to love (4).

For, once again, that is how far we must go. The mystery of love, which is the essence of Christianity, begins in God, and it is in God that it has its final word, through our Lord Jesus Christ. And so, in concluding this discourse, Jesus brings things to a climax; he shows the absolute love that binds the Trinity in unity: it is himself who will invade the whole of humanity in unity.

That the love you loved me with.
Either in them,
And I in them (5).

Few words, but they all carry weight. The love of the Father

(1) *ML*, xii, 34.

(2) See also xm, 1, at the beginning of the passage, and xiv, 10 ff. immediately after the allegory of the vine. Note that the discourse also ends with a prayer concerning love, xvn, 26.

(3) (3) XIII, 34: ἵνα αγαπάτε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς ἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς αγαπάτε ἀλλήλους. Similarly, χν, 12: still καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς.

(4) See χν, 9 "το> continued by χν, 12-17; see also χiv, 20-21.

(5) xvn, 26; cfr xvn, 23.

For the Son, that love which was total when the world was nothing, that love which makes the Son's eternal glory, that which he possessed before creation, that which will be returned to him, that which his own will have, because they will be with him, that love which made the Incarnation and the redemption, will descend into

us. All Christians, in spite of the banality of their being and the insignificance of their good will, will have to believe that they are pursued by an eternal dilection. All of them, all of them together, sealed in the supernatural unity, will be loved, and not in any way. God is one, love is one, Christians are one; it is with the necessary and infinite love that He has for His Son that God will cherish these little ones among men, *quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis*.

Obviously, God does not confuse: each one is loved according to what he is: Christ is loved as the only Son, Christians as his members and his fullness. But Christ does not divide himself, and to love him to the end, it is necessary for love to go to the end of the human race. "And I in them." This is the explanation of everything. In order to force, if we dare use the expression, to force the love of the Father to invade all humanity, Christ invaded it first (1).

After the Father has begun (2), Christians will not dare refuse to continue. Jesus can ask them to humbly relieve all their brethren and to serve them with respect, because He is in them.

"And I in them." It is the unity of Christ and Christians, the unity of the vine and the branches, which alone gives its true meaning to charity, and which encloses all these things of grace in the one mystery of the Incarnation.

And now Jesus Christ has spoken the last of His words in the last of His discourses. He has nothing more to

(1) Cfr S. AUGUSTINE, *Tractat, in Joh. ex et exi*, P.L., xxxv, 1923, 1924, 19 26. - "We are loved perfectly (τελείως)," writes S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, "because Christ dwells in us (ἐναυλίζεται) by the Holy Spirit." *In illud*, P.G., LXXIV, 577.

(2) *I Joh.* iv, 10.

270 PP; CH. IX. S. JOHN. IF JESUS, OUR LIFE "THAT THEY BE ONE"
 say, nothing to be asked: it only remains for him to accomplish, and
 to go and put life into his own.

For Jesus had to die for his nation, and not only for his nation, but also
 for the children of God who are scattered, in order to bring them to unity
 (1).

It must be said again in conclusion: there is in the Gospels, and
 more especially in the fourth, a fullness of meaning which, at first
 sight, would confuse. Rationalists may cry out that it is artificial and
 unintelligible: it is their mistake and their narrowness to be closed-
 minded about what is beyond them. Christians, on the other hand,
 have no right to be disconcerted. When it is the life of God himself,
 and a life written under the inspiration of God himself, is it
 permissible to be astonished if the smallest events and the most
 fleeting words, in their very concrete reality, are overflowing with
 meaning; is it permissible to be astonished if the smallest verses, and
 words, and commas, contain a superabundance of teachings?

To see this is not to stop doing history or science; on the contrary,
 it is to see that history, in Christ, reaches its fullness, just as
 humanity, in Christ, also reaches its fullness. Christ, in fact, is an
 empirical reality which is one with the absolute idea; so the actions
 of this Christ can be empirical facts without ceasing to be one with
 total intelligibility, and their narrative, their inspired narrative above
 all, in order to be a lesson of life and a clarity which illuminates the
 spirit, does not have to cease being a narrative; it does not even have
 to become a doctrine: it already is. In order to learn the truths of the
 faith from this account, it is not necessary to

(1) *Benedict XV, Encyclical Ad Beatissimi, November 1, 1914, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol. vi, 1914, p. 569. BENEDICT XV, Encyclical Ad beatissimi, November 1, 1914, Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol. vi, 1914, p. 569.* - On this subject, a few pages should be noted, followed by numerous references: S. TROMP, S.J., *De nativitate Ecclesiae ex corde Jesu in cruce*, in the *Gregorianum*, vol. xin, 1932, p. 489

It is enough to open one's eyes and look: the one whose existence is
 recounted is the light itself.

In him there is nothing unassimilable for the spirit; he is light, not by accidental quality, but by subsistence; hence his acts can be luminous, not by some aspect only, by some encounter, by some circumstance, but by their very substance and their concrete reality.

Of this there is nothing to be ashamed: *qui me erubuerit coram hominibus...* On the contrary, it is part of our worship of God, part of our gratitude, and in addition to strict objectivity, to be joyful and proud that our Christ and our holy books are so true.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION ON SCRIPTURE

SAINT JOHN AND SAINT PAUL. BOTH have similar doctrines in substance and in many details. But they have their particularities, in their initial vision, in their way of teaching. John indicates more the definitive, and the theandric character of the Church.

DOCTRINE IN SCRIPTURE. It is one, but it is always made explicit. Its different stages. Its different ways of expressing union with Christ in the New Testament: kingdom, mystery, life. But it all comes back to Christ, and the end of the message was involved in the beginning. It is God who speaks in the word.

AND SCRIPTURE IS NOT ENOUGH. Its final word, in many books, is to say that Christ is coming in the Church. Christians are waiting, and in fact Jesus is coming and will always come. Therefore, to understand Scripture and the Incarnation properly, we must consider tradition.

St. John's "Gospel" has the same content as St. Paul's "Fevan^gile".

Of course, the differences are significant and we will have to enumerate them. But what must be noted first of all is the perfect concordance of doctrine. Let us compare, for example, the discourse after the Lord's Supper and the epistle to the Ephesians (i). In spite of their peculiarities of tone and genre

(1) This same passage must also be brought nearer to the epistle to the Romans, *vin*, 39. St. John says, "That the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them." The epistle to the Romans bears, "No creature shall be able to separate us from the love which God bears us in Christ." Same thought, as we see, and great similarity in expression. Both say that as members of Christ we draw to ourselves, irresistibly as it were, the love of the Father; both passages serve as a conclusion, the one to the exposition of unity in Christ (*Joh.*, xvii), the other to the exposition

teachings develop along parallel lines. On both sides, God's plan is seen as the work of an eternal love (1). God has always discerned and chosen us (2), he has loved us above all (3) in Christ (4), he has made us one in Christ (5), so one in him and with him that his holiness passes into us (6), as well as his knowledge (7), his glory (8), his happiness (9), and the Father's charity for him (10). (10) On both sides, the whole of Christianity comes down to a union, an attachment, an incorporation in Christ. Before God, according to Paul as well as to John, only the Son exists and counts. Only in this one Son does God discern all Christians, all members of this Christ.

As we have seen, Paul sets forth this doctrine in formulas which can be reduced to the following: "We all, in Christ, are one body, one mystical Christ. John's doctrine is not so easily summed up in a few words: let us only recall that it is almost entirely contained in a few propositions: "Remaining in Christ and he in us, we live by him, as he lives by the Father, and we are one in him, as he is one with the Father."

of justice in Christ (*Rom.*, v-vm, especially vm). These numerous features of similarity which unite them, especially as regards the substance of the doctrine, do not prevent differences. In St. Paul, the verse concludes an impetuous passage in which the Apostle quickly enumerates a whole series of creatures, to challenge them to separate him from Christ. In St. John, the verse and its context have the recollection of a prayer.

(2) *Joh.* xvii, 24, 25; *Eph.* 1, 3, 4. We will quote only the first chapter of this letter, where Paul best gives his picture of the supernatural.

(3) *Joh.* xvii, 9, 14, 16; *Eph.* i, 4, 11.

(4) $\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau$,² 4^{>26} "*Eph.*, i, 3, 4, 5" 7-

(5) *John*, XVII, 26, 23, 21, 20; *Ephesians*, 1, 1, 3, 4, 5.

(6) > *Eph.*, i, 10, 23.

(7) *Joh.* xvii, 19, 17-18; *Eph.* 1, 4, 7.

(8) *Joh.* xvii, 3, 6-7, 17, 25, 26; *Eph.* 1, 9, 17, 18.

(9) *Joh.* xvii, 22, 24, 10; *Eph.* 1:8, 18; cfr. 1: 6.

(10) *Joh.* xvii, 13; *Eph.* 1, 17-20.

(11) *Joh.* xvii, 24, 26; *Eph.* i, 5, 6.

The two doctrines are so similar that they can be merged into one. "Christians are one, they live by the unity and life of Christ, which come from God and which they share by grace. A formula all the more venerable, we believe, because, eliminating what is peculiar to

each apostle. It contains little more than the very testimony of Christ and the Spirit.

In addition to these basic similarities, there are many common features in detail. Both John and Paul had a vision at the beginning of their preaching, a vision which concerned the union of the Church with Christ. The one near Damascus, the other on Patmos, they saw the Saviour extending himself to his people. So for both of them, between him and us, there is a supernatural unity, a unity that puts Christ in us and puts us in him (1), so that we are his extension and his fullness, and so that the head and the members, the vine and the branches, are one living organism, animated by the life that comes down from the Father in the incarnate Word. Both relate this central truth to numerous applications. The Eucharist is the sacred sign (2); charity (3), patience, and the complete renewal of the soul (4) must be its effects.

However considerable these similarities may be, they do not prevent real differences. Also, would it be

(1) The brief formula "in Christ" is rare in St. John. Cfr. only *Codex Bezae* (vi, 56), which reads, "If ye take not the body of the Son of man, as the bread of life, ye have not life in him (ἐν αὐτῷ)." Cfr *I Joh.* II, 6, 8; iv, 4.

(2) John insists more on the vivification through the Eucharist and Paul on the unifying incorporation. But, for both, the Eucharist makes us in Christ, living through him. In both, the mention of the Eucharist is found in the very first teachings on the mystical body.

(3) It is the subject of the longest and earliest developments in St. Paul, *I Cor.* xn; - similarly in St. John: *I Joh.* per totum.

(4) The glorious life of the risen Christ, says Paul; - eternal life, concludes John. Cfr *Joh.*, v, 21. Cfr *Ad.*, xin, 46: Paul declares to the Jews that by refusing the word of God, they renounce eternal life.

Is it possible that two characters so marked and two minds that grace had led by such different ways had nothing in common?

Paul, the active and persistent apostle, was seized by a sudden revelation; a flash of lightning struck him in the face and the word entered his soul like a knife. The word of God," he says, "is living and effective, sharper than a two-edged sword, incisive to the point of penetrating between soul and spirit, between joints and marrow.

In John, the beloved apostle, there was no such cut to make. The word, as he calls it, dwelt in him, and he had the word of God dwelling in his soul (2). (2) Little by little, it became the light of life there.

Paul was taken in the way that suited him: the Word of God came upon him like a thief, and something aggressive and clashing remained even in his style.

John was of a different sort, and God took him as it suited John. The truth revealed itself in his soul as a summer landscape emerges in the evening. The lines are calmed, the strokes no longer have those hard edges which drew the smallest details; the small objects have disappeared, one would say; but the great masses impose themselves more undeniable and more silent. The meaning of the whole is more external, more gathered on itself.

Thus the fourth Gospel. From the very first contact, it shows itself to be simpler and more interior. The sentence goes on and on, and is taken up again, without adornment, but singularly gripping and persisting like a meditation or like a love on the same thoughts. The doctrine has fewer applications and fewer features than Paul gave. The ebullient apostle drew from it endless lessons of charity, purity, zeal, obedience, arguments for discussion, refutations of opponents. John goes straight to the point, and he

(1) *Heb.* iv, 12.

(2) *Joh.* v, 38; xv, 7; *I Joh.* n, 14.

The rest, he knows, will come from himself. The rest, he knows well, will come of itself.

The aspect of struggle which the doctrine presented in Saint Paul is out of date. The Word has come, it is enough: as at the rising of the sun, the darkness has disappeared; at the coming of Christ, at least in law, the true light already shines (1). One "abides" in Jesus Christ; the word is characteristic, it evokes definitive realities (2). There are no more vicissitudes or hesitations: on God's part, the gift of eternal life is without repentance, and only we, through our sins, can lose it. (3) But, in God's view, they must give us more perfectly what we already possess (4), while we await the day when we will enjoy it without veils (5).

The Church, therefore, is no longer just the militant body represented by Paul, the apostle who laboured more than the others. It is a transcendent reality, belonging more to heaven than to earth, and in which the glory of the Man-God is extended (6).

This is the main characteristic of the fourth Gospel. More than the others, it shows, in those of Christ, a reality of a theandric order. Just as Christ is the God-Man, his mystical body, in him and through him, is human and divine at the same time. One by a unity that derives from the unity of the divine Persons, loved by the Father, vivified by the Son, consecrated by the Spirit, he constitutes, in a manner of speaking, the body of God,

(1) *I Joh.* 2:8.

(2) *I Joh.* xi, 15; ii, 17; *Joh.* xn, 34; xiv, 16.

(3) *Joh.* xvi, 20: the woman who gives birth. Cfr xvi, 33; xv, 20, 2; xiv, 1.

(4) "Jesus erschliesst seinen Jüngern den Einblick in eine *unio mystica*, die durch keine Trennung und keinen Tod zerstört wird. Nur die Jünger werden fortan den Meister sehen, sehen können, weil sie allein in dem Ring jenes übernatürlichen, göttlichen Lebens stehen, dem der Auferstandene angehört." F. TILLMANN, *in illud, in das Johannesevangelium übersetzt und evkldvt*, Bonn, 1916, p. 215.

(5) *I Joh.* in, 2.

(6) The idea is, however, far from absent from St. Paul, cf. ch. vu, end, pp. 193ff.

It is an extension of the Incarnation, or rather, it is the Incarnation itself, but the Incarnation in so far as it goes to the end of itself and makes the dignity of all the members of the Incarnate Word.

This last feature of the doctrine was not for men to draw, not even for the men whom the Spirit of God takes as his instruments in Scripture. Christ himself, who is unity, wanted to tell men that they are one in him, as he is one with the Father. He said so, in the days of his mortal life. And John was inspired by the Spirit who makes us understand, who reminds us, and who brings us into all truth, to report these words to his brothers.

This is how the Scripture ends; and what it says to end is the very thing it outlined at the beginning.

As we have seen in these pages, in a very rapid manner, the message remains the same: what the fourth Gospel teaches is what the Old Testament announced. Already in the beginning, under the Old Law, what was promised was a union, a union of all the faithful with each other, a union of all of them with God. In the new law, what is preached is this very union, but it is fulfilled. First of all, in the Synoptic Gospels, we see the one who makes the union in himself, the one who is, on our earth, the union of divinity and humanity: Jesus Christ; we see him act, we see him operate this union in us. But, on the true nature of this union, we still gather very little - information. It seems that, before describing His work more completely, God wants to push it further.

In fact, before the years in which Paul and John will write, comes the time described in the beginning of the book of Acts. There we see the birth of the Church, and we see it being born as the body of Christ, one of his unity and alive with his life. The great moments of this period, or at least several of them, and those which at the same time had the greatest influence on the

The events of Pentecost, the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and the conversion of St. Paul show at the same time what life the Church possesses within itself and what strength it must have to carry it to the ends of the earth. Pentecost, the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the conversion of St. Paul, show at the same time what life the Church possesses in itself, and what strength must carry it to the ends of the earth. Now, it seems that the gift has been spread enough for God to explain its nature. So Paul, who has just learned by revelation how much Christ is interior to the Church, begins to teach this interiority everywhere. We are in Christ and Christ is in us; we are his body, he is our head, and we are members one of another; in him we are purified, in him we are sanctified, in him we are lovable in the sight of God and divinized; in him everything is there for us, all our hope and all our greatness. John comes next, and he gives the same teaching, or rather Christ and the Spirit give it through him, but with even more force. As he shows with greater emphasis the divinity of Christ, so he shows with greater force the divinization which is conferred on those of Christ; as he presses more emphatically on the unity of the Father and the Son, so he inculcates with greater vigor the unity which is given, in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, and by means of which Christians are one as the divine persons are one.

This message of union, Christ, in his ordinary preaching to the Jews and the apostles, held it in the proclamation of the kingdom. The kingdom, in fact, as we have seen, is in part, and the principal part, the union of all men, in Christ, with God. This same message was also summarized by Paul, but in a different formula: he spoke, or rather the Spirit spoke through him, of the "mystery". The mystery, like the kingdom, is the call to all men, including the Gentiles, to be united with God by incorporating themselves into Christ (i). The same

(i) In some passages of St. Paul, the word kingdom designates in fact the same reality as mystery, see especially *I Thes. 1:12*; *Col. 1:13ff.*

Finally, the Johannine Gospel brings it back to a preaching of life: the life that Christ receives from the Father, he makes it pass, by participation, into us, so that, living truly in ourselves, but through him, we are united to the Father, being united to one another in him.

Kingdom, mystery, life, these three notions, at first sight, seem very different. But it is because the one gift is rich in various aspects. The first, that of the kingdom, expresses the economy of salvation according to the prophetic oracles and the expectations of the people. It is, if one dares to express oneself in this way when dealing with such sacred pages, the way of speaking that was necessary before the early audiences, the audiences of Palestine, the way Jesus Christ took in his usual preaching, the way that, at least in the beginning, struck the apostles most, and the way they themselves used most in the early years of their teaching. It is the one reported in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The second, that of the mystery, is already a theology, and almost a polemic: it opposes the immense splendour of the divine decrees to the narrowness of our thoughts and our exclusivisms. It is, and we apologize for making assumptions about inspired authors, the expression that suited the concerns of an apostle who fought more than others, and who had to claim the infinite transcendence and mercy of the divine gift in the face of the nationalism of Israel and the short-sightedness of the Gentiles. Finally, the third, the one of life, has something more psychological and at the same time more metaphysical: it shows Christianity in what is most interior to itself and also shows it in what we have most interior to ourselves - more interior to ourselves than ourselves. It is that which is found in the latest of the inspired writings, in the writings of John, that apostle whom God, it seems, had trained most for the inner life.

But, it must be noted: if they differ by the circumstances to which they correspond and by the nuances which they bring to light, all these notions, when we go to

The kingdom speaks of a belonging, a subjection, a consecration; the mystery speaks of a hidden purpose of sanctification and unity. The kingdom speaks of belonging, of subjection, of consecration; the mystery speaks of a hidden purpose of sanctification and unity; the life speaks of a regeneration which gives us a new existence; but all this amounts to saying that we are incorporated in Christ: this - incorporation is sufficient to make us children of the kingdom, - beneficiaries of the mystery and sons of adoption.

Now, these three notions sum up, one, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, the other, the epistles of Saint Paul, the third, the writings of Saint John, that is to say, the entire New Testament; and the New Testament, in its turn, is the manifestation of the Old. On the other hand, they themselves are summed up in Christ, for it is in Christ that the kingdom is established, the mystery is revealed and life is communicated.

It is therefore Christ who is the culmination and summary of the Scriptures, just as He is the end and the whole of God's work here below. Just as the holy books contain only one truth, which is Christ, so they contain only one announcement, which is Christ. Would one dare say that the Father has only one word to speak to the world through the inspiring Spirit, and that this word is the only Word made flesh, and in which we must all be taken up?

It is one message, but an immense one, which begins with the first lines of Genesis and ends only with the last words of the Gospel of John. Because of its unity, it is a single announcement, a single sentence. From this sentence, at a distance of years or centuries, the sacred authors have been called upon to speak the syllables, but it has always gone beyond those who pronounced it, and, until the last words, the meaning has remained suspended. The human authors have lent their ministry, their docility, their research, their psychological and literary work; only, through them all, it is only one who has spoken: to understand the sentence, it is necessary to hear it all, and, in its entirety, it is spoken by God alone.

This message which God speaks and which announces Christ, is overwhelmed by its content as much as by its author. Scripture itself warns: the Christ of whom it always speaks, the Christ who makes all its value, as soon as it is silent, without leaving it, goes elsewhere.

As you will probably have noticed, the holy books end several times by indicating, outside of them, the place where Christ goes to teach from now on.

Thus speaks Jesus himself, in the last lines of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. He who will ascend to the Father is also the one who will reside forever in the Church. With the Church, which is going to conquer all nations, he is the one who is going to invade the human race; so that, if his mortal life is over, he has another one which is at its first beginning. *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus* (1).

This is what Jesus said in the last speech of his public life, as St. Matthew reports. He will go away and appear again on the last day, and yet he will still dwell, though hidden, in every Christian. In them, he can still be served and loved, for what is done to the least of these, is in reality done to him: *quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis*.

(1) We might add, referring to the considerations made in the preceding chapters (especially ch. in), that the Gospel of St. Luke ends in an analogous manner: Jesus announces there (xxiv, 49) the arrival of the Holy Spirit, who will come, when he has gone, to fill the apostles with celestial power. If we consider that this infusion from above was to bring forth the mystical Christ in the Church, we will see that this promise makes the same sound as that reported by St. Matthew: "I will be with you always. In the same way, the Gospel of St. John, in verses 30 and 31 of ch. xx, which have the appearance of a finale, says that the life of Jesus was written, so that believing in Him, we might have life in His name. Note, finally, the last verse of St. Mark (xvi, 20): the apostles go forth to preach after the ascension, "του κυρίου συνεργοῦντος, the Lord working with them, by the confirmation which He gives to the word." Mere hints, of which this or that, apart, would have no significance, but which, brought together, are instructive.

Thus, again and again, Jesus speaks, according to the testimony of St. John, in the supreme conversation that ends his mortal life. Before placing his spirit in the hands of his Father, he will deposit his rights, his powers, his greatness, and finally all of himself, in the Church, so that, in order to love him completely, God must always

lean over our race: *ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit, et ego in ipsis*.

As the Master does, so do the apostles. John ends his great epistle by proclaiming this truth that Christians live the life of Christ in participation. Paul ends his epistles to the Romans (1), Corinthians (2) and Galatians (3) in a similar way.

The New Testament, like the Old, ends with a promise. Christ came, of course, but he came to come back in a different way, to come back even better, so much so that it is good for us that he goes away, because of the return that will follow.

Christians are therefore people who wait. They who have received Christ greet each other, saying: "He is coming" (4).

(1) This is the announcement of the mystery (*Rom.*, xvi, 25-27) of which we have given the text in chapter iv.

(2) *I Cor.* xvi, 21-24. "The^a greeting I, Paul, write with my own hand. If any man love not the Lord, let him be accursed. Our Lord, come! - May the grace of the Lord Jesus be with you. My love is with you all in Christ Jesus (Μαράν ἠθά: Our Lord, come - or is it coming?)." - *II Cor.* xiii, 13: c May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion (κοινωνία) of the Holy Spirit (union in the Holy Spirit), be with you all."

(3) This is again the finale (vi, 11-18), written by Paul himself at the end of the letter (cfr. *I Cor.*, xvi, 21; it. (?), *II Cor.*, xm, 13). The conclusion is: "It is nothing to be circumcised or uncircumcised; what is something is to be a new creature (in Christ, cf. v. 6). Peace to those who follow this rule. (*Gai.*, vi, 15-16). Two verses follow, and the letter is finished. It would be necessary to speak still of those passages of letters which also end in the mention of Christ in us: *Gai.*, 11:20; ni, 28; *Rom.*, vm, 39; vi, 23; *II Cor.*, xn, 9-10; *I Th.*, v, 18. See also Revelation, xxn, 16-20, and the end of each of the seven letters at the beginning (ch. 11-111).

(4) *I Cor.* xvi, 21, 22.

lips a prayer of perpetual hope: "Come, Lord Jesus" (1).

And, indeed, it comes.

We have seen him, from the first days of the Christian era, revealing himself to Paul, then to John. And it is in the Church that he shows himself. And it is the Scripture that says so.

We also know that at the end of time he will show himself again. The God who loved us in Christ before the world was, will tell us again, before the world passes away, that it was in Christ that we lived. Jesus will come, at the end of time, to give the complete summary of the history of mankind, and it will all hold together in a single statement: he lived in his own, and all the good and all the evil

that was done here on earth, was done to him. And this presence of Christ in the Church, once again, is affirmed by Scripture.

Thus, on all sides, the holy books end in an indication. Their content, their Christ, without leaving them, passes into the Church. They would be deprived of their context, their meaning and their author would be torn from them, if they were detached from the Church.

So it is in the Church, in the great life of Tradition, that we want to take them.

And to know what they tell us about Christ, about Christ who lives in us, it is necessary to follow Christ himself, when he comes to live in us.

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SECOND PART

Doctrine of Tradition
in the Greek Fathers

INTRODUCTION

The inspiring story of Christian origins ends abruptly as soon as St. Paul preaches the Gospel to the Romans.

One era is over and another is beginning. The Gospel, on reaching Rome, has come to its own home, and it is now the Church that will continue the Scriptures.

Therefore, in order to remain at the school of the Holy Spirit who speaks in Scripture, we must go and listen to him where he now begins to speak: in the Church, in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church.

Thus we pass from Scripture to tradition, to remain in the same line.

For the study of tradition, the best plan seemed to be the chronological order of the Fathers, beginning with those of the Greek Church. The disadvantage is that of repetition: each Father takes up more or less the same points of doctrine as his predecessors, in order to complete them. But at least, in this way, we will be able to transcribe almost all the important texts which concern our incorporation in Christ. And one of our goals is precisely to render this service to Christian piety.

Moreover, this way of proceeding seems to us more theological. The Fathers are authorities in the Church, authentic witnesses of the faith. To learn about dogma as God proposes it, we must go and listen to them.

Obviously, as we said at the beginning, we do not pretend to repeat everything they said: that would be,

especially for the earliest times, a task far too vast. Nor do we pretend to trace, in its historical order, the development of Christian intelligence in relation to this truth. This part of history is still too little explored to be able to detect the affinities of doctrine and the ramifications of influences. What can be guessed from these, we shall say. But first of all we want to gather the measure of wheat, the ever fuller measure, from those whom God has made his faithful stewards.

Semen est verbum Dei. The word of God which fell upon our earth fell there as seed; and a seed is made to sprout and to grow. Of this growth, which is the development of Christian doctrine, we have said a brief word in our introduction. But the subject is delicate; it will not be useless to return to it.

Up to the death of the last apostle, that is, practically throughout the whole period of Scripture, the progress of doctrine could consist in the addition of new truths. Now that the age of revelation is closed, it can only consist in a better understanding and a better proposition of a deposit which remains in itself unchangeable. What was previously known only implicitly will be expressly stated; the meaning, the beauty, the cohesion of what was only imperfectly and obscurely known will be better seen; the consequences will be drawn, the riches will be detailed, the parts will be brought together, and a more systematic and more satisfactory exposition will be made. But it will still be the same doctrine; it will only be better expressed.

It will be objected that this is an unbearable claim. Is it acceptable that men express God's message better than God himself?

And why not, if God speaks through these men?

This is where we must always come back to when we speak of tradition. The Church, of course, is not inspired, as Scripture is. But it is assisted by God. If God wants to say things more clearly through the Church than he did through Scripture, who could possibly think that this is wrong? Is He not master of His light?

Whether he did so is another question, and one that cannot be solved by the a priori ideas of our reason, but only by examining what took place.

As far as the doctrine of the mystical body is concerned, it seems

that he has not done so, at least as far as the energy of the exposition and the richness of the formulas are concerned. No monument of tradition is so full of meaning, so impressive, so clear-cut, as the inspired texts of St. Paul and St. John.

But if the vigour of affirmation did not have to grow, the scientific and systematic aspect was formed only gradually. God, it seems, has reserved to men the task of making a body of doctrine and a theology out of his announcement.

It is this work that we will consider in these pages.

He was slow and patient. This is the law of human things; and the God who became man, the God who placed his light in our souls, wanted his doctrine also to become a human thing.

Man is only fully himself by becoming more and more so. His identity with himself consists, to a considerable extent, in a search for and a construction of himself. He has to grow in order to live; and to freeze in the immobile would be for him to freeze in death. The formula may seem paradoxical, but it is rigorously true: for man, the radical suppression of all change would be absolute change, because it would be the suppression of himself.

In us, then, Christian doctrine is found in a growth and a -movement. What does this mean, except that it must grow as we do? Not, indeed, that God is incapable of giving it perfect at once; but God has had the goodness to give it to us perfectly adapted to our being, which is not made all at once.

Mystical Body, vol. I. - 22

Man is subject to time; he is subject to progress; supernatural truth will therefore also be subject to the extent that it is in man. Man's progress is influenced by a thousand circumstances, by particularities of mentality, of race, of historical events. His will also be influenced. Everything that happens here on earth, especially factors of an intellectual and emotional nature, philosophical systems, different ways of thinking and feeling, heresies themselves, in short, everything that acts on the minds of men, will also act on his development.

But this action, if it is real, will only be secondary. We will show it as often as we can, since it exists and God wanted it to exist. But we must affirm very loudly - and repeat often in the following - that it is not this action which explains the progress of the doctrine. It may

have caused, God deigning to make use of it for this purpose, that Christian teaching, at a given moment, has developed in a particular direction or in another, that it has presented this particularity, this insistence, this nuance. But it could not be, and has not been, either the force that pushes forward or the special providence that assures the security of advance and the authenticity of progress.

It is within itself that dogma has its life and its virtue of growth; it uses human causes, it is not their plaything. It lives because it is divine truth, because it is Christ who communicates himself to us, and always more, as light and knowledge. He lives because, as a - transcendent truth expressed in human ideas, he is always more beautiful than what can be said about him, so that the more we know him, the more we see that we need to know him more.

As it has within itself its principle of growth, it has within itself the criterion which pronounces on the legitimacy of its development. Both, moreover, identify themselves, they are Christ, and Christ in so far as he dwells in his own, that is, in the Church. It is therefore up to the Church alone to fully realize doctrinal progress and to authenticate it definitively.

We will end our introduction with that. The pro-

The doctrinal doctrine, as it comes only from Christ, has its strength and its fullness only in Christ. Now, Christ, although he lives in all Christians, lives in them only through the priesthood and the magisterium; and the priesthood and the magisterium are fully in the entire episcopate and in the pope. Progress, then, will be made by Christians, by the saints, the faithful, theologians, etc.; but in all, it will be made only by union with and submission to the magisterium, and it will be definitive only when the magisterium, or rather Christ in the magisterium, has pronounced.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST WITNESSES. ST. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN CHRIST

LBS APOSTOLIC FATHERS in general. St. Clement, and the unity of the Church, St. Polycarp, Hermas. The *Didache* and the Eucharist. Doctrines of ecclesiastical unity.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, the man of unity: unity with Christ, unity of Christians among themselves. This unity, like Christ, is both visible and spiritual. A) Visible ecclesiastical unity. The bishop, necessary communion with the hierarchy, nascent canon law. B) Spiritual unity, effect of the visible unity. Unity of Christ, divine unity, coming from the Holy Trinity. "That they may be one." C) Conclusion: Pauline complement to Johannine doctrines; tradition.

The epistle of Bamabas and the prediction of Christ and the Christian life by Scripture. The *II Clementis* and the pre-existing Church.

THE APOLOGISTS. The epistle to Diognetus, St. Justin, a few words.

The first Christian authors, apart from the inspired ones, are the apostolic fathers and the apologists. We shall study them in this chapter, without yet making a separation between the Greeks and the Latins, for the doctrines in those early days were not very different.

The Apostolic Fathers, to speak first of all of the most important group, are Christian authors of the first and early second centuries, whose information can be considered a fairly immediate echo of the preaching of the apostles. The notion, we see, remains somewhat imprecise. But the term is no less convenient, to designate a group of writers who are relatively similar to each other and whose antiquity makes them especially venerable. They are the author of the epistle of Bamabé and the author of the *Didache*,

St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp, Hermas, and some lesser authors, or those who are not agreed upon as being among the first.

All of them, moreover, are far from having an equally rich doctrine of the mystical body: most of them hardly speak of it, and for them a quick mention will suffice. The examination will begin with them.

The earliest writing of the Apostolic Fathers that can be dated with any degree of accuracy is the letter of St. Clement of Rome to the Christianity of Corinth. It was written around the year 96 or 97.

On the mystical body, it says almost nothing. Clement, bishop of Rome, as a true Roman, shows himself to be above all a man of government. His letter is an exhortation to order and obedience. "Everything must be done in order," he declares (1), and he could not have summed it up better.

The exhortation, moreover, was very necessary. The Church at Corinth, especially prone to upheaval and unrest, was again in revolution at the end of the first century, as it had been some forty years earlier in Paul's time. Once again, factionalists had stirred up the community against the legitimate pastors, and anarchy was in the air.

To these dissensions, Pope St. Clement offers a lesson in concord, as St. Paul had once done. But his letter is not the vibrant demand for unity that the epistles to the Corinthians are. It is rather a just - admonition made with calm; it cites the example of the Roman legions, so well organized, and that of the human body, so well - organized (2). (2) It is scarcely a passing reminder that schism is an attack on the body of Christ, that the factious, in tearing apart unity, are tearing apart their own body, and that, in

(1) NO. XL.

(2) No. xxxvii. Cfr XLII, I, and LV. Sinning against unity, they sin against God, who wishes to gather all Christians into himself (i).

This teaching undoubtedly contains, in its essential lines, the entire doctrine of the mystical body: unity, unity of life, unity coming from God, unity by incorporation in Christ. But the emphasis is so

slight that there is no need to insist (2).

The same is true of the letter of Saint Polycarp to the Church of Philippi. It barely contains a few allusions to the mystical body (3).

The *Pastor* of Hermas is a little richer in indications. For example, he insists on the unity of the Church, comparing it to one body, one person, or to a tower whose stones come together in such a well-bonded construction that it seems to be only one stone (4).

(1) *I Clem.*, XLVI, 5-7 : " Let us hold fast to the saints and the righteous: they are God's chosen ones (cfr n° xxx, 1). How can there be strife, anger, separation, division and war among you? Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace which is poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ? (*Eph.*, iv, 4; *Phil.*, ni, 14. - Cfr xxxii, 4). How do we divide and tear the members of Christ, and rebel against our own body; and are we so foolish as to forget that we are members of one another?" Cfr XLVI, 2. - The expression "in Christ" occurs about ten times; cfr especially xxxviii, 1; xxxii, 4, and XLVI, 6.

(2) On the second epistle of St. Clement, see below, pp. 309 ff.

(3) It is usually published with the letters of St. Ignatius (see below). It was written shortly after the death of St. Ignatius (about no). See no* i and v (end), vm; xi, 4: "We must use moderation towards sinners, not regarding them as enemies, but as infirm and erring members (*passibilia membra et errantia*), in order to save our whole body."

(4) The body of Christ is mentioned three times in *Similitude* ix, which describes a mystical tower (cfr xm, 5; xvn, 5; xvm, 3). This mystical tower, moreover, which represents the Church, is also significant: the stones of it are all alike, so united that they seem to make one stone (μονόλιθος), as if it were hewn out of the rock, and it is so attached to the rock, its foundation, that it seems to be one with it (*Simil.* ix, passim, cfr *Vision*, ni, 3 and 5). The Church is represented under the figure of an old woman (*Vis.* 11, 1; ni, 1; iv, 2; ix, 1), of a tree (*Simil.* vin, 3). It is not easy to unravel the exact meaning of these symbols.

With these brief mentions out of the way, it is necessary to examine two more instructive works.

The first is the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* or the *Didache* (i).

It is a small book, known for only about sixty years, and whose date, place of origin and even true nature have not yet been established with complete certainty. In any case, the writing is very old, and it informs in some detail about the life of certain Christian communities at the end of the first century.

The Didache does not speak expressly of the mystical body; but what it says of the Eucharist is completely permeated by it. As St. Paul

already taught forcefully: "We are one body, we who eat of one bread", it inculcates, in phrases of a doctrine still unfinished, but already, in places, magnificent in its fullness, the Catholic unity of which the holy sacrament is the effective sign.

We thank you, Father, for the life and knowledge you have given us through Jesus Christ, your child. Glory to you for ever.

As this bread was scattered over the mountains, and gathered together became one; so let your church be gathered from the ends of the earth into your kingdom; for to you is glory and power through Jesus Christ for ever.

(1) Written in 80-100 (BARDENHEWER), 100-150 (HARNACK); late 2^e century, or early 3^e ? (J.-A. ROBINSON, H. CONNOLLY, F. E. VOKES).

(2) *Did.* ix, 3, 4. It seems to be admitted now that these passages (ix and x, and not only xiv and xv) concern the eucharist; cf. RAUSCHEN-ALTANER, *Patrology*, 10^e and 11^e ed., Freiburg, 1931, p. 26. - J. P. BOCK, *Didachè*, ix, x. *Die eucharistischen Charaktere, etc.*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vol. xxxm, 1909, p. 418. - H. KOCH, *Zur Eucharistielehre der Didachè* in the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. LXXXIX, 1907, p. 492. - Compare the *Anaphora* of SERAPION (bishop of Thmuis from about 339 to about 360); text in WoBBERMIn, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens (Texte u. Unters., xvn, 3b)*, Leipzig, 1898; - in GEYER and ZELLINGER, *Florilegium patristicum*, vu: *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*, ed. G. RAUSCHEN, Bonn, 1930; - in FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905. - Translation and notes in the *Bibliothek der Kirchen-väter*, ed. STORF, vol. v, Kempten-Munich, 1912; - in J. WORDSWORTH,

When you have had your fill, you shall give thanks like this: <cWe give you thanks, holy Father, for your holy name, which you have made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality, which you have made known to us through Jesus Christ, your child. Glory to you for ever.

Remember, Lord, your Church; remember to deliver her from all evil, to perfect her in your love, and gather her from the four winds, sanctified, into your kingdom which you have prepared for her. For thine is the power and the glory for ever. Be gracious to her, and pass from this world (2).

These passages, like those we have indicated in the other apostolic Fathers, except in the epistle of Bamabé and in *II Clementis*, give the doctrine of the mystical body in the form of a doctrine of ecclesiastical unity: the unity of the Church is very close, say St. Clement, St. Polycarp, and Hermas; it is produced by the very body of Christ, specifies the *Didache*.

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St. Ignatius of Antioch (3) completes the doctrine: the unity of the Church, he teaches, is one with the very unity of Christ.

Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book, 2nd ed, London, 1923. - See T. SCHERMANN, *Aegyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, vi, 1-2), Paderborn, 1912. - Serapion ends his anaphora by saying, "And make your Church one, living, Catholic." The same idea of unity is found in the *Anaphora of St. Hippolytus*, studied by Dom Cagin; cfr CABROL, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, art. *Hippolytus*, t. vi, col. 2416.

(1) *Did.*, x, 2.

(2) *Did.*, x, 5-6. See also *Didache*, iv, 1; xi, 4. In these passages from *Didache*, writes DURELL, *the Historic Church*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 69, the Church is defined, not by its content, but by its nature, as "the sphere within which subsists a special relation to God.

(3) Almost nothing is known about Ignatius except his letters. But they are sufficient to make him known. He was the second successor of St. Peter in the see of Antioch. He was martyred under Trajan, therefore between 98 and 117, probably around 107-110.

In the references, *Eph.* means the letter to the Ephesians; *Magn.* the letter to the Magnesians; *Trail.* the letter to the Trallians; *Rom.* the letter to the Romans; *Phil.* the letter to the Philadelphians; *Sm.* the letter to the Smyrneans; *Pol.* the letter to Polycarp.

In order to understand this teaching of the holy bishop, we must remember the circumstances in which it was proposed. At that time, during the reign of Trajan, the Church of Asia Minor was threatened on all sides: from without, by persecutions; from within, by the activities of the sowers of heresy and discord. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, has just been arrested, it is not known under what circumstances, and a handful of soldiers - ten leopards, he says, so cruel are they - take him to Rome, where he will be delivered to the beasts. Sometimes forced delays stop the caravan, and the neighbouring bishops come to greet the martyr in the name of their Church. He used these short respites to write his last - recommendations to the young Christians of the area. We still have these letters, their authenticity is beyond criticism, and we can still feel the soul of Ignatius quivering in them.

At these supreme moments, she has only one thought: unity, the unity of Christ. The word one, *Sv*, and its compounds, recur at every moment (1), and the desire for unity is expressed unceasingly. For himself, Ignatius aspires to unity with Christ; for Christianity, he calls with all his wishes for the unity that will maintain cohesion, unity in Christ.

First of all, unity with Christ. Ignatius is impatient to die: the member aspires to be definitively attached to the head, we would say to better show the relationship of these sentences with the doctrine of the mystical body. Like Paul in the past, he writes his *cupio dissolvi*; to disappear and go to the Savior: this is his only concern, and his only fear, as far as he is concerned, would be that an unfortunate intercession would steal his martyrdom.

He wrote to the Romans, "Be pleased that I should be the prey and the food of beasts, since it is through them that I must come into possession of

(1) Especially in the epistle to the Ephesians. See the exhortation to St. Polycarp: "Think of what concerns unity: there is nothing better than it." *Pol-* i, i, 2; and *Magn.*, 1, 2. - All, the Old Testament as well as the New, goes towards it: πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ. *Phil*, ix, 1.

my God. I am the wheat of God and I will be ground by the teeth of beasts, so that I may become the pure bread of Jesus Christ... Then I will truly be a

disciple of Jesus Christ, when there will be nothing left to remember me, and the world will no longer see any part of my body.

He only wants to be in Christ:

My love has been crucified, and the flame in me is not bound to its substance. (2) There is a living water in me that whispers and says to me within, "Come to the Father.

I am looking for the one who died for us; I want the one who rose for me; my childbirth is imminent. Forgive me, brothers, do not prevent me from living... Let me suffer as my God suffered... If anyone has Christ in him, let him consider what I want and have mercy on me.

And in the midst of these burning phrases, the aspiration returns, frequent and obstinate: to reach God, to possess Christ (5).

Haunted by such a desire for union, Ignatius, when he thinks of the Christian communities, finds little to wish them but union. He himself declares that he is the man of unity, and with his great voice, he speaks to the young Christians he is

(1) *Rom.* iv, i, 2. Cfr ni, 2 and passim.

(2) Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρ φιλόυλον - "There is no fire in me for matter," translate LELONG (HEMMER and LEJAY, *Apostolic Fathers*) and LEBRETON, *Hist. du dogme de la Trinité*, vol. 11, p. 33. LEGRAS, *Ouvrages des Saints Pères qui ont vécu du tems des Apôtres*, Paris, Desprez, 1717, without name of author, translated or rather interpreted ὕλη by forest, rest: "The fire that consumes me does not seek to be extinguished - or: does not wish any refreshment." The meaning, like that of ■ my love has been crucified," is clear from the context: Ignatius means that he has died to this world.

(3) See in the *Odes of Solomon*, of which we speak in the appendix (app. 11), a similar passage: xi, 5, 6, p. 14: "A speaking water came to my lips from the fountain of the Lord. And I drank, and was intoxicated with the living water, which does not die."

(4) *Rom.* vi, 2; cf. *Sm.* iv, 2.

(5) Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, Χριστοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. *Eph.*, xii, 2; *Magn.*, χιν; *Trail.*, χιι, 2; *Rom.*, 1, 2; ιν, i; ix, 2; *Pol.*, ii, 3. - *Rom.*, V, 3 (bis).

sees himself surrounded by wolves, he cries out to huddle around the shepherds (1), in imitation.

I cried out," he wrote, "in the midst of those to whom I was speaking, with a great voice, the voice of God: Obey the bishop, the priests, the deacons.

If some have believed that I spoke thus because I knew in advance of certain schisms, he for whom I am bound is my witness that I did not know this by human means. But it was the Spirit who foretold it, saying these things: "Apart from the bishop, do nothing; respect your flesh as the temple of God; love union, flee from divisions, become imitators of Jesus Christ, as He was of His Father.

I did my part, as a man dedicated to unity (2).

This unity, as we will see, is the supernatural cohesion coming from Christ which makes of the whole mystical body a single organism. It has, as Ignatius often says (3), the same aspects, corporeal and spiritual, that are found in the Savior; in it, as in him, these aspects are closely united; moreover, they are in it only the prolongation of what they are in him.

To this solidarity between the head and the members, the heretics themselves bore witness in their own way. At the same time as they denied the physical reality of the body and blood of Jesus and saw in the flesh of the Saviour only a mere appearance - hence their name of Docetics - they were rebelling against the visible hierarchy. Neither in Christ

(1) *Phil.* II, i, 2; *Eph.* vu, 1; *Sm.* iv, 1; *Magn.* 1, 2.

(2) *Phil.* vu, i to vin, 1. For the translation of the last words, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς δῶσιν κατηρτισμένος, note that St. Ignatius often employs compounds of ἀρτίζω, perfect: *Eph.* 1, 1; 11, 2; ni, 1; *Phil.* v, 1. On Ignatius' love of unity, see *Trail.*, xii, 2: "Hear the exhortation addressed to you by these chains which I bear everywhere for Jesus Christ, asking to come to God: persevere in concord and in prayer in common." - It., *Phil.*, vin, 2; x, 2; *Magn.*, xiv; *Trail.*, 1, 1; xm, 2; *Eph.*, xx, 2; *Phil.*, vi, 2: "Hold fast to one another in an indivisible heart, s

(3) "In all purity and moderation abide in Christ Jesus, σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς." *Eph.*, x, 3. Cfr *Sm.*, 1, 2; *Trail.*, vin, 1; ix, 2; xn, 1; *Eph.*, vil, 2; xx, 2; *Magn.*, 1, 2; xm, 2; *Rom.*, vin, 3; *Pol.*, v, 1.

In the historical Christ, nor in the mystical Christ, they did not want to see the corporeal aspect, as Saint Ignatius says.

Thus, in all his letters, Ignatius insists both on the concrete reality of Christ and on the concrete reality of Christian unity. It is this last point that interests us.

The visible unity of the Church, says St. Ignatius, is necessary like the flesh of Christ. We must pray together (2), around the same altar, breaking the same bread (3), professing the same dogmas (4), remaining in concord (5), and above all subordinating ourselves to the same leaders, in order to be united with the Lord. This is the essential point. The visible and "corporeal" unity of the Church is embodied in the clergy, and in the first place in the bishop.

Whoever does anything without the bishop, priests and deacons is not pure in conscience.

Let no one, without the bishop, do anything that concerns the Church, that there be no true Eucharist except that presided over by the bishop (7).

Have but one Eucharist, for the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and the chalice for the union of his blood is one, and the altar is one, as is the bishop with priests and deacons.

No more than the Eucharist, the remission of sins cannot

(1) *Sm.*, iv, 2; *vu*, 1 to *vin*, 1 and the whole epistle; *Troll.*, xi, 2.

(2) *Eph.*, v, 2; *xiii*, i; *xxi*, 2; *Magn.*, xiv; *Troll.*, xn, 1.

(3) *Eph.* xx, 2; *Magn.* *vu*, 1, 2; *Troll.* *vu*, 2; *Phil.* iv.

(4) *Eph.*, iv; *Phil.*, ni.

(5) *Eph.*, 1, 2; *ni*; *xi*, 2; *Troll.*, xm, 1, 2; *Phil.*, vi, 2.

(6) *Trail*, *vu*, 2; *Magn.* In the bishop of each city, he sees all Christianity: *Eph.* n. 1; *Magn.* 11; *Trail* 1.

(7) *Sm.* *vin*, i; cfr *vm*, 2; *Trail*, ni, 1; *Eph.* v, 2.

(8) *Phil.* iv; cfr. *Magn.* *vu*: "There is no good except what you do in Come together in the same temple of God and as on the same altar, that is, on Jesus Christ alone. Come, all of you, to the same temple of God and to the same altar, that is, to the one Jesus Christ.

(1) Baptism requires his intervention. (1) Baptism requires his intervention, and even marriages will not be celebrated without his advice. (2) All, priests and deacons as well as the simple faithful, must obey him. (3) They must also love him. (4) In short, it is in him that the sacramental life of the communities and the visible unity of the Church is concentrated. From that early time, a whole set of prescriptions establishes his relationship with the faithful. These are already, one might say, the first outlines of a canon law.

But this nascent canon law must be heard proclaimed by Ignatius: it has nothing of the ordinary dryness of human codes; its formulas are fervent, even exalted, phrases of love. To represent the order he demands, Ignatius has no harsh or clashing images: he speaks of music and harmony, and of voices that merge into the unity of a single hymn (6); are they not the members that fit into the unity of a single body?

The external unity of the Church, in fact, is only the body and framework of an interior unity, the "spiritual" unity, according to the vocabulary of the saint (7).

(1) *Phil.* wine, i: "God always forgives repentance, provided that repentance leads back to union with God and communion with the bishop,"

(2) *Sm.*, vin, 2; *Pol.*, v, 2.

(3) *Eph.* xx, 2: "in unanimous obedience". Cf. *Magn.*, m, 2; *Eph.*, 11, 2.

(4) *Eph.*, I, 3.

(5) *Trail.* i, i. - "See that nothing is done without your permission," he writes to Bishop Polycarp, "and you do nothing without God." *Pol.*, iv, 1.

(6) Ignatius is fond of comparisons drawn from music to express unity: "You must agree with the bishop," he writes to the Ephesians (iv), "as indeed you do. Your venerable presbyterate, worthy of God, is attached to the bishop like strings to a zither. Because of this, your concord and unanimous (σύμφωνος) charity are a hymn in honor of Christ. Become all of you like a choir, tuned together by concord, expressing in union the melody of God, and sing with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, that he may hear you, and that by your good works he may recognize you for members of his Son. It is therefore useful to be in an immaculate union so that you may be partakers of God everywhere." Cf. *Phil.* 1:2; *Rom.* 11:2; *Eph.* v:1: πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμφωνα ἦ.

(7) Cf. especially *Magn.* χι.

And this is the unity par excellence, guardian of the Church (1) and strength of prayers (2); the holy, pure and immaculate unity (3); the unity tout court (4), the word alone speaks enough, and the Fathers, after Ignatius, will like to use it thus, absolutely, to show how unity is understood and imposed by itself.

For it is the unity of Christ. The bishops who maintain it have the glory of being only intermediaries (5): the source is in Christ and in God (6). (6) It is made up of the life of Christ which comes to us through the Eucharist (7); it is cemented by the blood of the Saviour and by his passion (8).

It is this unity with Christ which sanctifies the whole life of Christians: for this reason they must do everything in Jesus Christ (9); they must not consider others except in Jesus Christ (10) ;

(1) *Magn.* xiv; *Eph.* xxi, 2; *Trail* vu, 1; *xm*; *Rom.* ix.

(2) *Eph.*, v, 2; *xm*, 1; *xi*, 2.

(3) *Eph.*, iv, 2, quoted above; cfr *Eph.*, n, 2. - 'Ὁμολογία θεοῦ: *Magn.*, xv, 1.

(4) *Eph.*, v, 1; *Pol.*, 1, 2, etc.

(5) "It is good to honour God and the BISHOP B," he writes simply to the Smyrnees (vin, 1); and to the Ephesians (vi, 2), "It is evident, therefore, that the bishop is to be regarded as the Lord himself." Cfr *Magn.* ni, 2; *Rom.* ix, 1; *Eph.* v, 3.

(6) Ecclesiastical unity makes us θεοφόροι, ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, bearers of God, bearers of Christ. *Eph.*, ix, 1, 2. - Avoiding divisions, the Ephesians will be all for God: βλοι θεοῦ, *Eph.*, vin, i.

(7) < Hasten to use the eucharist, which is one; for one is the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the chalice for the union of his blood, and one the altar, as the bishop with the priests and deacons is one." *Phil.* iv; it., *Eph.* xx, 2; *Sm.* vin, 1.

(8) "By His cross Christ calls us into His passion, we who are His members." *Trail.* xi, 2. - "Christians are, as it were, nailed body and soul to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ." *Sm.*, 1, 1.-"He who is near the sword is near God; he who is in the midst of the beasts is with God; only let it be in the name of Christ." *Sm.* iv, 2. - The Church of Ephesus "is united and elect in the true passion, in the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ." Inscr. - Cfr *Magn.*, v, 2; *Phil.*, inscr.; *Sm.*, 1:1, 2; *xn*, 2.

(9) *Eph.*, vin, 2; *xv*, 3; *Magn.*, vm, 1; *ix*, 2; *Sm.*, iv, 2.

(10) *Magn.* vi, 2.

Jesus Christ will be their faith (1), their hope (2), their charity (3), their life (4), their inseparable life (5), their all (6) and, if they want to remain chaste, it will be out of respect for the flesh of Christ (7).

It is God himself, and in a special way, the Holy Spirit (8), who produces this unity in our souls. (8) It bears the mark of its origin so well that, in order to express it better, Ignatius regularly relates it to the persons of the Holy Trinity.

...Subjected to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the clergy as to the law of Jesus Christ.

You, therefore, live in a godly way; revere one another; let no one regard his neighbor according to the flesh, but in Jesus Christ.

(1) *Trail.* "vin, i; cfr *Eph.*, *III*"¹.

(2) Christ, he says, is "our common hope. *Eph.*, xxi, 2; *Phil.* "v, 2; xi, 2; *Trail.* "inscr.; n, 2; *Magn.* "xi, 2.

(3) *Eph.* "i, 1; *Trail.* "vni, 1; *Rom.* "vu, 3.

(4) *Eph.* "xx, 2: Ζην ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός. See also *Eph.* "vin, 2; x, 3; xi, 1; *Magn.* "vi, 2; *Trail.* "11, 2. To express our union with Christ, he declares that he is our life, our act of living, τὸ ζην, *Eph.* "ni, 2: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζην - Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ διὰ παντός ἡμῶν ζην, *Magn.* "1, 2; cfr *Eph.* "xx, 2. - Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀληθινόν ἡμῶν ζην. *Sm.* "iv, ι; cfr *Eph.* "xi, 1; *Trail.* vχ, 2. - Cfr *Magn.* "vχ, 1; *Eph.* "vu, 2.

(5) *Eph.* "ni, 2.

(6) Christ works powerfully in the faithful. *Magn.* "xn; xiv; *Trail.* "vi, 1; *Rom.* "vin, 2; *Eph.* "vi, 2. - Some interesting expressions may be quoted, thus *Magn.*, x, 2: "Change yourselves to the new leaven, which is Christ." - *Eph.* "xvn, 1. "Christ received the ointment on his head, that the Church might breathe immortality"; an idea which will be taken up, e.g. by ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, vu, 79, P.G., xi, 1420; see below, p. 365.

(7) *Pol.* "v, 2; cfr *Eph.* x, 3.

(8) The role of the Holy Spirit in the edification of the mystical body is not given with precision by Ignatius, who moreover does not yet have very precise expressions for his Trinitarian theology. We can deduce from his explanations that the functions of the Holy Spirit are analogous to those of Christ. It is he who makes us spiritual (see especially the letter to the Ephesians, especially ix, and *Phil.* vu, 1; *Magn.* xv; cf. LEBRETON, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, vol. 11, p. 326).

(9) "The unfaithful bear the effigy of this world; the faithful whom charity animates bear, through Jesus Christ, the effigy of God the Father." *Magn.* v, 2.

(10) *Magn.*, he.

Love one another in every way. Let nothing divide you, but be united with the bishop and the superiors, so that you may represent incorruption.

As the Lord, neither by himself nor by the apostles, did anything without his Father to whom he is united, so you do nothing without bishops and priests.

Reveal the deacons as Jesus Christ, and likewise the bishop who represents the Father, and the priests as the assembly of God and the meeting of the apostles.

Obeys the bishop as Jesus Christ obeyed his Father; the priests as the apostles; revere the deacons as the commandment of God.

One could easily quote a score of similar passages (4). (4) The terms compared would vary from one to another, for, as we have seen from the preceding texts, the dogma, fixed and settled in itself from the death of the last apostle, has not yet been given its definitive and scientific formulas for expression and explanation to Christians. But underneath the variation of words, the same thought recurs everywhere: the unity of Christians, through the bishop and Christ, goes back to God. There is first of all the unity of the three divine persons, and this unity, through Christ and through the Church which contains Christ, produces in the faithful a unity analogous to it and participated in by it, which is the unity of the mystical body.

This is the movement of grace, and with the same steps, that Jesus expressed in the discourse after the Last Supper, asking the Father: "May they be one in me, as we are

(1) *Magn.* vi, 2 to vu, 1.

(2) *Trail*, in, 1.

(3) *Sm.*, wine, i.

(4) They are especially frequent in the letters to the Magnesians and the Trallians. They can be found, studied from the point of view of Trinitarian doctrine, in LEBRETON, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, 11, Paris, 1928, pp. 284 ff. - See also *Trail*, xi; *Ephesians*, ix, 2.

(5) Cfr *Trail*, xn, 2; *Phil*, ni, 2; vin, 1; *Eph*, ni, 2; iv, v, 1; *Magn.*, vi, 2-7; xiii, 2.

one." Ignatius the martyr, who, like Christ, is going to offer himself for 1 Church (1), has, in his last letters, the same words and the same preoccupations that Christ himself had, when beginning his passion, he pronounced his last speech.

In the exact continuation of Scripture, tradition takes its place: the doctrine of Ignatius takes up that of John.

Even more: tradition completes Scripture. One point remained unclear and poorly expressed in St. John: the visible aspect of unity and the role of the hierarchy. It is explained in Saint Ignatius. Everything fits together so well that this completion is borrowed from other passages of Scripture, which were also awaiting their explanation, and which receive it by this rapprochement. We want to speak of the teachings of Saint Paul.

Generally speaking, on several points, the doctrine of Saint Ignatius is reminiscent of the Pauline epistles: the same frequent mention of the "body" (2), the same predilection for the expression "in Christ" (3), the same tumultuous way of expressing oneself; and, moreover, what must be emphasized here, the same

(1) *Eph.*, VIII, 1; xxx, 1; *Trail*, xiii, 3; *Pol.*, 11, 3; vi, 1.

(2) We must quote some examples of this (*Trail.*, xi, 2), "Christ calls you, His members, the head not being able to be without the members, since God has promised Union, which is Himself." First appearance of an idea which will be dear to the Fathers, that the ascension is the beginning of our exaltation. See also *Ephesians*, iv, 2; xvn, 1, and an important passage where a mention of the mystical body serves as the finale of a sort of *regula fidei*: *Sm.*, i, 2; cfr. *Trail*, ix, 1, 2; *Sm.*, xn, 2. - Ignatius has, in the letter to the Ephesians, No. xx, an interesting passage where he speaks of "the new man," but, unfortunately, to say that he will continue the explanation in another letter. According to the context, this new man is Christ himself, inasmuch as he renews all things (xix), is the life of all (*ibid.*) and unites Christians in himself (xx, 2).

(3) The expression "in Christ Jesus" is very frequent in Ignatius (30 times), especially in the letter to the Ephesians (10 times). Cfr M. RACKL, *die Christologie des M. Ignatius*, Fribourg, 1914. According to this author (p. 205), it means the most intimate union that can be thought of, of each Christian and of all Christianity, with Christ.

The Apostle's concern for ecclesiastical organization in the pastoral epistles is not the same. In these last letters, the Apostle seems to be

thinking only of this organization; he feels that his career is over; he is in a hurry to teach the young bishops who will replace him their role and their duties. It would seem that he has forgotten his doctrine of the mystical body; at the most, he recalls it at times, but as if in passing and without making it the center to which everything is related.

It remains, however, but implicitly, the soul of everything, and Ignatius is going to show this, and he is going to show it by clarifying what Saint Paul says about hierarchy by what Saint John says about unity. The hierarchy, he will explain, has precisely the role of producing and embodying unity; it is through it that the attachment of the faithful to one another and to Christ is carried out and maintained.

This is how synthesis takes place. Nothing is added to the revealed fact. But its cohesion is shown more clearly and its own clarity shines through. The work of theology has begun.

With regard to the doctrine of the mystical body, the main thing that theology makes better understood, in the time of the Apostolic Fathers that we are considering, is the doctrine on unity that is included in it.

"That they may be one." Such was the last teaching of Jesus during his mortal life. This is exactly where the Church takes up; she is the continued Christ, she continues the teaching, and her teaching is always the Master's teaching, the continued teaching.

Doctrine of unity, then. This unity is, no doubt, a visible and empirical unity, as was Christ himself. But it is not only that. Above all, it is a unity of life, a unity of interior mystery, a supernatural and divine unity as was Christ himself. This is what St. Ignatius says (i); this is what the other Apostolic Fathers say when they speak on this same subject.

(i) On Ignatius' doctrine concerning the mystical body, Fr,

They do not have a treatise or a special chapter in which they explain the unity of the mystical body separately. Unity must be in what it unifies, as the ferment must be in the dough it is working. Thus the doctrine of unity in Saint Ignatius and in these other

apostolic Fathers: it fits so well into their general teaching that one could fail to notice it. It is only a question, one might say, of schisms to be avoided, of concord and obedience, of ecclesiology. No doubt. But this is what is interesting: the doctrine of unity is one and the same with the doctrines it serves to propose (1).

Two writings have been kept for the end, quite similar to each other as far as the indications they give on the mystical body are concerned. They are the epistle of Barnabé and the *II Clementis*.

The epistle of Barnabas, though not by the apostle, is nevertheless very old, probably from the beginning of the second century, and it enjoyed such authority that in the Syrian Church it was placed among the holy books, and transcribed after them in the codex Sinaiticus.

in the work cited, p. 286, writes that Ignatius shows the Christian life "as a life in Christ". According to J. A. MÖHLER, *Pathology, or Literary History of the First Three Centuries of the Church*, translated by J. COHEN, Louvain, 1844, 3 vols. t. 1, p. 126 (the work, which is old, is no longer up to date for the positive part; but its appreciations retain value): the Church, for Ignatius, is the proper offspring of the God-Man Jesus Christ; it is as inseparably united to him as he himself is united to the Father. - NEWMAN, *Essays critical and historical*, 5* ed, London, 1885, vol. 1, p. 250 (same remark as to Möhler), states that in St. Ignatius ■ a mysterious - communication of our Lord's humanity to Christians" is the principle which purifies and renews the Adamic stock. See also the *Diet, de théol. cathol.* de VACANT, G. BAREILLE, art. *Ignatius*, vol. vu, col. 708.

(1) In the *Odes of Solomon*, a Christian apocrypha of the second century, it is presented as a communion with the Word, an emotional inclusion in the atmosphere of thought and light that is the Saviour. On this apocrypha, see a few lines in Appendix 11, vol. n, p. 392.

It speaks with some force of the union of Christ with Christians and of the action he exerts on them through all the events of his life (i). In his excessive love for them (2), he has made them temples, holy, perfect and spiritual temples (3); he has sanctified them, renewed them, created them anew, created them from the ground up:

See to it," the letter says, "so that the temple of God may be built beautifully.

In what way? This is how. By receiving the remission of our sins and by

hoping in the name [of the Lord], we become new men, we are recreated from top to bottom; thus God really dwells in us, in our inner dwelling.

How so? [His word remains in us, the object of our faith, the call of His promise, the wisdom of His will, the precepts of His doctrine. He himself prophesies through us; he himself dwells in us; he opens the door of the temple, that is, the mouth [for preaching or prayer], to us who were subject to death, he grants us repentance and thus brings us into the incorruptible temple. Therefore, he who desires his salvation looks not to the man [who preaches it], but to the one who dwells in him and speaks through him, afraid that he has never heard the words of the one who speaks through the mouth [of the preacher] or even desired to hear them.

This is what the spiritual temple built for the Lord means (4).

This new creation is so powerful and true that the first creation was only an image of it.

By renewing us through the remission of sins, he has given us a new type of being, he has given us the souls of little children (5), as if he were creating us anew.

(2) *Epistle of Barnabas*, vu, 2: "The Son of God... suffered that he might quicken us by his wounds." P.G., 11, 744, HEMMER and LEJAY, *The Apostolic Fathers*, i, *Doctrine of the Apostles, Epistle of Barnabas*, by H. HEMMER, G. OGER, A. LAURENT (quoted HEMMER and LEJAY, i), p. 54. Cfr v, 1-4, P.G., 11, 733ff, HEMMER and LEJAY, i, pp. 38,3ff.

(3) Ὑπερηγάπησεν, v, 8, P.G., n, 736, HEMMER and LEJAY, i, p. 46.

(4) iv, n; vi 15; xvi 8, 10; P.G., 11, 733, 741, 773-776; HEMMER and LEJAY, i, pp. 42, 52, 90.

(5) ^{xvi}> 8-10, P.G., n, 773, HEMMER and LEJAY, i, p. 90.

(6) Cfr vu, i, P.G., π, 744, HEMMER and LEJAY, i, p. 54: Τέκνα εὐπροσώνης.

For the Scripture speaks of us when [God] said to the Son (1), "Let us make man in our image and likeness...". And when the Lord saw what a masterpiece we were, he added, "Grow and multiply and fill the earth." {*Gen.*, 1, 26, 28). These words were addressed to the Son. But I will show you how He [God], true to His word to us, has made a second creation in recent times. For the Lord says: "Behold, I make the last things like the first. (Cfr *Mt.* xix, 30 and xx, 16) (2).

One will have noticed the phrase: "It is of us that Scripture speaks when God says to the Son", etc. The author, in this passage, as often in the exegetical part of the epistle, considers, following Saint Paul, that the Old Testament goes towards Christ and towards those of Christ, that is to say towards the mystical Christ (3). His explanations are sometimes complicated, but his conviction is evident. In him, we can observe the first beginnings in the tradition of a method of exegesis which has its roots in Scripture, and which will become familiar to the Fathers, that which consists in explaining the holy books through the mystical body.

The same observation can be made about another work which is generally joined to the works of the Apostolic Fathers: the *II Clementis*, the second epistle attributed to St. Clement.

It is, in truth, neither an epistle nor by St. Clement, and its date and author remain unknown. It is a

The [307] tone of the epistle is moreover dilatory. The three things that are needed, it says at the beginning (1, 6, P.G., 11, 729, HEMMER and LEJAY, I, p. 32), are < the hope of life..., justice..., love acting in joy and gladness, the sign of justice".

(1) Cfr vu, II, P.G., n, 748, HEMMER and LEJAY, I, p. 58.

(2) vi, 11-13, P.G., π, 741, HEMMER and LEJAY, I, p. 50.

(3) This is the theme of the epistle. The author loves the addressees more than his own life; he wants, though unworthy, to share with them the lights he has received, which will help them to see that Scripture speaks everywhere of Christ and of Christians. This he explains in ch. v, after a long introduction. See passim, especially vi, 2; vu, 3, 7, 9/ 10;^{XII} >^{IO} -^{Au} - At the beginning he speaks especially of Christ; then, from chapter ix, especially of Christians.

It too, like the epistle of Bamabé, was placed among the holy scriptures in the Syrian Church, and is found written among them in the Codex Alexandrinus.

Like the epistle of Bamabé, it teaches that Genesis, in recounting the first creation, also recounts the second, that which makes Christians, in the Church, one with Christ. Here is a whole chapter:

Therefore, my brothers, by doing the will of God our Father, we will belong to the first spiritual Church, which was created before the sun and the moon. If, on the other hand, we do not do the will of the Lord, we will come up against the Scripture which says: "My house has become a den of thieves. (*Jer.*, vu, n). Let us therefore prefer to belong to the Church of life in order to be saved.

You are not unaware, I think, that the living Church "is the body of Christ" (*Eph.*, i, 22, 23), for the Scripture says, "God made mankind male and female" (*Gen.*, 1, 27); the man is Christ; the woman is the Church. And the books of the prophets and the apostles teach that the Church is not from now, but from the beginning; she was spiritual just like our Jesus and she appeared in the last days to save us.

And the Church which was spiritual appeared in the flesh of Christ, thus showing us that if any of us keeps the Church in the flesh without corrupting it, he will receive it in the Holy Spirit; for this flesh is the copy of the spirit and whoever corrupts the copy cannot participate in the original. This means, my brothers: Respect the flesh in order to participate in the spirit. Now if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit is Christ, it follows that he who offends the flesh offends the Church, and that he will not participate in the spirit which is Christ.

This is the life and incorruptibility in which our flesh can participate thanks to its union with the Holy Spirit, and no one can describe or define the good things "which the Lord has prepared" (*I Cor.* 11:9) for his chosen ones.

These speculations on the pre-existing Church present the

(1) *II Clem.* xw, 1-5, HEMMER and LEJAY, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 11, *Clement of Rome*, by H. HEMMER (quoted HEMMER and LEJAY, H), pp. 156ff. In MIGNE, P.G., i, we have only the beginning of chapter xu. Cfr n, 1-3, P.G., i, 332, HEMMER and LEJAY, II, p. 136. From what is said about the Church, one can bring a passage from HERMAS, *Vision* n, 4, 1, P.G., n, 897.

It must be admitted that this is done in a rather material way, which is surprising at times. Some will still exaggerate in this sense, and they will be heretics (1); others, whom we will meet later on, will not find the formulas happy either (2). (2) But can we not see that, in these phrases, the truth that is expressed is that which Paul and John taught from the beginning: that, in the divine designs, Christ and the Church existed before all that exists now, that they are but one mystical Christ, and that this is the mystery prepared from the beginning, this "mystery which is so great in Christ and in the Church" (3)?

The teachings that *II Clementis* gives on the mystical body, just like those provided by the epistle of Bamabé, are in themselves, certainly, not very abundant and especially not very clear. But, as far as the method of exegesis which interprets Scripture through the mystical body is concerned, they mark the beginnings of a tradition. It is for this reason especially that they deserve to be collected.

After the Apostolic Fathers, we should study the Apologists. The apologists, as is well known, were Christians of the second or third century, most of them quite literate, who undertook to demonstrate the excellence, purity and antiquity of the Christian religion, as well as to avenge the calumnies that were levelled at it.

But precisely this goal did not lead them to speak of the mystical body. Also, in this order of ideas, there is hardly an affirmation to be found in their works: that of the immensity of God and his presence in everything. It is dear to them;

(2) The Valentinians will speak of the Church eon (note in the HEMMER and LEJAY edition, H, p. 158).

(3) See, at the end of chapter n, what is said of St. Methodius and the Asiatic school, pp. 342 ff.

(4) *Eph.* v. 32; *Rev.* xxi. 2ff. xix. 7. See what was said in ch. 1 of part 1.

They insist on it all the more because it should appeal to the best of their readers and the most educated. Now, on the other hand, it has some analogy - we will say no more - with the doctrine of the mystical body. Later Fathers of the Church would even have recourse to it to explain how the Word united himself, through the holy humanity he took on, to the whole human universe.

Here is one of the most characteristic passages on this subject. It is taken from the apology attributed to Meliton, and which M. Cureton has published (2). It is from the third century, shortly after 200, says Rauschen (3).

I urge you," says the author, "to know yourself and to know God. See what is in you that which is called the soul: through it the eye sees, the ear hears, the mouth speaks, and the whole body obeys it. When, God willing, the soul is taken away, the body perishes. By this invisible thing which is in you, understand how, by the virtue of God, all the world is set in motion, as the body is by the soul, and how, when this virtue withdraws, all the world will fade away.

Passages of the same kind can be found without too much difficulty in other apologists (5). (5) But they are not so significant that it is necessary to multiply the quotations. We could therefore stop here, if it were not for the Epistle to *Diognetus* and the writings of St. Justin.

About *Yepeter to Diognetus*, it is good to note the

(1) Especially St. Athanasius, of whom we have already spoken on p. 118, note.

(2) *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 47.

(3) RAUSCHEN-ALTANER, *Patrology*, p. 84.

(4) *Speech to Antoninus, Caesar*. - MIGNE, P.G., v, 1229, contains the Latin translation, after the English translation of Cureton.

(5) See for example St. Theophilus of Antioch. It is God, he writes (shortly after 180, RAUSCHEN), *Ad Autolycum*, vii, P.G., vi, 1033, "who gives to the earth 1 spirit which nourishes it and whose breath brings life to all things; if he retained his spirit in himself, all would fade away." "It is by him, man, that you speak, by him that you breathe; and yet you ignore him." (*Ibid.*, 1035).

She uses these splendid and powerful phrases to praise the charity of Christians and the close union which binds them together (1). (1) This is an indirect and remote testimony that must be added to what we have said about charity and unity in the preceding pages.

Next, we must mention Saint Justin. St. Justin, born of a pagan family, was converted around 130. In addition to two *Apologies*, we have a *Dialogue with Tryphon*. It is in this one that there are some interesting words for us. In it he declares that the Lord has come to take up everything, to sum it all up in himself (2). Thus, he explains, the robe of which it is written that Jesus will wash it in the blood of the vine (*G en.*, XLIX, II), "is the whole of those who believe in Christ, ...in whom dwells the seed of God, which is the Word" (3).

These words are not very significant in themselves, to be sure, but they had to be quoted because of their resemblance to those of the epistle of Barnabas and of *II Clementis*, which have been mentioned in the preceding pages.

(1) See n^o 1, v, xi (P.G., 11, 1168, 1173, 1181). Recall the rebuke contained in the *Pastor* of Hermas against the *μωνάζοντες*, who lose their souls, by not cleaving to the righteous (cfr *Y agraphum* quoted in ch. 11, p. 53, in note, after A. RESCH, *Agrapha*, 2^o ed. (*Texte und Unters.*, xxx, 3-4), Leipzig, 1906, *agraphum* 67. - See also that other apologist, TERTULLIAN, *Apolog.* xxxix, P.L., i, 471. "We are one body," he says, "we come together to pray, we call each other brethren, we support each other with our pennies. This love is even, in the eyes of many, the mark that distinguishes us: "See," they say, "how they love one another... Besides," he continues, addressing the Gentiles, "we are your brothers too." This willingness to be good to others, even in spite of them, has been perpetuated in Christianity (see what we will have to say about St. Augustine, vol. 11, pp. 55ff.), if not in Tertullian.

(2) *Dialogue with Tryphon*, c, 3, P.G., vi, 709-712.

(3) *I Apol.* XXXII, 8; cfr *Dial.* LIV, 1; P.G., vi, 380, 593; (cfr *II Apol.*, vm, xiii, P.G., vi, 457, 465). On this way in which Scripture brings what it says of Christ nearer to what it says of the Church, see *Dial.* LXIII, cxvi; XLII; P.G., vi, 621, 745, 565. On the Word dwelling in men, see *IA pol.* v; vu; xn, 8; XLIV, 10; XLVI; *II Apol.* vm-x; xni, 3. On the unity of the Church, see *Dial.* LXIII, 4-5; *I Apol.* xiv. On our regeneration, see *I Apol.* LXI, 1-3; *Dial.* cxxxvm, 2. We abbreviate the references.

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F. Cayré, J. Tixeront, O. Bardenhewer, G. Rauschen, in the Patrologies which we have quoted, indicate, in dealing with each of the Fathers, some French translations which exist, not all of them however. We will mention some of them after them, trying to name only the most accessible. Alongside them, we will also mention the German, English or other translations, which introductions or notes make especially useful. Let us mention, in this case, the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, which is now being republished by BARDENHEWER, WEYMAN, SCHERMANN and ZELLINGER, Kempten, then Munich, since 1911; the *Fathers for English Readers*, London, since 1850; the *Early Church Classics*, London, 1898.

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CHAPTER II

SAINT IRENAEUS AND THE RECAPITULATION

SAINT IRENAEUS. Irenaeus and Ignatius of Antioch; same doctrine of the mystical body, but otherwise expressed, as opposed to the heresy, which is more developed now, the Gnostic heresy.

RECAPITULATION in the teaching of Irenaeus. General meaning. What it says, to a first approximation, about the mystical body. Central theory, both in Irenaeus' refutation of the Gnostics and in his own theology. It shows our incorporation into Christ, the second Adam. God, through it, takes back into himself his own creature; he takes back the whole Old Testament, even Adam, and the whole ancient economy. Christ, therefore, contains and sums up everything, all ages, all things, all the world. - The Church is therefore his fullness. It has a visible aspect and an invisible life. And there our divinization in Christ takes place. The role of the Holy Spirit. Through him we become what Christ is. Thus the recapitulation is completed, bringing everything, through Christ, back to the principle, which is the Father.

CONCLUSION. An already extremely rich synthesis. It integrates many dogmas by making them unified. But it is still too imaginative, and its formulas are not perfect: progress cannot yet stop.

APPENDIX: Meliton of Sardis and St. Methodius of Olympus. The doctrine of the two Adams and the way in which, probably, many in Asia were wont to propose the doctrine of the mystical body.

The first comprehensive exposition of the doctrine of the mystical body is provided by what may be called the first of theologians, Saint Irenaeus.

Irenaeus, on this point, is attached to the traditions of the Greek school. Also, this bishop of Lyon did not come to Gaul until rather late. His childhood and youth were spent in Asia, in Smyrna and the surrounding area, and his teacher in the faith was the martyr Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, whose letter to the Philippians we have already mentioned, and to whom Ignatius addressed one of his epistles.

When he took the episcopal see of Lyon around 177, he remained faithful to the teachings received. There is even a striking resemblance between him and Ignatius of Antioch: he is at the end of the second century what the Syrian bishop had been at the end of the first: the great voice of tradition proclaiming communion with the

episcopate, that is, the imitation of the Church, as the only means of escaping apostasy and error.

But this doctrine of ecclesiastical unity, which in both of them becomes a doctrine of the mystical body, they express in their own way. The letters of Ignatius are cries of alarm, brief and breathless. Irenaeus, on the other hand, left long doctrinal expositions, works of patient erudition and systematic reflection. More understanding than Ignatius, while not having the same vigour of intuition, he integrates his ecclesiology into a general system of the divine work here below. His doctrine of the mystical body is also more complete.

Heresy, moreover, forced him to do so. For, like Ignatius, he had to deal with it. Only, during the century that has elapsed, it has grown like a thorn bush; now, in order to eradicate it, a whole clearing must be done.

Gnosticism, in fact, the adversary of Irenaeus, is indeed the most inextricable system, or rather the most inextricable jumble of systems. Theogony and cosmogony, history of the world as well as ascetic doctrine, philosophy and science, he adds to this jumble, and not without altering them, Christian truths and scriptural passages.

To give a very simplified idea, we could say that it has as its starting point a certain contempt for matter and, consequently, for the God who created matter, that is, for the God of the Old Testament. Our material universe is only the result of a mistake. In the beginning, there was a world of spiritual and divine entities: the eons. They formed a hierarchy, more or less cleverly combined

according to the systems, of couples or isolated individuals. But it happened that one of these Aeons, dissatisfied with its place, wanted to rise. The guilty Aeon was rejected, and from this disorder was born our universe, the sinful work of a secondary and ill-disposed God. But the origin of the universe is such that there are divine parcels scattered throughout it. These must not remain eternally exiled. Another Aeon has therefore come to their rescue. He formed himself, not a material body, of course, for matter is evil, but the appearance of a material body (docetism) and descended into the world of matter. Those who contain divine particles in themselves will be saved by him; he will take them to glory. In the meantime, he has given them an esoteric doctrine, a gnosis, about the divine world and how to return to it, and this gnosis has given its name to Gnosticism. On this general background, more or less common to all the Gnostic sects, each one embroidered new explanations and new complications. The tangle has not yet been unraveled in our days.

These are the errors which, in the time of Irenaeus, were spreading in the Rhone valley. It fell to him to stop them, and he did not shrink from the task. Heresy, however, is the very complication. Nevertheless, he set about unraveling it in order to refute it. The Christian dogmas had not yet been formulated. No matter, he does not hesitate to try to synthesize them (1). (1) In him, young and daring, rises the ardor of Christian thought, which does not fear error, because it holds the truth as a family heritage, through tradition; and also, because the truth holds it through the ecclesiastical magisterium, that is to say, still through tradition.

Now, in this theology of Irenaeus, always as in

I)) To explain "the whole of this body of truth", as he says in his *Epideixis*, that is, in his *Démonstration de la foi évangélique*, 1, trans. P. BARTHOÛLOT, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, vol. iv, 1916, p. 368. - A. H. (*Adversus haereses*), 1, 9, 4, P.G., vu, 584 (cfr 1, 14, 3; 1, 15, 4; n, 27, 7; P.G., vu, 601, 624, 802). Ignatius', the doctrine of the mystical body is at its heart.



The heart of Irenaeus' theology is the theory of recapitulation.

It has its origins in the oldest Christian teaching, for it merely develops the scriptural doctrine of the two Adams. But it is already a theological system, for it makes a general statement of the salvific economy out of the parallel between the two Adams.

The idea of "recapitulate" is one of those that even its good fortune has rendered imprecise, so much so that it has loaded them with diverse meanings. Fortunately, we do not have to detail its multiple meanings here. It will suffice for us to seek out what Irenaeus teaches about the mystical body through it.

As a first approximation, and speaking in a general way, we can say that the word recapitulation, applied to the work of Christ, signifies for Irenaeus a sort of recommencement in the opposite direction, by which God, going back in some way through the stages that evil has gone through to infect the earth, takes up and sums up the whole of creation, including matter, and especially man, in a new economy of salvation. He gathers up all his work from the first origins, to purify and sanctify it in his incarnate Son, and he becomes for all a second stock and a second Adam. In him, the first Adam and all his descendants are healed; the evils due to disobedience are destroyed and, as it were, turned upside down by their opposites; humanity regains the holiness it had in the beginning and is divinized by union with the God from whom it comes. There are many meanings, as we can see: summary, resumption from the origin, recommencement, going back to the source, restoration, reorganization and incorporation under a single head; related meanings also which, in spite of their diversity, fit into each other, so that each one, even when expressed alone, nevertheless suggests the whole.

This multiplicity of meanings and this power of evocation made the idea of recapitulation suitable for forming the centre of a theology as developed as that of Irenaeus. And, in fact, it is always to this idea that he returns, both to refute the Gnostics and to formulate the faith. Thus, it serves to show that the heretics are wrong to oppose the two Testaments to each other, or to declare the matter absolutely evil. Christ came, he says, precisely to restore in himself, to "recapitulate" in his new covenant the whole of the Old Testament and the whole of material creation (1). On the other hand, the whole of Christian doctrine, the whole of Christianity itself, is summed up in this recapitulation made by Christ. Irenaeus is so certain of this that he is not afraid to insert the word at the centre of his expositions of faith, a sort of small symbols scattered throughout his work.

A passage of this kind is found at the beginning of *V Adversus haereses* (2). The first time the author opposes the splendid unity of the faith to the multiplicity of heretical fables - thus at a capital moment - the word is used to indicate the very goal of Christianity. It is a profession of trinitarian faith, followed by an exposition of the redemptive work.

The Church, spread throughout the world to the ends of the earth, received from the apostles and their disciples faith in one God, the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth and the seas and all that is in them; and in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who foretold by the prophets, the economies, and the comings, (3) and the virgin birth, and the passion,

(1) Examples abound. Thus the beginning of the V^e book, quoted below, PP-333"334, etc., Irenaeus does not use the recapitulation only to refute heresy, but also to explain or confirm certain dogmas. *A.H.*, in, 21, 10; ni, 22, 1 and v, 14, P.G., vu, 954, 956 and 1161-62. See also, v, i, i, P.G., 1120, 1121. - in, 18, 7, P.G., 937- - ni, 19, L P.G., 93⁸ - - *Epid.* xxxi, p. 389.

(2) *A.H.*, i, 10, i, P.G., vu, 550-552. Cfr ni, 12, 7, P.G., 90ⁱ-

(3) Τας οἰκονομίας καί τας ἐλεύσεις. These are probably the theophanies, the apparitions of God, the Word, in the Old Testament, of which Irenaeus often speaks.

and the resurrection of the dead, and the ascension into heaven with his flesh of the beloved Jesus Christ our Lord, and his coming from heaven in the glory of his Father, to recapitulate all things, and to raise up all human flesh, that before Christ Jesus, our Lord and God, our Saviour and King, according to the will of the Father, every knee should bow. This is the doctrine which the Church has received; this is the faith which, though scattered over the whole earth, she keeps carefully, as if she lived in one house. She believes these things [everywhere] in the same way, as if she had but one heart and one soul; she teaches them [everywhere] in the same way, as if she had but one mouth. For if in the world there are different languages, the virtue of tradition is one and the same... As the sun, God's creature, is one and the same throughout the earth, so the preaching of the truth appears everywhere and enlightens all those who wish to come to the knowledge of the truth.

The *Demonstration of Evangelical Preaching*, *VEpideixis*, contains a similar passage. There too, in a Trinitarian rule of faith, the same mention occurs.

As for the second article, here it is. This is the Word of God, the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, who appeared to the prophets in the form described in their oracles, and according to the special economy of the Father [the Word] by whom all things were made, and who in the fullness of time, in order to recapitulate and contain all things, (i) became man, so as to destroy death and show life and to restore the union between God and man (2)

Many other passages could be quoted where the idea of recapitulation plays the same central role in the exposition of Christian doctrine (3). They would certainly not prove that the

(1) The German translation by K. Ter-Mekerttschzan and E. Ter-Minasiantz, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxi, 1, Leipzig, 1907, p. 4, gives the same meaning: "Um alles zur Vollendung zu bringen und zusammen zu fassen."

(2) *Epid. ni*, p. 372; cfr xxx, p. 389; xxxvn, p. 394; it, xcvi, p. 429 and note 2 (this is the final of *VEpideixis*).

(3) *A.H.*, ni, 16, 6, P.G., vu, 925; the passage is quoted in part, pp. 329-330. - Cfr in, 4, 2, P.G., 856. In a solemn exposition of the tradition, Irenaeus explains that the barbarians themselves, enlightened by the Spirit, believe in one God, and in Jesus Christ, who "because of his immense dilection for his creature, deigned to be born of the Virgin, uniting man himself and by himself to the Word of God", is represented in the very symbol of St. Irenaeus; but only that Videy, according to the theology of the saint, sums up Christianity (i).

Now, we must continue: this idea of recapitulation, if it does not

coincide exactly with that of the mystical body, is closely related to it: it expresses how, in fact, the mystical body is constructed, and how, in the mystical body, the salvation of the world is accomplished. We can say that the idea of the mystical body, in the idea of recapitulation, forms the center of the theology of Saint Irenaeus.

This is the last point, the main one, to be shown. We will treat it with some development, illuminating the passages where it expressly refers to the "recapitulation" by those from which the word is absent, but where the thought is underlying. We will see how, according to our saint, Christ purifies and divinizes in his own image the whole human race, taking it all back into himself, in a real and mysterious way (2).

God, in Christ, came as if to take up in his creative hands his work of the six days. It is indeed, as Irenaeus frequently repeats, his own creation, τὸ ἰδιον πλάσμα, which the Word recapitulated in himself.

God, suffered under Pontius Pilate, and, resurrected, ascended into glory. See also *A.H.*, iv, 6, 2, P.G., vu, 987. - ni, 11, 8, P.G., 889-890 - ni, 18, 9, P.G., 938. - iv, 33, 7, P.G., 1077 (cfr *ibid.*, 1 and 4, col. 1072 and 1075). - iv, 20, i compared to 2.

(1) F. KATTENBUSCH, *Taufsymbol*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. 11, p. 47.

(2) A. D'ALES, *loco laud*, p. 202. - J. TIXERONT, *Histoire des dogmes*, 5^e, 1909, 1.1, p. 257. - P. POURRAT, *La Spiritualité chrétienne*, vol. 1, 8^e, Paris, 1926, pp. 89-90. - Christ saves by gathering the entire race into Himself and suffusing it with His Spirit", H. R. MACKINTOSH, *The Doctrine of the Person of J. C.*, London, 1920, p. 146. - "Der Grundgedanke der ἀνα- κεφαλαίωσις ist also dass Christus als der zweite Adam, das ganze Menschen- geschlecht mit Einschluss des ersten Adam so in sich zusammenfasst, dass er es mit seinem Geist durchdringt und heiligt, durch sein Leben lebendig macht, und dadurch in ihm *den alien Ungehorsam auflöst* und *den Tod ver- nichtet*. " R. SEEBERG, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ed, Leipzig, 1922, t. I, p. 407.

He came to us, not in His splendour, but in the way we could wear
(i). To his incarnation,

He summed up in Him the long history of mankind, giving us and summing up in Him salvation, so that we might find in Jesus Christ what we had lost in Adam, that is, the image and likeness of God.

Longam hominum expositionem (3) in seipso recapitulavit, in compendio nobis salutem praestans, what a magnificent image, if it may be taken literally! The long development of our race summed up in Christ, like a long stem ending in a flower, the flower which, in the secret of the seeds, contains the whole plant.

He is the second Adam, and he takes up, "recapitulates" and saves in himself the first. His birth and death reproduce, but in a very different way, the story of Adam (4).

(1) *A.H.*, iv, 38, i and 2, P.G., vu, 1105, 1107. Cfr *A.H.*, ni, 17, 4, P.G., 931.

(2) *A.H.*, ni, i8, i, P.G., 932; it., ni, 18, 7, P.G., 938; v, 21, 1, P.G., 1179; v, 23, 2, P.G., 1085.

(3) Cfr *A.H.*, ni, 16, 6, P.G., 925, parallel passage: *veniens per universam dispositionem*.

(4) *Epid.* xxxi, p. 390. Cfr xxxm, p. 391: "It was just and necessary that Adam should be restored in Christ, so that what is mortal should be absorbed and swallowed up by immortality, that Eve should be restored in Mary, so that a virgin becoming the advocate of a virgin, the disobedience of the one should be erased and destroyed by the obedience of the other." - The parallelism between the two Adams is strongly marked by Irenaeus; in this parallelism, the Virgin Mary occupies a great place; she is a virgin, because Adam, having been made of virgin earth, the mother of Christ had to be a virgin; she is obedient, to repair the disobedience of Eve (*recirculatio*: *A.H.*, ni, 22, 4, P.G., 959). - See *A.H.*, ni, 22, 4, P.G., 958; v, 21, P.G., 1179; v, 1,1 (quoted pp. 333-334). - ni, 21, 10, P.G., 954: "As through the disobedience of one, sin entered, and through sin, death; so through the obedience of one, righteousness came to give life to men who were dead. And as Adam, the first creature, was made of unborn earth, [it had not yet rained]... so the Word recapitulated Adam in himself, being born of Mary who remained a virgin, and recapitulated in himself the birth of Adam. If the first Adam was born of a father among men, the heretics could say that Jesus was born of Joseph. But if Adam was made by God out of the earth, it is necessary

Nothing is forsaken by grace, for everything must be taken up and healed in Christ. Adam, as Irenaeus beautifully says, Adam did not escape the hands of God (1). (1) Even after he sinned, they did not let

him go. Throughout the Old Testament, "the Word remains close to the human race until the day when he infiltrates his creature and becomes flesh" (2); he thus accustoms himself and the Holy Spirit to live among us (3), while waiting for him to come and take back the lost sheep on his shoulders (4).

In the patriarchs and the prophets, the coming of Christ itself begins, so much so that the events of the old law are a foretaste of the life of the Savior. Irenaeus says it in a splendid image:

The prophets foretold the torments of the martyrs... and in themselves they foretold the features of them, for the sake of God and his Word. For they too were members of Christ, and each of them as a member manifested the one whom he, as a prophet, foretold. Together they form an image of the one Saviour and they foretell the events of his life. In the same way that in the whole of our members the activity of the organism is manifested, and that the drawing of the body is a sign of the activity of the body.

that he who recapitulates it in himself should be a man fashioned by God in the likeness of the formation of Adam. And why did God not take a second time from the clay, but willed that the Saviour should be born of Mary? That it might not be another creature that was saved, but that the very one (which was fallen) might be recapitulated, the likeness [between the two productions] being preserved." - The Adam whom Christ recapitulates is the whole human race. "Salvation is the victory over death: the Lord having quickened man, that is, Adam, death was overcome (*evacuata*)."
A.H., in, 23, 8, P.G., vu, 965.

(1) *A.H.*, v, i, 3, P.G., 1123; cf. p. 334, note 1. On the hands of God: the Word and the Spirit, see: v, 6, 1, P.G., 1137; v, 28, 4, P.G., 1200.

(2) *A.H.*, ni, 16, 6; ni, 17, 1, P.G., 925, 929; cfr v, 16, 1, P.G., 1167. - *Epid.*, -xiN, p. 399; cfr Armenian fragments, doubtful, of Irenaeus, in JORDAN, *Armenische Irenaeusfragmente (Texte u. Unters.*, xxxvi, 3), Leipzig, 1910-1913, PP- 57, 75-

(3) *Epid.* XLVI, p. 400. *A.H.*, v, 5, 1, P.G., 1134.

(4) The image is frequent in Irenaeus. It serves him to show that it is indeed fallen humanity, the Father's own creature (τὸ ἰδίον πλάσμα) that Christ comes to save.

of the body is given, not by one member, but by all at once; thus the prophets, all together, draw beforehand the one Saviour, and each of them, in so far as he is a member, serves to show beforehand some aspect of Christ (i).

Jesus Christ sums up the entire Old Testament and all the sacrifices made therein. He Himself said so when He announced to the Jews of His generation that they would have to give an account of all the righteous blood shed on earth (*Lk.* xi, 50) :

Thus he meant that in him would be made the recapitulation of all the blood of the righteous and the prophets shed from the beginning (2).

It was not only Christ that the Old Testament drew in advance, it was also the future members of Christ, the Christians.

And as in the righteous of the old law we were figured and formed beforehand, so are these righteous reproduced (3) in us, that is, in the Church, and they receive the reward of their labors (4).

Christ, in fact, the incarnate Word, is not a man

(1) *A.H.*, iv, 33, 10, P.G., vu, 1079. The Word unites the end with the beginning; he reaps the seed sown in the beginning. "That which was figured in Abel was afterwards announced by the prophets, and then all was fulfilled in the Lord, and now it is still fulfilled in us, for the body follows the head." *A.H.*, iv, 34, 4, P.G., 1086; iv, 20, 8, P.G., 1037. - "Luke, in the genealogy of our Lord, counts, down to Adam, seventy-two generations. Thus, linking the end to the origin, he shows that it is Christ who will recapitulate in himself all the nations scattered from Adam, and all languages, and the race of men, and Adam himself... The Lord, taking the patriarchs into himself, regenerated them into the life of God; he became the principle of the living, as Adam became the beginning of death. Hence Luke begins his genealogy with the Lord and ends with Adam, in order to show that it was not the patriarchs who gave life to Christ, but Christ who regenerated the patriarchs into the life of the gospel." *A.H.*, in, 22, 3 and 4, P.G., 958, 959.

(2) *A.H.*, v, 14, i, P.G., 1161.

(3) *Deformantur*, cfr iv, 25, 3, P.G., 1051. It is enough to think of the Greek for the translation to be necessary.

(4) *A.H.*, iv, 22, 2, P.G., 1047.

all limited in himself as the others. In addition to his incommunicable individuality, he has a singularly close relationship with all. Thus, according to an idea peculiar to our saint, he passed through all the ages of man, in order to sanctify them all in himself (1); thus also the

events of

(1) *A.H.*, π, 22, 4, P.G., vn, 783. He wishes to show that Jesus lived to the age of a master, about fifty years. "He sanctified all ages," he writes, "by taking their likeness. He came to save them all through him, all those who are reborn in God, children, youths, adults and old men. So he lived in all ages. He became a child for the sake of children, that He might sanctify children; for the sake of youth He became a teenager, sanctifying that age and setting it an example of godliness, righteousness, and obedience; for the sake of young men He became a young man, making Himself an example of young men and sanctifying them before God. And so he became an old man for the old men, that he might be a master in all things, not only in speech, but also in maturity [in age], sanctifying the old men, making himself their model. Finally, he went even unto death, that he might be the firstborn of the dead and hold the primacy in all things, the prince of life, the first of all, and preceding all." Similarly ni, 18, 7, P.G., vu, 937; cfr. the fragments, doubtful, already quoted (JORDAN, *Armenische Irendusfragmente, Texte u. Unters.* xxxvi, 3, pp. 57 and 75). Cf. also *A.H.*, iv, 38, 2, P.G., vu, 1107. "The Word of God became a child with us (συνενηρίαζεν), who was perfect." - To the passage we have brought may be joined a text from S. HIPPOLYTUS, *Philosophoumena (Adversus haereses)*, x, 33, P.G., xvi, 3451, C.B., xxvi, HIPPOLYTUS, III, p. 201. - St. Hippolytus would have deserved a separate study. But, as what we have to say of him would have been found in other authors, especially in St. Irenaeus, we will only mention him in a note. As far as we can see, his writings appeared in 200-235. In 217 or 218 he became antipope; in 235 he was banished with Pope St. Pontian, and soon afterwards (235 or 36?) they both died and their two bodies returned to Rome. Hippolytus' reconciliation must have taken place during this short exile. His works are in MIGNE, P.G., x, after FABRICIUS and GALLANDI, and P.G., xvi, in the works of Origen (*Philosophoumena*). But the edition to which it is necessary to have recourse is that of the Berlin Corpus: HIPPOL. I, i and 2, edd. G. N. BONWETSCH and H. ACHELIS (1897); III, ed. P. WENDLAND (1916); iv, edd. AD. BAUER, R. HELM, J. MARKWART (1929); to be supplemented by several other publications, such as G. N. BONWETSCH, *Hippolyt's Kommentar zum Hohenlied* and *Hippolyt, drei georgisch erhaltene Schriften (Texte u. Unters.* xxm, 2 and xxvi, 1), Leipzig, 1902 and 1904; and DIOBOUNIOTIS, *Hippolyt's Schrift über die Segnungen Jakobs*, and *Hippolyt's Danielkommentar...* (*Ibid.*, xxxvin, 1), Leipzig, 1911; and Dom H. CONNOLLY, *the So-called Egyptian Church Order and derived Documents in Texts and Studies*, vin, 4, Cambridge, 1916. - Trans. of the *Philosophoumena* with introd.

its existence act perpetually on our justification (1).

In him we were all obedient unto death (2); in his passion we were all awakened from our sleep (3); and when he ascended into heaven, we ascended there with him (4).

His work is a work of solidarity and unity. In dying, he traced the sign of the cross over all things, (5) and, according to the beautiful remark of an early Christian, that

by K. FREISING, in the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, XL, Kempten-Munich, 1922. On Hippolytus, see J. DÆLLINGER, *Hippolytus und Kallistus, oder die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg, 1853. - K. J. NEUMANN, *Hippolytus von Rom in seiner Stellung zu Staat und Welt*, Leipzig, 1902. - A. D'ALES, *La Théologie de saint Hippolyte*, Paris, 1906. - A. D'ALES, *V'Édit de Calliste. Étude sur les origines de la pénitence chrétienne*, Paris, 1914.

(2) By each one of them, He takes back and corrects some evil; they are the stages of the work by which He goes up the current of sin (recapitulation). Cf. *A.H.*, in, 4, 2; in, 21, 10, P.G., vu, 856 and 954 (birth); v, 23, 2, P.G., 1185 (passion); ni, 16, 6, P.G., 926 (ascension).

(3) *A.H.*, v, 16, 3, P.G., 1168. "In the first Adam we all fell, violating the precept of God; in the second Adam we are reconciled, made obedient unto death."

(4) *A.H.*, iv, 22, i, P.G., 1047. - *Epid.*, XLV, p. 399.

(5) *A.H.*, ni, 19, 3, P.G., 941; iv, 20, 2, P.G., 1033. - *Epid.* xxxvm, P- 394-.

(6) *Epid.* xxxiv, p. 392: "By the obedience which he practised to the point of death by being tied to the wood, he atoned for the ancient disobedience occasioned by the wood. And since he is the Word of Almighty God, whose invisible splendour is poured out in us and fills the whole world, he still continues [his influence on the world] in all its length, breadth, height and depth. For through the Word of God all things are under the influence of the redemptive economy, and the Son of God was crucified for all things, having traced the sign of the cross over all things. For it was right and necessary that He who made Himself visible should bring all visible things to partake of the cross, and thus, in a sensible form, His own influence is felt in the visible things themselves. For it is he who illuminates the heights, that is, the heavens; it is he who penetrates the depths of the lower places, he who traverses the long expanse from East to West; he who reaches the wide space from North to South, calling to the knowledge of his Father men scattered in every place." See also HIM, p. 404. "He is called Christ because by means of Him the Father has anointed and sanctified all things." It. xcvi, p. 428.

According to Irenaeus, the two arms of the crucified man, which were open wide, were a call to union addressed to all peoples (1).

His work is also a work of renewal: "By doing the Father's will in us, he makes us young again, from the old age in which we were, to the newness of Christ" (2). You may ask, "the saint explains, "what is the meaning of this?"

What then did the Lord bring to us (new, *add several editions and some manuscripts*) by coming to earth? Know that He brought all newness, bringing Himself that had been announced. For it was foretold that something new would come which would renew and enliven man (3).

His work is still a universal and Catholic work. To sum up everything in him, Christ has become the head of the whole Church, and through her, through all centuries, through all times and through all peoples, he continues his work of restoration.

There is therefore one God the Father, as we have shown, and one Jesus Christ our Lord, who comes through the whole Old Testament and recapitulates all in himself. He is therefore, in all things,

(1) *A.H.*, v, 17, 4, P.G., vu, 1171. Irenaeus has just, as in the preceding text, spoken of the height, length, and breadth of the salvation which is in Christ. He continues. As Γα said one of the ancients, Christ, "by the divine extension of his hands, gathered the two peoples into one God. The two hands signified the two scattered peoples; the head, in the middle, showed that there is but one God, who is above all, through all, and in all." Cfr *Epid.*, XLVI, p. 400. A passage of S. ATHANASIUS, *De incarnatione*, xxv, P.G., xxv, 140, may be compared with this other of S. HIPPOLYTUS, *De Christo et Antichristo*, LXI, P.G., x, 782, C.B., 1, Hipp., I, 2, p. 42. He speaks of the two wings of the great eagle which were given to the woman of the Apocalypse (*Apoc.*, xii, 14). "They signify," he says, "faith in Jesus Christ, who by stretching out his two hands on the cross spread out two wings, the right and the left, calling to himself all the faithful (all nations, *says the Slavonic version*), and covering them as the hen protects her young." On other texts of St. Hippolytus, cfr. CH. MARTIN, *Un Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα de saint Hippolytus retrouvé?* in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xvi, 1926, p. 148, see p. 160.

(2) *A.H.*, ni, 17, i, P.G., 929- The text will be quoted on p. 331.

(3) *A.H.*, iv, 34, i, P.G., 1083.

The invisible became visible, the incomprehensible became comprehensible, and the impassible became passible, and the Word became man, recapitulating all things in himself. The invisible became visible, the incomprehensible became comprehensible, and the impassible became passible, and the Word became man, recapitulating all things in himself. Therefore, just as he is first in heavenly, spiritual and invisible things, he is also first in visible and corporeal things, and he takes the quality of head in himself and, placing himself as head in the Church (*Col.*, i, 18), he will draw all things to himself at the appointed time (i).

This important passage, a true symbol of faith, inspired by the beginning of the epistle to the Ephesians, shows the connection between St. Irenaeus' ecclesiology and his theory of recapitulation.

The Church, for St. Irenaeus as for St. Ignatius, is the continuing Christ. (2) Like the Savior, she has a visible aspect and an invisible or spiritual aspect, and the two are one.

The visible aspect is not so much the isolated bishops, but the successions, the genealogies of bishops. Since Ignatius, time has passed and one must go back several generations to reach the apostles. The link extends, but it remains just as solid, and it unites us ever so closely to the Saviour. The entire work of Irenaeus insists on this vital aspect of the apostolic tradition: on the spiritual contagion, the communication of grace, which takes place through the episcopate. Union with the episcopal sees is necessary, he says, because it gives life. Those who abandon it,

the schismatics, split and divide the holy and glorious body of Christ and, as much as they can, they kill it... True Gnosis is the doctrine of the apostles; it is the ecclesiastical organism spread throughout the whole of the Church.

(1) *A.H.*, in, 16, 6, P.G., vu, 925-926.

(2) *A.H.*, i, 10, 2, P.G., 552; in, 12, 7, P.G., 901; *A.H.*, in, 5, 3; ni, 24, L^{IV}, 36, 7; v, 20, 1; P.G., 860, 966, 1097, 1177.

the earth and the character of the body of Christ, according to the succession of bishops to whom the apostles entrusted each local Church (1).

Torn from the Church, schismatics are torn from the divine life. Irenaeus, in fact, does not conceive of an absolute separation between the two. Also his ecclesiology and his theory of recapitulation, like the ecclesiology of St. Ignatius again, end in a doctrine of divinization.

In the "body" of Christ, the Holy Spirit continues the work he began in Christ.

For it is the Holy Spirit whom God, through His prophets, promised to pour out in these last days upon His servants and upon His handmaids, that they might prophesy. So he came down upon the Son of God, who became the Son of man, to dwell with him in the human race, to rest in man and to dwell in the creature of God, working in them the will of the Father and renewing them from their old age into the newness of Christ...

St. Luke tells us that after the ascension he came down on the apostles with power to bring all nations to life and to open the New Testament to them. So they joined together to sing a hymn to God in all languages. The Spirit brought the scattered tribes back to unity and offered the first fruits of all the nations to the Father.

(1) *A.H.*, iv, 33, 7 and 8, P.G., vu, 1077-1078. The saint goes on to show that in this body of Christ the martyrdom of the prophets and that of Christ is continued: "Only the Church has men who suffer persecution for justice, for the love of God and for the witness given to the Son. Often mutilated, she is always reformed with new members and becomes intact again, like her type, the salt statue of Lot." *A.H.*, iv, 33, 9, P.G., 1078. According to Irenaeus, in fact, the woman of Lot changed into a statue of salt, and thus became incorruptible "shows that the Church, which is the salt of the earth, left [by Christ] in this world, is subject to the evils of humanity, but, But even though whole members are often torn from her, she remains the same salt statue (*perseverat statua salis*), in the same fearless faith, and she strengthens the courage of her children whom she sends to their father." *A.H.*, iv, 31, 3, P.G., 1070. - The possession of the ever-young truth makes the Church an ever-vigorous body. "True doctrine is like a liquor that rejuvenates in a beautiful vessel, and rejuvenates the vessel in which it is found. This, indeed, is the Church's role, to quicken all her members by faith, as man was quickened at his creation." *A.H.*, ni, 24, i, P.G., 966.

the nations. For the Lord had promised to send the Spirit to bind us to God. For just as without water one cannot make of dry wheat one dough or one loaf of bread, so we, the many, could not become one in Christ without the water from heaven... Therefore our bodies receive, through baptism, the unity which leads to incorruptible life; and our souls receive it through the Spirit... This is the gift which the Lord received from his Father, and which he then passes on to those who are united to him, by sending the Holy Spirit over all the earth.

The Church is the place of the Spirit's operations (2). (2) He communicates to it an eternal rejuvenation; and what the inspiring breath of life was at creation, it is in it throughout time. "Where the Church is, there is the Spirit, and, where the Spirit is, there is the Church and all grace." One does not depart from her, without leaving life, and those who are not her members must die of hunger and thirst, "deprived as they are of the most clear water, which flows from the body of Christ." [3] The Church is the Church of the Holy Spirit.

In the Church, through Christ and the Spirit, the divinization of - Christians takes place. Also, according to the doctrine of Irenaeus (4),

(2) *A.H.* ni, 17, i and 2, P.G., vu, 929, 930. - It is also by the reception of the Spirit that each Christian is linked to Christ. Only, because of the amphibology of the word spirit, and for lack of clear formulas expressing the necessary distinctions, it is sometimes difficult to see if Irenaeus speaks of the Holy Spirit descending into us, or of the spiritual gifts that God puts in us. - On the Eucharist considered as a principle of ecclesiastical unity, see *A.H.*, v, 2, 2 and 3; iv, 18, 5, P.G., 1126-271028
Cfr P. GAECHTER, *Unsere*

Einheit mit Christus nach dem hl. Irenaeus, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, vol. LVIII, 1934, P- 516-.

(3) The Holy Spirit comes into men as a graft into a wildling and makes them produce works above their nature. *A.H.*, v, 10, i, P.G., 1147. "As the wild olive tree which is grafted in remains the same tree, but produces other fruit and bears a new name, since it is no longer a wild olive tree, but a fruitful olive tree; so the man who has received the grafting in of faith and the insertion of the Holy Spirit remains the same flesh, but becomes capable of new works, and receives another name, signifying that he is transformed." See also v, 8 and 9, *per totum*, P.G., 1144; v, 20, 2, P.G., 1178; in, 17, i, P.G., 929. - *Epid.* xvn, p. 429; xui, p. 397.

(4) *A.H.*, ni, 24, i, P.G., 966. The idea of recapitulation underlies the whole chapter.

(5) *A.H.*, v, pref, P.G., 1102: "Our only true teacher is the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, who in his immense dilection became the Word of God incarnate and recapitulates us in him, to make us become what he is.

The Lord redeemed us with His blood. He gave His soul for our soul, His

flesh for our flesh, and He poured out the Spirit of the Father to effect the reunion and communion between God and men. In men he has as it were deposited God by the Spirit; to God he has raised man by his incarnation, and thus, firmly and truly, by his coming, he has given us immortality, bringing us into communion with him. This is what nullifies the fables of the heretics...

He is therefore not a mere appearance... He is truly made of flesh and blood, to recapitulate in Him the creation made in Adam. It is therefore folly in the Valentinians to assert, in order to show that the flesh is incapable of salvation, that He came only in appearance.

It is also a mistake among the Ebionites not to receive in their

What we are, to make us what he is." Similarly iv, 33, 4, P.G., 1074. Numerous texts quoted by F. VERNET, article *Irenaeus*, in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. vu, col. 2470. - Let us also quote, in this place, a passage of Saint Hippolytus. We will see there how little the author marks the separation between Christ and us; thus the Fathers will continue to speak. The author explains the vision reported in the Apocalypse: the woman with twelve stars and clothed with the sun. This woman, he says, is obviously the Church. "She is clothed with the Word of the Father, which shines brighter than the sun... She bore a son in her womb, and cried out in the pain of childbirth (*Rev.*, xii, 2); for the Church does not cease to give birth to the Word in her heart, the Word whom the unbelievers persecute on earth. And she gives birth to a son, who will rule all peoples (*Rev.*, xn, 6). This son is the perfect Christ (cf. the perfect man of Saint Paul, that is, the mystical Christ), the son of God, God and man, whom the prophets announced, whom the Church unceasingly gives birth to by teaching all peoples. By saying: 'His child was borne before God and before His throne' (*Apoc.*, *ibid.*), he means that the king who is always born of her is heavenly and not earthly.' - *De Christo et Antichristo*, LXI, P.G., x, 780; C.B., i, HIPPOLYTUS, I, 2, pp. 41-42. On the meaning of this passage, see the text of St. Methodius of Olympus, which is reported below, pp. 345 ff. From the same work of St. Hippolytus, we may also quote No. ni, P.G., x, 732, C.B., p. 6: "The Son of God calls us all and wants to save us all. He wants to make children of God of all and he calls us all to become saints in one perfect man. For one is the Son (παῖς) of God, and through him we receive the regeneration which the Holy Spirit works. Therefore we all desire to constitute one perfect and heavenly man." The context does not provide an explanation of this one man that we all form in Christ.

They do not want to understand that the Holy Spirit came in Mary, that the virtue of the Most High covered her with his shadow, and that, because of this, her Son is holy and the Son of the Most High God, the Father. They do not want to understand that the Holy Spirit came in Mary, that the virtue of the Most High covered her with his shadow, and that, because of this, her Son is holy and the Son of the Most High God, the Father of all. God, in incarnating his Son, revealed a new birth, so that, after the first birth which gave us death, this second birth would make us inherit life. But these heretics reject the mixing of the heavenly wine; they take only the water of this world, and they do not receive God who came to mix with them.

Recapitulation in Christ includes, as Irenaeus says in a still imprecise but very energetic vocabulary, a communion between God and men, an infusion of divine life, a blending between God and men in Christ.

At creation, God formed Adam in His own image with His own hands, and in Adam He gave the splendid likeness to all of us. Adam lost that likeness, and we also lost it in him, for in Adam we were all. By the grace of God, what was thus lost in Adam is corrected and restored, is recapitulated, in Christ. O man, writes Irenaeus,

Since you are the work of God, wait for the hand of your craftsman; he will do everything as it should be done. Give him a supple and docile heart, keep the imprint that the craftsman gives you, have in you something plastic.

(1) *A.H.*, v, i, 1-3, P.G., vu, 1121, ff. The text continues: "These heretics remain in that Adam who was defeated and driven from the garden. They do not understand that, just as in the beginning the breath of God united in Adam with the creature and made man a living, reasonable animal, so in the end the Word of the Father and the Spirit of God, uniting with the ancient substance created in Adam, made the perfect man, understanding the perfect Father, so that, as we all died in the corporeal [Adam], we may all be quickened in the spiritual. Adam, indeed, was not abandoned by the hands of God." And in the next chapter (2:1, col. 1124), "We have given him nothing, and he needeth not ask us anything; but we have need of communion with him, and for this cause he hath mercifully poured himself into us, that he might gather us into the bosom of the Father." that, not to lose by thy hardness the marks of his fingers. By keeping the pattern, you will rise to perfection; for God's wax will veil what in you is only silt. He will clothe thee with pure gold and silver within and without, and he will adorn thee so that the king himself will desire thy beauty... If you give him what is yours, that is to say, your trust and your obedience, you will receive the impression of his art and you will be the perfect work of God.

This wonder is performed by the second Adam.

Believing, not only in the Father, but also in the Son who has manifested himself, leads man to communion and union (*unitas*) with God (2).

The Incarnation, by its own virtue, goes to produce this result.

The Word became like man and made man like Him, so that through this likeness to the Son, man might become precious to the Father.

But for man to become so precious to the Father, Christ must truly be the second Adam, that is, he must be totally like us.

Christ made man to be attached to and united with God... This required that the Mediator of God and man be of the nature of both, so that he could restore concord between the two, present man to God, and manifest God to man.

For how could we have shared in the adoption of children if we had not received communion with the Son from the Son Himself, if the Word had not united Himself to us by becoming flesh? So he came, and to all ages he has made communion with God for all.

(1) *A.H.*, iv, 39, 2, P.G., vu, H 10.

(2) *A.H.*, iv, 13, i, P.G., 1007.

(3) *A.H.*, v, 16, 2, P.G., 1167; cfr. iv, 20, 7, P.G., 1037: "The Word became the dispenser of the Father's grace for men; for them he did everything: showing God to men and representing man to God. > See also v, 1, 1, P.G., 1121.

(4) *A.H.*, ni, 18, 7, P.G., 937. - "The Son of God, having received power from his Father to restore us to life, afterwards sent it down to us, when, descending to us who were so far from him, he appeared on

Irenaeus says it again and again: by distorting the mystery of the incarnation and recapitulation, it is the work of our elevation to the divine life that the reveries of the heretics compromise.

Those who say that Jesus was only a man, the son of Joseph, remain in ancient bondage and perish there; they are not united to the Word of God the Father, they do not receive freedom from the Son, as he himself said: "If the Son delivers you, you will be truly free. (*Joh.*, vin, 36). Ignoring the Emmanuel born of the Virgin, they deprive themselves of his grace, which is eternal life.

There are those who deprive themselves of adoption by despising the most pure incarnation and birth of the Word. They rob man of his elevation to God, by remaining ungrateful for the Word who became incarnate for us. That is why the Word is man and the Son of God is the son of man, so that the man who possesses the Word in him may receive adoption and become the son of God.

We could not receive incorruptibility and immortality except by being united to incorruptibility and immortality themselves. And how can we be united to incorruptibility and immortality, if incorruptibility and immortality have not first become what we are, so that what is corruptible in us may be absorbed by incorruptibility, and what is mortal by immortality, so that we may receive the adoption of children?

God wished to be born, to live with us, to descend into the underworld to seek out the lost sheep, which is His own creature; He wished to ascend into heaven and thus offer to the Father the man He had found, making in Himself the first fruits of the resurrection of man. As the head has risen, so the rest of the body of every man, after the punishment of disobedience is accomplished, will rise again; it will be reformed by joining and joining, it will be strengthened by a divine increase, and each member will have its proper and adapted place in the body. There are many dwellings with the Father, because there are many members in the body.

He united and kneaded the Spirit of God the Father with the creature of God. He united and kneaded the Spirit of God the Father with the creature of God and man became in the image and likeness of God." *Epid.*, xcvn, p. 429; it. xxxi, p. 389; xxxix, p. 395; XL, p. 395- See also *A.H.*, n, 11, 1, P.G., vn, 737; m, 4, 2, p.G., 856; iv, 38, 4, P.G., 1108, 1109; v, 27, 2, P.G., 1196; iv, 33, 4, P.G., 1074. - *Epid.*, ni, p. 371.

(1) *A.H.*, m, 19, i and 3, P.G., 938-94¹ - Chapter 20 of book iv is also devoted to explaining the same idea.

It is in the Trinity that everything is completed (i): it is towards it that the theology of Saint Irenaeus is ordered, as is the whole of Christian doctrine. The return of the whole of creation to the God who created it, the restoration of man, who

(i) It is with a Trinitarian formula of asceticism and the Christian life that Saint Irenaeus concludes his great work (v. 36, 2, P.G., vu, 1223, 1224): a Here, he says, according to the elders, disciples of the apostles, is the economy of salvation and the stages of the Christian life: by the Spirit one ascends to the Son, and by the Son to the Father; for the Son, in the end, will hand over his work to the Father... There is one Son, who accomplishes the will of the Father, and one human race, in which the mysteries of God are fulfilled. The angels desire to see God, but they cannot understand his wisdom, the wisdom by which the creature becomes like the Son and incorporated into the Son. The Son, the firstborn Word, descends into the creature and takes possession of it: and the creature is filled with the Word and ascends to him, surpassing the angels, to take on the image and likeness of God." - Similarly iv, 20:5, P.G., 1035. a Man, by himself, does not see God. God shows Himself to men whom He wills, when He wills and as He wills. God can do anything, he showed himself in the past through the Spirit of prophecy, he showed himself through the Son by giving adoption, he will show himself in the kingdom of heaven in the manner of the Father (a passage of difficult translation: *Visus quidem tunc per Spiritum prophetiae, visus autem et per Filium adoptive, videbitur autem et in regno coelorum paternaliter*, cfr. v. 36, 3, P.G., 1224) The Spirit prepares man in the Son of God, the Son leads to the Father, the Father gives incorruptibility, which comes in everyone from the vision of God." The next no., 6, col. 1036, expresses the same idea: In the prophets "God was manifested: in all their visions God the Father was revealed by the operation of the Spirit and the ministry of the Son, the Father approving these things, and man being thus led to salvation." Same idea: *A.H.*, iv, 38, 3, P.G., 1108; v, i, i, P.G., 1121, quoted above (pp. 333-334); v, 9, 3 and 18, 2, P.G., 1145, 1173. - *Epid.* vu, p. 373: "Therefore, when we are regenerated by baptism, which is given to us in the name of these three persons, we are enriched in this second birth with the good things that are in God the Father through His Son with the Holy Spirit. For those who are baptized receive the Spirit of God, who gives them to the Word, that is, to the Son, and the Son takes them and offers them to the Father, and the Father communicates incorruptibility to them. Thus, without the Spirit, no one can see the Word of God; and without the Son, no one can come to the Father, since the knowledge of the Father is the Son, and the knowledge of the Son of God is obtained by means of the Holy Spirit; but it is the Son who, by office, distributes the Spirit according to the good pleasure of the Father to those whom the Father wills and as he wills." An important passage, full of doctrine, and immediately following the summary of faith which itself serves as an introduction to the treatise. See also in *YEpid.* n⁰⁸ v, XLVII, LXXXIX, XCIX, c, pp. 372, 401, 423, 429.

We can compare, with the first of the texts quoted in this note, the passage

Mystical Body, t" I. - 2\$

(ii) The recapitulation is the end and the end of the recapitulation (i).

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Such is the doctrinal synthesis which Saint Irenaeus achieved through the idea of recapitulation. It is a singularly vast synthesis: it includes a theory of redemption, a theory of the Church, a theory of grace, a conception of the life of the Savior and a conception of the Christian life. And all this constitutes at the same time a doctrine of the mystical body.

following, with which S. HIPPOLYTUS closes his *Philo sophoumena*, C.B., xxvi, ed. WENDLAND, HIPPOLYTUS, III, 201, P.G., xvi, 3454. He has just spoken of the punishments which threaten infidels, and then continues, "Thou shalt avoid these things, when thou hast learned what the true God is. Then thou shalt have an immortal body and an incorruptible soul (ψυχή), thou shalt receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who hast lived on earth, and hast known the heavenly King; thou shalt be a companion of God and a joint-heir, no longer enslaved to desires, passions, and diseases. Behold, you have become God. All that you suffered as a man was because you were a man; all that God has of his own, God has promised to give to you, because you have been divinized and born to immortality. This is what it means: know yourself; know the God who made you a god... God is not a beggar; he has made you a god to his glory."

(2) THEODORE OF MOPSUESTE takes up this idea of recapitulation in his commentary on St. Paul, SWETE, *Theod. ep. Mops. in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, Cambridge, 1880-1882, vol. 1, pp. 129, 130, 140-142, 269. See also St. HIPPOLYTUS, *In Daniel*, vn, 14; P.G., x, 684 (not in C.B. which has nothing on the chapter seen in Dan.) Cfr Ps.-HIPPOLYTUS, *CtraBer. et Hel.*, 11, P.G., x, 833 - The fragment on Daniel is very similar to ch. xxvi, *De Christo et Antichr.*, P.G., x, 748; C.B., 1, HIPPOLYTUS, I, 2, p. 18. See also SEVERIAN OF GABALA (SWETE, *Op. cit.*, t. i, p. 130, note). - APOLLINARIS OF LAODICEA, in the *Κατά μέρος πίστις*, attributed to St Gregory the Thaumaturgist, P.G., x, 1109, II 17, 1120 (the word is, not recapitulation, but ἀνανέωσις). The little treatise of the same Apollinaris, *Ανακεφαλαίωσές*, which may be gleaned from *Dialogue V on the Trinity* of Ps.-ATHANASIUS (P.G., xxviii, 1266, ff, cfr BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Freiburg, 1912, t. in, p. 290) does not speak of the recapitulation, it is only a "summary" of the doctrine of the heresiarch. - See also St. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Adversus Apollinarem*, xxi, P.G., XLV, II, 65.

This doctrine of the mystical body, in Irenaeus as in the Apostolic Fathers, is not exposed for itself: it is confused with another doctrine. This other doctrine, in the Apostolic Fathers, was usually the one they

emphasized the most, that is, the doctrine of ecclesiastical unity. In Irenaeus, it is still the doctrine on which he insists the most. But it is no longer the doctrine of ecclesiastical unity; rather, it is the doctrine which expresses how, in the Church, salvation and union with God come to us, how, in the unity of the Church, we are all, and all of us, even with our body, united to one another and all of us together with God, in the Savior who recapitulates all.

Basically, it is still a doctrine of the Church, an ecclesiology, but the doctrine unfolds and gradually takes on all its greatness, through the assistance of the Spirit; it is now a question of the way in which the Church is an institution of salvation, it is an ecclesiology which is a soteriology.

At the beginning, the Church had only extracted a few pearls from the treasure she possessed by tradition. Now she has drawn much more. The doctrine, one might even say, now has all its essential features. Perhaps, in completing itself, it has lost the abrupt energy that it had in Ignatius of Antioch, and it will be necessary for the continuation of the tradition to reinforce certain lines. But there is hardly anything to add.

The antiquity and immensity of the mystical body are already evident: it goes back to Adam, and must include all men.

Despite its breadth, it shows itself to be one. The righteous of today continue the life of the righteous of the Old Testament, and they are sustained by their merits. This is the communion of saints, which appears in the truth of the mystical body.

Communion also with Christ, or even, as one might say, mystical communication of idioms with him. The communication of idioms, in the literal sense, is, as we know, that property of the Savior which makes it possible, under certain conditions, to affirm of him as a man what is true of him only because he is God, and vice versa. Now, this exchange, we see in Irenaeus, continues throughout the mystical body.

We receive in ourselves the outpouring of Christ's greatness, and he takes into himself, to destroy them, our miseries.

Hence a mystical-physical theory of redemption, and another of grace. Our faults and debts are extinguished in the Saviour, by the very fact that he exists. Moreover, since he is God and all humanity is united to him, by the very fact that he exists, all humanity, in law, is divinized: hence a physico-mystical theory of sanctifying grace and of adoption which divinizes us.

Christ is therefore always and in all his acts the head of grace by his very substance. From this comes the conception of the physical causality exercised by all the events of his life on the sanctification of men.

Everything is so common between him and us that we can conclude from what we are what he must have been, just as we can also see in what he is what we will one day be. Thus Irenaeus proves that Christ must have had a real body, by pointing out that human nature includes matter, and that it is human nature that must be saved; thus he also proves, by the glory of the Saviour, the glorification to which we are called, all material that we are.

The first of these arguments is a theological place which we will see often used by the Fathers. It can be called the soteriological argument, since it proves what the Savior is by the work of salvation that he comes to perform. Its structure and presuppositions will become clearer later on, when we have seen it applied more often and more deliberately. But it was good to point it out at its first systematic appearance. In fact, we could have already pointed it out in the argument that St. Ignatius of Antioch opposed to the Docetics. But then it was not so fully constituted, and would not have been so easily discerned.

On the other hand, let it not be thought that Irenaeus, by dint of insisting on the mystical aspect of the Savior, loses sight of the concrete person of Jesus. On the contrary, it was the Gnostics, as it was the Docetics in Ignatius' time, who denied, along with the concrete reality of Christ, the mystical life of this Christ in the concrete and visible Church. With the truth, there is no need to fear such disastrous compensations. The Fathers who speak most energetically and most accurately of the mystical body are also those who best show how much the Savior is a single, real, living person: is

it not from this unity and this life that the mystical body derives all its reality?

Nor let it be thought that, in order to better show our union with Christ, Irenaeus forgets what is distinct about our individualities. No, man is made of flesh, and the flesh separates us from one another, and it is to claim the place of matter in the work of salvation that Irenaeus wrote. By being inserted into the true olive tree which is Christ, and by receiving the Spirit, man retains the substance of his flesh, but the quality of his works is changed for the better (1); it is the real man, the man made of matter who is fashioned anew by Christ into the image of God.

Such is the coherence of our saint's theology; one would remain astonished at the progress made by Christian thought in just one century, if one did not know what force is at work in it.

Progress, yes; but it must also be said, not yet perfection. The theology of Irenaeus has its shortcomings, and of these it is necessary to say a word; for they are also found in his doctrine of the mystical body.

First of all, it must be recognized that it gives a great deal to the imagination. The view is certainly magnificent: we see all the events of holy history and all the ups and downs of the interior life of souls summed up in Christ, while the very current of the centuries flows back towards him. But this picture, which shows, as it were, the mystical body in the very thrust of its growth and its reconquest over evil, is less a scientific explanation than a vast

(1) *A.H.*, v, 10, 2, P.G., vu, 1148. - "The flesh is capable of eternal life." *Ibid*, v, 2, 3, P.G., vu, 1126.

theory, in the etymological sense of the word. Its representational value also exceeds its speculative scope.

Moreover, the line between what belongs to the humanity of Christ and what belongs to his divinity in the work of our incorporation in him is not clearly marked. At times, Irenaeus states very explicitly that it is through the body, the blood, the death of the Savior, and finally through his human nature, that man and all material creation are reunited with God. But at other times, he expresses himself as if the very divinity of Christ were an intermediary who linked us to the Father and as if it were, consequently, a divinity less distant from our misery, a divinity less perfect. This is not to say that he can be accused of subordinatianism (i); but *securius loquitur*. Discussions and attacks, reflections too, and a detailed examination of the whole revealed deposit have not yet taken place. The point of doctrine in question is not the greatness of the Son, but the goodness and power of the God of the Old Testament. These, then, the saint thinks of first; he shows that the Creator is the supreme God, that it is to Him that Christ leads in recapitulating our race in Himself. But the dignity of the Son, which is not the subject of controversy, does not attract his attention.

Therefore, there is still progress to be made, both in Christian doctrine in general and in the doctrine of the mystical body in particular.

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Before going on, we would like to mention two more names : that of Meliton of Sardis and that of Saint Methodius of Olympus.

(i) Subordinatianism is a doctrine, or rather a theological attitude, which subordinates the Son to the Father, not merely in the order of divine processions, which would be the very truth; but in greatness, in power, in short, in divinity. At the beginning, it may have been a clumsy way of saying that the Son is second to the Father who begets him, and it is not always easy to see whether we are dealing with an error that goes towards Arianism, or with unfortunate formulas that mean nothing but the right thing.

Meliton was bishop of Sardis in Lydia at the time when Irenaeus was bishop of Lyons. Of his theological knowledge, we know only from Eusebius that it was considerable; of his writings we have only

fragments.

Now, one of these fragments speaks precisely of our union with Christ, and this in a way that may recall the theory of recapitulation.

For this reason," he says, "the Father sent his bodiless Son from heaven, so that, having become incarnate in the Virgin's womb and having been born as a man, he might vivify man and gather together his members, which death had scattered, since death had divided man.

And the text goes on to speak of the mystery of the incarnation.

... For our Lord, after he was born as a man, was judged, that he might give us grace; bound, that he might loosen us; taken, that he might set us free; tormented, that he might give mercy; put to death, that he might quicken; buried, that he might rise again.

We quote this text, not because it deals with the mystical body, but because it refers to a doctrine which derives from it, the doctrine which affirms the union of the life of Christ with our life as regenerated persons.

After Meliton, we must mention Saint Methodius of Olympus. He was a bishop, not of Olympus, it seems, but of Philippi, and died a martyr in 311. His scholarship, facility of style, and orthodoxy earned him a theological authority to which such giants as St. Jerome and St. Gregory of Nyssa have been pleased to pay tribute.

Unfortunately, when it comes to our incorporation into Christ, he is lesser, and his Catholic commentators give up defending his position.

(1) OTTO, *Corpus Apologetarum*, ix, 419, fragm. 13. The body which Jesus restores is rather that of each individual, it seems, than the body of the whole species. Compare, however, the text quoted on p. 336.

The most important passage is found in the *Banquet*, a kind of - philosophical and theological conversation, imitated from Plato, in which eleven virgins, in as many speeches, praise virginity. It is the third of them, Thalie, who pronounces the words we are concerned with (i). The thread of ideas led her to speak of Adam, and, in this connection, she expounds the theory of the two Adams. But we must hear how boldly she takes the image for a concrete reality. The first

Adam, according to her, was indeed Christ himself, realized as before, and not merely the type of Christ. The first of the Aeons, as she explains herself, in a disturbing mixture of Gnosticism and subordinationism, was the archangel named Word. At the beginning of time, he united himself with Adam, and in Adam, with the whole human race.

Adam was therefore everything that Christ is, since Christ is the union of man with this same Word. In this Christ, as in Adam, the result of this union, and even, one might say, its final outcome and reality, was the union of the whole human race "with the pure and perfect Godhead". Now the subordinativism of the beginning has disappeared. But on the other hand, the distinct personality of the Saviour fades away - the individual incarnation seems to be only the preparatory stage of a collective, even universal incarnation.

The rest of the discourse, and also the discourses of the other virgins, insist on this union of the whole human race with the Word. In each of the faithful, what happened to Christ must be reproduced: each one must die to his or her previous life, receive the Word into himself or herself, and become a participant in the Spirit. Christians are so many Christs, or rather they are but one Christ: it is with them all that the Word is united.

(i) *Convivium*, ni, 4, P.G., xvm, 65. C.B., xxvn, METHODIUS, p. 30. - The *Banquet or Purity* was translated into French by J. FARGES (*Bibliothèque patristique de spiritualité*), Paris, 1932. Thalia speaks from page 37.

(3) *Convivium*, i, 4, P.G., xviii, 44, C.B., 13 - Cfr *Convivium*, in, 7, 8; vi, 1, 2; vin, 5, P.G., xvm, 69, 113, 144, C.B. 33, 64, 86. This last passage

The picture, it will be recognized, is vaporous: the imagination is better served by it than the spirit of accuracy and criticism. Of the two main ideas contained in it, the first, that of the real identity between the two Adams, was not intended to endure. It represents only an excess of the two Adams theory in a dead-end direction (i).

applies to the birth of Christ in our souls what is said in the Apocalypse (xn, i, ff.) of the woman who gives birth. The passage is similar to a text of St. Hippolytus, which we have mentioned (p. 333, note). The child, says Methodius, cannot be Christ

himself, for Christ was born long ago (ch. vu, P.G., 148, C.B., 89). "We must therefore declare that it is the Church, which is in the pains of childbirth and gives birth to those who are baptized." Let us repeat, then, declares the saint (ch. vm., P.G., 149, C.B., 90), we shall see how all this ties in. "I think, then, that it is a male child which the Church brings into the world; for the baptized bear the characters and type and manly air of Christ; the form of the Word is impressed by likeness upon their souls, it is begotten in them by exact knowledge and faith. It can be said, therefore, that in each one Christ is intelligibly brought forth. For this reason the Church suffers and is in labour, until Christ is brought forth in us (*Gai*, iv, 19), so that each of the saints, by participation of Christ, is born Christ. In the same sense, Scripture says somewhere (*Ps.* civ, 15), "Touch not" My Christs and seek not quarrel with My prophets." We see that it is as if those who are baptized into Christ by the participation of the spirit, become Christs, the Church having for its role in this work to transfigure them into the likeness of the Word." See again, in the same sense, ch. ix (P.G., 152, C.B., 9, 1). Let us quote again, from Saint Methodius, the following passage: "It is not enough to announce that the Son of God took flesh from the Blessed Virgin, without confessing at the same time that he comes into the Church as in his flesh. For each of us must not only confess his coming in this holy flesh which he took from the pure Virgin, but also a similar coming in the spirit of each of us." *De sanguisuga*, vin, C.B., 486. Cf. the texts alleged in the following chapter, pp. 365, note and 368, it.

(1) We can compare what Saint Methodius says about Adam, Christ and the angel Gabriel with certain points of the Ebionite errors. The Ebionites are undoubtedly much earlier (from the end of the I^{er} century; Symmache, end of the II^e century; Alcibiades, with the book of Elchasai, beginning of the III^e century, see S. EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion*, l. 1, t. 1, *haer.* xix, n° 4, P.G., xli, 265). Victorinus of Africa reports, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (1:15, P.L., vm, 1155), that the followers of Symmachus "said that Jesus was Adam himself and that he was the general soul, to which they added many other blasphemies. Let us think also of the immense angel who appeared to Elchasai. Cf. also S. HIPPOLYTUS, *Philosophoumena*, 29, P.G., xvi,

The second, that of a union of the Word, not so much with the individual humanity of Christ, as with humanity in general, has a history. We will find it in the most illustrious Fathers, in Hilary, in Gregory of Nyssa, in John Chrysostom, in Cyril of Alexandria. The point is to note its exact scope: is it really a question of a universal incarnation taking the place of the true incarnation, or only of more or less happy, but certainly energetic formulas, affirming a universal divinization by incorporation of all in Christ?

The answer, in St. Methodius, remains uncertain: he did not explain himself on this point clearly enough for us to be able to specify his thought. The most equitable and objective approach, it seems to us, is to consider the passages we have just summarized as a rather unfortunate attempt at synthesis, and to reserve judgment on the exact meaning of the idea itself in the Christian tradition for when the clues are more numerous.

Saint Methodius, as we have just seen, formulates a very energetic doctrine of the mystical body, and based on the truth of the two Adams. So did, as we have seen, St. Irenaeus; so also perhaps, for this last point is only supported by an uncertain clue, Meliton of Sardis. In the same way, perhaps, did St. Justin, if some lines which follow, in *V Adversus haereses*, a quotation from the apologist, and which speak expressly of recapitulation (1) still belong to him and are not already the explanations which St. Irenaeus adds. Let us add to this what we have said concerning Ignatius of Antioch and his teaching, so vigorous, on our union with Christ (2). All,

(m), 3442, C.B., HIPPOLYTUS, III, 251, 284 and S. EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion*, *hair*. xxx, 3, P.G., XLI, 409.

(1) *A.H.*, iv, 6, 2 and 1, 10, 1, P.G., vu, 987 and 549.

(2) Let us remember in particular what he says of the new man, *Eph.* xx, cf. p. 305, note 2. It must be added that the epistle of Barnabas and the

It will be noted that, apart from St. Methodius, whose place of birth is not known (i), the authors are from Asia Minor. Justin received his theological training, it would seem, at Ephesus or in the vicinity; Irenaeus studied at nearby Smyrna; Meliton at Sardis, also nearby; Ignatius is a bishop of Antioch, a somewhat more distant Christianity, but he must have been in frequent contact with the communities of Asia, for he is seen to be visited by representatives of them as soon as he arrives at Ephesus.

On the other hand, this same Asia Minor, and more precisely this same region of Ephesus and its surroundings, was, more than others, instructed on our incorporation into Christ. It was from Ephesus (2) that Paul wrote the first of the epistles in which he expressly speaks of the mystical body: the first epistle to the Corinthians. It was also from Ephesus that, in all likelihood, he wrote his epistle to the Romans, the one in which he most strongly gives the parallel between the two Adams (3). (3) But since the references he makes to the mystical body, and even to the two Adams, are occasional, it is likely to be true to suppose that they reflect the teachings of the Apostle in that Christianity which must have included a fair number of intellectuals. (4) In fact, when he writes to the Ephesians themselves, five or six years later, it is a long exposition of the mystery which he sends them, that is, an exposition of our incorporation in Christ, and he gives it without long explanation, as something of which the main part is already known. When he writes to the neighbouring Christianity of Colosse, he proceeds in the same way. And these two epistles, both addressed to churches in Asia, are the only ones which

Il Clementis were ranked among the inspired books in the Syrian Church. We have seen in the preceding chapter their ideas on the relationship between the creation of Adam and Christ (pp. 308 ff).

(1) Saint Methodius, according to Diekamp (*Op. cit.*), spent the first part of his career in Lycia and wrote some of his works there.

(2) *I Cor.* xvi, 8.

(3) *Rom.* v; cfr. *Z Cor.* xv, 21-50.

(4) *Act.* xix, 19-

speak at length of the mystical body. Later, it was at Patmos, about 100 kilometers from Ephesus, that St. John had his vision; and it was at Ephesus, in all likelihood, that he wrote his Gospel, in which he speaks so much of the unity that unites us all in Christ and makes us live in him with eternal life.

On the other hand, Asia Minor was, at that time, the Christian land par excellence, the one where the Church was formed and grew the most.

These indications seem to be sufficient for us to speak of one or more theological circles which were to flourish in these young Christianities; to say that, in these circles, the doctrine of the mystical body was to be presented with a specially marked relief; to add that these circles emphasized above all, in the doctrine of the mystical body, the lesson of ecclesiastical unity which emerges from it (thus speak Ignatius and Irenaeus, and Paul and John, if they can be quoted here); to specify finally, that, in one of these circles or in several, the unity of the Church and that of the mystical body were made to be understood, with the particular help of the doctrine of the two Adams.

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CHAPTER III

THE DIDASCALE OF ALEXANDRIA

The first school of Alexandria. Clement and Origen. The plan we shall follow to expose their ideas.

SYSTEMATIC EXPOSITION THAT CAN BE RECONSTRUCTED. Incorporation into the incarnate Word through the virtues and through the "gnostic" life. To be wise and just is to be united with Christ inasmuch as he is wisdom and justice. He himself, as wisdom, brings about this union in souls. A union which is shown more as a communion with the divinity of Christ than as an incorporation into his humanity. Origen's special idea on this subject. On the whole, the systematic doctrine of the mystical body in the early Alexandrians is mainly moral. The relation of this peculiarity to certain deficiencies in their theology, to their subordinatianism, to their teaching on grace, to their allegorism.

SOME MORE SIGNIFICANT TEXTS: our resurrection in Christ; our perpetual birth in Christ; Christ, in us, is subject to God; in us, he still weeps for sin. Example of exegesis based on the communication of particularities that there is between the head of the mystical body and the members. Christ is the soul of the whole mystical body; this universal function helps us to understand how he can be God and the Infinite himself.

At the origin of the great theological work which was accomplished in the Eastern Church during the beautiful patristic period, there is the famous school called the Didascale of Alexandria.

The Didascale was founded very early. It is known that, already in 180, Pantene taught there. Around the year 200, he was succeeded by Clement, who has been called Clement of Alexandria. Clement himself was hardly at the head of the school when, in 202 or 203, he had to flee before the persecution of Septimius Severus, and Origen took his place. Origen was then almost a child, only eighteen years of

age, but he was a hard worker, a man of steel, as he has been called since Eusebius, and, at the same time, one of the finest geniuses who have illustrated theology. He and Clement enthusiastically began, in the midst of persecution, a secular theological work.

It is permissible, and even necessary, to criticize or reject many of their ideas (2); one cannot help but feel intense admiration and even affection for their ardor and science, their clarity of soul and their expansiveness of thought(3).

Their influence, especially that of Origen, on their time and on the times that followed, was immense. There is hardly a theological thesis in these early days which is not found in its germ in his teachings.

However, they who have worked so hard for Christian doctrine, have done little for the doctrine of the mystical body. What they say about it, except in certain magnificent passages, but which remain isolated in their work, lacks relief: years earlier, Irenaeus had said much better, and the apostles almost as well (4).

(1) Clement's famous trilogy *"Protreptic, Pedagogue and Stromates"*, was written between 195 and 211. Clement died around 215. He had written other works, many of which have perished. Origen, according to Epiphanius, wrote 6,000 books: he had a veritable workshop of tachographers and copyists to work with. He died around 254-255 (or 251? FROM FAYE), AS A result of torture during the persecution of Decius.

(2) Origen was already much debated during his lifetime, and even more so after his death. The second Council of Constantinople (553), canon xi, anathematized him with Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches and others. Nevertheless, except for the points covered by the condemnation, it retains great authority, and the Popes cite it with honour among the saints (LEO XIII, Encyclical *Providentissimus*, in *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xxvi, 1893-1894, p. 274).

(3) Cfr R. CADIOU, *le Développement d'une théologie: pression et aspiration*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xxm, 1933, p. 411.

(4) The main passages will be referred to in the rest of the text. But here are some texts which will give a first idea: "to become a perfect man in Christ" (*Eph.*, iv, 11) means, says Clement, that one must hasten to become virile in a gnostic way, to perfect oneself as much as possible, in order to prepare oneself for apocatastasis (that is, for renewal);

Their importance is too great, however, for us not to devote a study to their doctrine: also, in spite of its deficiencies, or rather, in its very deficiencies, it is instructive; and then, and above all, there are too many beautiful escapes. However, since it is still not very differentiated, we will be able to bring together in a single presentation what there is to say about each of these authors, even if it means noting, in passing, what is specific to each one (i).

The presentation, moreover, is not easy to make. The difficulty is to bring together in a single plan the different texts they have on the mystical body. For our part, we confess that we have not discovered the point of view that would allow us to synthesize everything. We therefore resign ourselves to presenting their ideas in two parts: first, what seems to us to be their system, their methodical teaching, that which is linked to their main preoccupations and which constitutes a single whole; secondly, a certain number of ideas, sometimes extremely interesting, usually influenced, in the way they express them, by what we have just called their methodical teaching, but which, in our opinion at least, do not present any marked link, either with this teaching, or with each other. This division into two parts is convenient; we believe it to be well-founded (2); but we ask the reader not to lose sight of its arbitrary nature.

Stromales, iv, 21, P.G., vin, 1344, C.B., CLEMENT, I, p. 307. "The new creature in Christ (*Gai.*, vi, 15) is peace, generosity, and justice." *Stromales*, v, 5, P.G., ix, 53. C.B., *Ibid*, 345.

(1) Let us note already a difference in detail. Clement conceives our union with God and Christ more as a likeness (ὁμοίωσις θεοῦ - more rarely Χριστοῦ or Σωτηρος - κατά δυνατόν). *Strom.*, π, 19; 11, 20; in, 10; iv, 6; P.G., viii, 1040, 1048, 1172, etc.; C.B., CLEMENT, II, 167, 169, 227, etc. Origen, on the other hand, more readily uses the word participation, μέθεξις. But the meaning of the two words is the same; it is only a similarity on both sides in the possession of the same attributes.

(2) Already St. Athanasius (*De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, xxvn, P.G., xxv, 466) warns to distinguish what Origen says by searching and exercising, from what he says by defining and affirming. Origen himself, at the beginning of the Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, makes the same distinction several times.

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The systematic teaching of Clement and Origen, as far as they themselves say, and as everyone recognizes, has as its first characteristic to be a gnosis.

Of course, they are not Gnostics in the extravagant way of the heretics that we spoke about in the previous chapter. They are orthodox Gnostics; they want, above all, to keep the Christian faith, the faith of all the faithful. But they want to understand this faith in a more profound way, in a way that gives the mind more subtle lessons and the will more elevated advice. Thus they and their followers will live, not of course with a different doctrine than ordinary Christians, but with a more refined, more spiritual, more pneumatic understanding, as they say, of this same doctrine. Hence the name Gnostics, "those who truly know", which they like to use.

It is to this Gnosticism that what we call their systematic and methodical conception of the mystical body is linked, the conception in which we find the particularities of their theology. Gnosis is an effort to assimilate, in everything and always, our speculative and practical intelligence to God and to his Christ; it must make our thoughts, our desires, our actions, our whole way of being and operating, concentrate into a tendency to do well and to practice virtue.

Now, this virtue is precisely Christ. Christ, insofar as he is the Word of God, is justice itself, holiness itself, wisdom itself, goodness itself; he is everything that is good; he is all good things, and his entire doctrine of holiness, which is Christianity, is summed up in him (i), no matter how profoundly or gnostically it is understood.

Our own gnosis," writes Clement of Alexandria, "our spiritual garden, is our Saviour himself. We are transplanted into him,

(i) *In J oh.*, i, P.G., xiv, 40, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 14, and often.

and thus transposed from our old life into the good soil. Now, a transplantation causes more fruit to be produced. The Lord is therefore light and true gnosis, in whom we are transplanted (1).

The passage, it must be admitted, is more explicit and more vigorous than most of the texts in which our authors speak of the mystical body. But, apart from that, it summarizes their ideas. To be Gnostic, for them, is to be in Christ. For to be a Gnostic is to have virtue, self-control, perfection, and therefore to possess Christ in oneself insofar as he is virtue, interior harmony and perfection (2).

It is, therefore, a matter of resemblance and imitation. But not of any resemblance and imitation.

For the Platonists who are the masters of the Didascale, the world of ideas of which they speak has a solidity that it does not have for us. To be in Christ because one is in virtue is to be invested by the Saviour in a real way, quite difficult to specify, but almost concrete.

Secondly, in this imitation, Christ is not only the model (3) which we reproduce in ourselves; he is also the teacher who teaches how every effort at imitation should be made.

Of this master par excellence, the masters of the Didascale have spoken in a splendid and touching way (4). He is the master,

(1) *Strom.* vi, 1, P.G., ix, 209, C.B., CLEMENT, n, 423. Cfr S. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Eph.* xvn, 2 (FUNK, p. 186); S. IRENAEUS, *A.H.*, iv, 36, 7, P.G., vu, 1098, and iv, 33, 7, P.G., vu, 1077.

(2) Kinds of enumeration frequent especially in Origen, *In Rom.* ix, 2, P.G., xiv, 1212; cfr. *In Joh.* 1, n⁰⁸ 11 and 39, and xix, n⁰⁸ 1 and 6, P.G., xiv, 40, 89, 536, 571, C.B., ORIGEN, iv, 14, 43, 305, 325. - *In Rom.* v, 10; vu, 7, 9; wine, P.G., xiv, 1056, 1122, 1129, 1163. - *In Ps.* cxviii, P.G., xn, 1625. - *In Mt.* xn, 23 and xv, 22, P.G., xm, 1040, 1317. - *Series in Mt.* LXV, P.G., xm, 1704. - Περὶ Ἀρχόν, iv, 1, 29, P.G., xi, 403, etc.

(3) CLEMENT, *Pedagogy*, 1, P.G., vin, 249, C.B., CLEMENT, I, 3.

(4) Cf. CLEMENT, *Strom.* vu, 9, P.G., ix, 473, C.B., CLEMENT, III, 39 - So true is it that the way of conceiving the Christian life, and that of conceiving Christ, are interdependent.

But a master who knows his teaching so well that he identifies himself with it and, by communicating his precepts, it is from him that he nourishes the little children that we are. His doctrine is, in a way, his substance; by giving it to us, he makes us live in him, he makes us members of his mystical body.

This unique master is therefore interior, not only to his lessons, but also to those who listen to them. Unlike human teachers who speak only to the outside world, he is able to speak directly to the soul and to arouse in it the intelligence of his message (2).

(1) "Our teacher, O children, is like the Father, who is also his God, whose Son he is; he is without sin, without defilement, without vain emotion in the soul, true God, in a body of man, subject to the will of the Father, God the Word, who is in the Father, who comes from the right hand of the Father, and who, even with his body, is God (θεός ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι ἀχραντός, πατρικῶ θελήματι διάκονος, Λόγος θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι θεός). He is the spotless image; with all your might you must strive to be like him." So begins CLEMENT's *Pedagogue* (P.G., vin, 252; C.B., CLEMENT, I, p. 91). And the work ends (*Ibid.*, 680-684) with a prayer and a hymn to this pedagogue: "Have mercy, Master, on your little children...

Brake of unruly foals, Wing of birds that do not stray, True
rudder of ships, Shepherd of royal lambs, Thy simple children,
Gather them, To praise holy, To sing earnestly, Christ, the
children's guide.

Be a guide, O Shepherd, to the reasonable sheep. Lead, O
holy one, the children without blemish.

God of those who sing, O Jesus Christ."

Cf. ORIGEN, *In Rom.* xv, 5, P.G., xiv, 1167. - *In John*, 1, 40, P.G., xiv, 92, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 44 - *In Ps.* xv, 3, P.G., xn, 1214.

(2) ORIGEN, *In Gen.* 1:7 and xn:1, P.G., xn:152 and 225 - *Contra Celsum*, v:i; vu:i, P.G., xi:1181, 1422, C.B., ORIGEN, II:I, 153. - *In Ez.*,

Already in the material universe, explain the Alexandrians, after the apologists, the Word of God is the interior principle of order and harmony (i). (i) All the more reason why it is so in souls; all the more reason why it is so in the souls of the faithful; all the more reason why it is so in the souls of the Gnostics (2).

The true Gnostics are his dwelling place and his heaven; he dwells in them as the Word, as wisdom, as perfection; he dwells in them by spreading light and virtue in them.

But, as he is Word and wisdom, Christ is considered in his divine nature. So it must be said that, according to the professors of the Didascale, it is as God that Christ is head of a mystical body. There is here, it must be said, an error: as we shall see in the following, it is in his humanity that Christ is head of all the regenerated.

See also the beautiful things that Clement says about the continual prayer of the Gnostic: "Our whole life is a long feast..." *Strom.* vu, 7, P.G., ix, 450-51, C.B., CLEMENT, II, 27. It is also known that Origen often interrupts his commentaries on exegesis with touching prayers to Christ, the source of light: *In Jer. hom.* xvm, 10, 12, 14; *In Mt.* xiv, 5, II; P.G., xiii, 484, ss., 1193, 1212. C.B., ORIGEN, III, does not have this part of *VHom.* xvm.

(1) As every soul is inhabited by God, so is the whole earth inhabited by him (οικουμένη). ORIGEN, *In Jer.* vm, 1, 2, P.G., XIII, 336, C.B., ORIGEN, III, 56. - *In Ps.* xxm, P.G., xn, 1265. - In this way Christ is present to the whole world (*In Joh.*, vi, 15, P.G., xiv, 252, C.B., ORIGEN, iv, 140), as inspiration penetrates all Scripture (*In Ps. selecta*, P.G., xii, 1081). Cfr *In Joh.* vi, 15, 22, 23, P.G., xiv, 252, 264, 265, C.B., ORIGEN, iv, 146, and CLEMENT, *Strom.* vi, 17, P.G., ix, 388, C.B., CLEMENT, II, 512. - So true is this, that Christ has for his body, not only "the whole human race, but, perhaps, the whole universe of creatures." ORIGEN, *In Ps. xxxvi hom.* 11, P.G., xii, 1330.

(2) "His presence in us [by the reason (λόγος) that we all have] makes us possess him, and this gives reason to the text, In the midst of you has stood one whom you do not know (*Joh.*, 1, 26)." ORIGEN, *In Joh.* II, 29, P.G., xiv, 177, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 94; cfr vi, 22, P.G., *ibid.*, 264, C.B., *ibid.*, 146, and saepius. - Περί 'Αρχών, i, 2, 6; iv, 29, 3¹ "P G-,^{xi} " 151, 4^o3> C B., ORIGEN, v, 57> 35¹ "353- - *Contra Celsum*, iv, 26; v, 12, P.G., χι, 1065, 1197> θ-B-, ORIGEN, II, 295. and m, 13. - CLEMENT, *Pedag.*, ni, 3, P.G., vm, 592, C.B., CLEMENT, I, 250, etc. - Sometimes they specify that it is as religious light and knowledge that Christ is in us. ORIGEN, *In Lev.* xn, 7, P.G., xn, 543> etc.

This humanity of Christ is certainly not lost on Clement and Origen, (i) but we do not need to set out their entire doctrine here. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that, in the work which brings life into us by incorporating us into Christ, it does not, according to their system, have all the role which it should have (2).

It remains, in order to fix ideas on this system, and before making a few remarks about it, to let the teachers explain it for a few moments.

It is evident," writes Origen, "that Christ, according as He is Word and wisdom and all the rest, was in Paul, since Paul says: 'Do you wish to test the Christ who lives in me' (*II Cor.*, xm, 3)... From all this it is concluded that Christ is in each one in proportion to his merits (3).

When St. Paul says, "Live for God in Christ Jesus" (*Rom.*, vi, 11), it is as if he were saying, "Live for God in wisdom, peace, righteousness, and sanctification, for Christ is all these. Live

(1) Cfr W. VOELKER, *das Vollkommenheitsideal bei Origenes*, Tübingen, 1931, pp.¹⁰ ° ss - 197, ss.

(2) It will suffice to quote here as a note an idea of Origen. According to the master, who is aware of his temerity on this point, the union of the holy humanity of Jesus with the Word would not have been complete until the resurrection. But, at that moment, it would have been so perfect, that the proper attributes of the divinity would have flowed into it, and, from it, they would have spread to us. In particular, by reception into it of the infinity of the Word, the humanity of Christ would have been made present to all (cfr *Περί Αρχών*, π, II, 6, P.G., xi, 246, C.B., ORIGEN, V, 191. - *In Rom.*, I, 6, P.G., xiv, 852. - *In Jer.*, xv, 6, P.G., xm, 436, C.B., ORIGEN, III, 130. - *In Le.*, xxix, P.G., xm, 1877). - On these texts there would be much to say, and they require a very delicate interpretation, which we will not attempt. In any case, we can see immediately, and this is the only thing that interests us, how they give a conception of the mystical body: the risen Christ would be as present to us as God himself, and this would suffice to explain that he lives in us. Needless to say, this way of absorbing the humanity of Christ into the divinity and thus suppressing this humanity is totally inadmissible: it goes so far as to suppress the God-Man, and all of Christianity; it contains the seeds of Nestorianism and monophysitism (both together!) and the errors of Marcel of Ancyra. It may be compared, moreover, with what we shall say of certain forms of the Protestant heresy (vol. II, pp. 253 ff.).

(3) *Περί Αρχών*, iv, 29, P.G., xi, 403, 404, C.B., ORIGEN, V, 351.

To live in these virtues for God is to live in Jesus Christ for God. If without justice, without peace, without sanctification, without the other virtues, one does not live for God, it is certain that no one lives for God except in Jesus Christ.

Each one of the wise, inasmuch as he is wise, participates in Christ inasmuch as he is wisdom; each one of those who have power, inasmuch as he has power, participates in Christ inasmuch as he is power. The same must be said of sanctification and redemption.

Every Christian, too, participates in Christ as God.

Let us enter, since we have a guide, into the arduous path of virtue, so as to become, in imitation of Christ, participants in the divine nature. It is written, in fact, that "he who claims to believe in Christ must walk as he walked. (*Z Joh.*, H, 6). He is the Word and wisdom. It is enough for us to imitate Him in order to merit the name of wise and reasonable men; He made Himself all things to all men, that He might win them all; He made Himself a cripple with the crippled, that He might win the crippled (*I Cor.*, ix, 22) (3).

And he became a man at last among men to win men.

(1) *In Rom*, v, 10, P.G., xiv, 1056.

(2) *In Joh.*, i, 39, P.G., xiv, 89, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 43. Thus again: "Can one deny that justice itself is a good, that holiness and redemption are goods? Those who evangelize Jesus evangelize these goods, since he has become for us the justice of God and holiness and redemption. Jesus, then, is a multitude of goods. *In Joh.* 1:11, P.G., xiv, 41, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 14. - "We others, according to the spirit of the Word, share among ourselves the intelligible garments of the Word, for we were baptized into Christ and have clothed ourselves with him (*Gai.*, ni, 27), inasmuch as he is wisdom and truth and righteousness." *In Ps.* xxi, P.G., xn, 1257. - "No one has ever hidden the Word. Like a common light, he illuminates all men... Let us all hasten to be united in salvation, in the new birth, in one charity, after the example of the union which reigns in the one nature [of God]. Let us hasten to pursue unity in some way by our good works, and to seek the one goodness. The union of all makes, out of many and scattered voices, one divine harmony, one symphony conducted by the one master and choreographer who is the Word, and it rests at last in truth." CLEMENT, *Protrepticus*, ix, P.G., vin, 200, C.B., CLEMENT, i, 65.

(3) Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, iv, 31, P.G., xi, 406, C.B., ORIGEN, v, 355-

He became a man, so that you might learn from a man how to become God (i).

The doctrine, as we can see, is not lacking in grandeur or

inspiration. Only, as we have seen, it has little realism: union with the Saviour is above all an imitation and a resemblance, a resemblance of a very perfect order, moreover, a resemblance which includes a certain interiority of Christ in us: a spiritual and gnostic interiority; but a resemblance which, however mysterious it may be, remains a simple reality of a moral order.

The mystical body which she thus gives to the Saviour is a reality of an intellectual and ascetic order and, all in all, rather a spirit than a body, we would say. It is a kind of spiritual atmosphere, a vital atmosphere constituted by its own way of thinking and willing; in short - and this brings us back to the first ideas we were expounding is still the best summary we can make in closing - it is a gnosis.

There is no doubt that this is a lack of realism, but we must add that it is a lack of realism which is linked to what is less certain and less orthodox in the teaching of our Alexandrians. We are thinking here, in particular, first of their subordinationism, then of their insufficient doctrine with regard to grace, and finally of their excessive predilection for allegorical exegesis. These three defects, we believe, are closely connected with the inadequacy of their system of the mystical body.

In the first place, their subordinationism. It is especially marked in Origen. Origen holds the Son to be very inferior to the Father, even though he is, he adds-and here is the remedy for the error-even though he is the most perfect image of the Father (2).

(1) CLEMENT, *Protrepticus*, i, 8, 4, P.G., viii, 64, C.B., CLEMENT, I, 9.

(2) *De oratione*, xv and xvi, P.G., xi, 466, C.B., ORIGEN, II, 333. - Elsewhere, however, Origen has already the formula which will become the rallying word of orthodoxy: ὁμοούσιος (*In Hebr. fragm.*, P.G., xiv, 1308). Besides, on this point as on others, the thought of the Alexandrian is rich in points. It is this subordinationism which leads our Alexandrians to see, in the divine nature of the Saviour, the intermediary between God and the world and the head of the mystical body of the regenerate.

After the subordinationism of the Alexandrians, we must mention their theology of grace. This is not false, perhaps, but certainly insufficient. As educators they insist less on the divine help that is necessary than on the cooperation that is indispensable. And, moreover, perhaps because they are educators, they are more

inclined to see this very help as a lesson that instructs than as an energy that lifts. Not that they are Pelagians: they do not deny our powerlessness (1); but their statements often go in the direction that Pelagius will go further than they do.

This deficiency in their doctrine of grace corresponds exactly to the lack of realism in their conception of the mystical body. Justification by Christ, on the one hand, and incorporation into Christ, on the other, appear to them, not only of course, but in the first place, as gnosis, as spiritual and ascetical instruction. On both sides, Christ is more of a pedagogue than a teacher.

from various points of view. Compare, for example, the texts of *De oratione*, *In Rom.* vin, 4, P.G., xiv, 1168. - In the *Commentaria in epist. ad Rom.* there is a passage where the doctrine of the mystical body is associated with a certain subordinatianism. "Those whom Christ offers to the Father, the Spirit takes to sanctify and quicken as members of the Church of the firstborn (*Hebr.*, xn, 23) and to insert them into the unity and perfection of the whole body, so that the Church of God may finally be without spot or wrinkle. Before they come to this degree of perfection, they call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, as that of the mediator of God and men; but afterwards, when the Spirit of God has come into their hearts crying there, "Abba, Father I" he teaches them to call upon the name of the Father himself." *In Rom.* ix, 5, P.G., xiv, 1166-1167 (trans. Rufin).

(1) There are even sentences of Origen which one would think were written at an earlier date, so well do they formulate the doctrine of grace which the Church would later define. See for example, *In Mt.* xn, 30, P.G. xm, 1052. - *In Ezek. eel*, P.G., xm, 769 (auth.?). - *In Ps.* xvn, P.G., xn, 1232. - *De oratione*, xxvi, P.G., xi, 500, C.B., ORIGEN, II, 359 - *Contra Celsum*, iv, 5, 6, 7, P.G. xi, 1036, ff; C.B., ORIGEN, I, 277.

life, and Christianity has more Failure of an immense and - magnificent didascale, than of an assimilation by God, in Christ, of the very substance of our race.

In the course of this work, we will often note the close solidarity between the doctrine of grace and the doctrine of incorporation in Christ. It was therefore good to stop and look at one of its first manifestations.

Finally, after the doctrine on Christ and the doctrine on grace, we must consider the conception of scriptural exegesis: here again there are similarities with the doctrine of the mystical body. In their exegesis, as is well known, the masters of the Didascale make an

extremely large part of the allegory. It was not they who started it: allegorism was fashionable in Alexandria long before Christianity. Clement and Origen only followed, but with what decision! The whole thing," Origen declares, "is to change the bodily gospel into the spiritual gospel" (1). Read: one must look everywhere, under the letter of Scripture, for moral exhortations and maxims of Gnostic life, even if by subtle exegesis; and even then, one must hardly see anything else in the holy books. That alone matters, after all.

What does it matter to me, who have come to hear what the Spirit teaches mankind, to hear that Abraham stood under a tree?

These teachers and preachers need a paralegal. On occasion, no doubt, they will know how to discuss, even in a masterly way, the literal meaning of a verse (3). (3) But this "corporeal" and material meaning does not usually

(2) Beginning of the *Commentary on St. John* (tomus 1, P.G., xiv, 37, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 13). "We must forgive the simple," he writes again, "who see in Scripture only the historical sense." *Comm. in Mt.* L, P.G., xm, 1678; cfr *Ibid.* xxvn, P.G., xm, 1635. - *In Rom.* 11:14, P.G., xiv, 917, etc.

(3) *In Gen.* iv, P.G. xn, 185.

(4) Thus for what concerns the eclipse of the sun which occurred at the death of Our Lord. *In Mt.* cxxxiv, P.G. xni, 1782.

They are hardly interested. They seek, and they introduce, about everything, moral approximations and ascetic counsels, and they see without regret disappearing, under these rules of holiness, as if under a veil, what Scripture says of concrete and material matter about the life of our Saviour, both of the life which the Old Testament has as it were drawn beforehand, and of the life which He led in the days of His mortal existence.

The leader is therefore treated like the members. This resemblance should be noted. The same intemperance of allegory, in fact, which would eventually reduce the living and concrete Christ to a set of moral counsels, also leads our authors to find in the most energetic scriptural statements concerning our incorporation into Christ only exhortations to attentive imitation and to a gnostic life (1). On both

sides, the realistic and obvie aspect tends to fade away

1)) The text *Gai.* 11:20, and the most energetic texts on our incorporation into the Saviour ("Till Christ be formed in you," *Gai.* iv:19; or: "Christ our life," *Col.* ni:4) generally bring only faded commentaries. Thus for *Gai.* 11:20, see CLEMENT, *Strom.* in, 18, P.G., vin, 1210 - ORIGEN, *Exhortatio ad martyr*, xn, P.G., xi, 580 - *In Num. hom.* vu, 3; xxiv, 2; *In Ps.* LXXI, 15, P.G., xn, 616, 761 and 1525. - For *Gai.* iv, 19, see ORIGEN, *In Ps.* xxxvi *hom.* iv, P.G., xn, 1357. - *Comm.* in *Mt.* 43, P.G., xm, 1662, cfr 1704. - For *Col.* ni, 4, see Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, iv, 31, P.G., xi, 406. - On the *Mihi fecistis* (*Mt.*, xxv, 40), see *De oratione*, xi, P.G., xi, 449- - I* *Mt.*, xn, 23; xm, 2, P.G., xin, 1036, 1097. - *In Joh.* i, 12, P.G., xiv, 45 - On the *Vobiscum sum omnibus diebus* (*Mt.*, xxvin, 20; *it.*, xviii, 20), see *In Mt.* xm, cfr xiv, P.G., xm, 1132, 1181-1192. - *In Joh.* xm, 51; xx, 12; xxxn, 19, P.G., xiv, 496, 600, 824. - Other passages of Origen making the same sound: *Contra Celsum*, ii, 69 and v, 12, P.G., xi, 904 and 1197. - *In Gen.* xvn, 7, P.G., xn, 259. - *In Joh.* xx, 27, P.G. xiv, 652. - *In Ezek.* iv, 6, P.G. xm, 701. - *In Reg.* i, 4, P.G. xn, 999. - *In Ps.* LXXVII, PITRA, *Analecta sacra*, t. ni, p. 129 (?). - *Contra Celsum*, iv, 26, P.G., xi, 1065: "One becomes a temple of God by an exact knowledge of the demiurge." - Origen gives a number of allegorical descriptions of the mystical body: *In Gen.* xvn, 6, 9, P.G., xn, 259, 261. - *In Cantica*, n, P.G., xm, 118, 132. - *In Ps.* XLVIII, P.G., xn, 1441. - As a text commented on with some vigour, there is scarcely to be quoted but the words, "I was hungry," etc. (*Mt.*, xxv, 35), see *In Mt.*, xm; *In Mt.*, 1, 72, 73, P.G., xm, 1097, 1601, 1714, 1717- - *In Ps.* xxxvi, *hom.* ni, P.G., xn, 1348.

before a system of edifying considerations. The head and the body, still and always, are united.

From all these remarks it may be concluded that the tendency to minimize the ontological and mysterious in our incorporation into Christ is not an infallible index of a theologian's particular sureness of vision or of a sharper sense of orthodoxy. The Alexandrians, precisely in so far as they are unrealistic, are also insecure in their teaching. Perhaps it was not useless to note this. Is there not, as we said at the beginning of this chapter, a teaching in these very deficiencies of the Didascalean teachers?

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Moreover, we do not wish to speak of these deficiencies any longer. It would be unfair and painful to end with reservations the chapter devoted to men like Clement and Origen. Leaving aside, therefore, what is their systematic conception of the mystical body, we will now consider a number of other passages, more significant and more remarkable. The vocabulary and the expressions remain gnostic at times, but, as we quickly see, what is formulated there is not their speculation, it is their faith.

Their faith is alive to the point of joy and firm to the point of martyrdom. And this faith is often affirmed in their works, in singularly strong and perfect formulas. The sentences we are going to quote are of this kind (i). (i) They are self-evident.

(i) "The form," writes Origen (*Contra Celsum*, vi, 9, P.G., xi, 1304, C.B., ORIGEN, II, 79; cfr. *In Mt.* xm, 15, P.G., xm, 1132), "the character which remains in the soul when Christ has impressed his wounds on it, is an interior Christ, derived from the Christ-Verb." Let us quote again: "Christ is life in each one; therefore there are many lives... So again Christ is in every saint, and through the one Chnst there are many Christs, namely his imitators and those who are transformed in him into the image of God." (*In Joh.*, vi, 3, P.G., xm, 212, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 115). - See also a passage from the commentary *In Isaiam*, a fragment from *V Apologia Pamphili martyris pro Ori gene*,

are placed in the line of the purest tradition, taking up and perfecting what other Fathers have said, or preforming what, later, others will say even better.

P.G., xiii, 217 and xvii, 588: "Just as there is only one Holy Spirit and yet there are as many holy spirits as there are Christians in whom the Holy Spirit dwells, so it must be said of Christ: from Christ who is one, come many Christs: those of whom the Scripture says, 'Touch not' my Christs, and seek not quarrel with my prophets' (*Ps.* (Ps. civ. 15). Likewise, from one God, many receive the title of gods, namely, all those in whom God dwells. However, for us there is only one God, the Father from whom all things come, one true God, who is, so to speak, the giver of divinity, and one Christ, the maker of Christs, and one Holy Spirit who, poured into souls, makes their spirit holy. And as Christ (anointed) makes other Christs (anointed) by that very fact that he is Christ (anointed), so, by that very fact that he is God's own only Son, he makes sons of God of all who receive from him the spirit of adoption." - Here again is how the Alexandrian develops the same thought, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 79, P.G., xi, 1418, C.B., ORIGEN, π, 7, p. 150. "Therefore it was not necessary that there should exist everywhere many bodies and many souls like Jesus, in order that the whole earth of men should be illumined by the Word of God. It was enough that the unique Word, having risen like a sun of justice, sent its rays from Judea on the souls of those who want to receive it in themselves. If anyone wishes to see many men filled with a divine spirit and devoting themselves, in imitation of this one Christ, to the salvation of men, let him consider that those who anywhere live in purity and uprightness and teach the word of Jesus, are called Christs too, in the holy Scriptures, in the verse: "Touch not my Christs, and to my 'prophets do no evil". For as we have heard that "antichrist cometh" (*I J oh.*, 11, 18), and yet we have learned that ■ antichrists are many" in the world; so we who know that Christ lived among us, yet we see that through him many Christs have arisen in the world. These are those who, like Him, have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and for this God, the God of Christ, has anointed them also with the oil of gladness (*Ps.* XLIV, 8). But he [Christ] loved righteousness and hated iniquity more than all the others, and he received the first-fruits of the anointing, and even, if one may so express it, the whole anointing, of the oil of gladness. All the others who received it, received a part of the anointing, as far as they were susceptible of it. Accordingly, since Christ is the head of the Church, so that Christ and the Church are one body, the ointment poured on the head descended on the beard of Aaron (*Ps.* cxxxn, 2), who is the symbol of the perfect man [which we would explain is the mystical Christ]; and this ointment then descended on the hem of his garment." The same idea is found in S. PROSPER OF AQUITAIN, *Expositio psalmorum*, cxxxn.

Here, for example, are some lines from Origen, in which he speaks of our resurrection in Christ; they evoke the most beautiful passages of Irenaeus on the recapitulation.

On the last day, death will be defeated. The resurrection of Christ after the torture of the cross mysteriously contains the resurrection of the whole body of Christ. As the visible body of Christ is crucified, buried, and then resurrected; so the whole body of Christ's saints is crucified with Him and no longer lives in itself. But when the resurrection of the true and complete body of Christ comes, then the members of Christ, now like dry bones (*Ezek.*, xxxvii), will be joined together joint to joint, each finding its place, and all together will constitute a perfect man, to the measure of the fullness of the body of Christ (*Eph.*, iv, 13), and then the multitude of members will be one body, for they all belong to the same body.

"God hath raised us up with Christ, and made us sit with him in heaven." (*Eph.*, 11:6). This is what it means. If you believe

2) PL, Li, 382. - In the same way, Christ is the one stone; but from this one stone come many stones: all who would imitate Christ: *In Jer.*, xvi, 3, P.G., xm, 441, C.B., ORIGEN, ni, 134. - He is also the only root, "he quickens by his Holy Spirit those who are joined to him, he forms them by his word, he makes them blossom by his wisdom, he gives them the gift of many fruits in the fullness of all the virtues." *Commentaria in epist. ad Rom.* vin, 11, P.G., xiv, 1193, trans. Rufin. - It is known that PAMPHILUS, in his *Apology*, v, reproach 5 (P.G., xvn, 588, 589), had to defend Origen against those who accused him of exaggerating our union with Christ, so often does he say that we are Christs. - A frequent formula in Origen is still: διάτὸν ἐν ἐκάστῳ Χριστόν. *In Joh.* vi, 3, P.G., xiv, 212, C.B., ORIGEN, iv, 115, similar passage. - Cfr *In Ps.* xvn, 24; LXXI, 15, P.G., xii, 1233, 1526.

(1) *Comm. in Joh.*, x, 20, P.G., xiv, 372, 373, C.B., ORIGEN, tv, 210. Note 1 opposition between ἐκεῖνοτὸ αἰσθητόν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σώμα and the δλοντὸν ἁγίων Χριστοῦ σώμα, where the resurrection is made τοῦ παντός Χριστοῦ σώματος, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ τελειοτέρου Χριστοῦ σώματος. These expressions denoting the mystical body are the commentary on the Pauline formula τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Eph.*, iv, 13), quoted in the context. The rest of the passage speaks of that temple which is the (mystical) body of Christ, and from which negroes and trifles must be cast out; that temple which Jesus will rebuild in three days, and purify by faith and by the zeal he will put into it by dwelling in it, *Ibid.* 21 Origen returns again later to the same ideas, *Ibid.* 23, 24, etc.; cfr. *Ibid.* 1, 34; x, 27, P.G., xiv, 384, 393, etc.

If you believe that Christ was raised from the dead, believe also that you yourselves were raised with him; if you believe that he is seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven, believe that you also dwell, no longer on earth, but in heaven; and if you believe that Christ died to sin and lives to God (*Rom.*, vi, 10), you also die to sin and live to God (1).

This new life throws us into the greatness of Christ (2). (2) It makes us children of God, by making us live in the incarnate Son.

In eternity, this blessed change will appear with splendour; during this mortal life, it is accomplished in the shadows. But it is real in its first beginnings, as it will be real in its fulfilment. Unceasingly, by each of our actions, God begets us, in his Son, to eternal life.

We are born of the devil, as it were," says Origen, "every time we sin. Blessed is the one who is always born of the devil. But also, blessed is the one who is always begotten of God. For the just man is not born of God only once, but unceasingly, but by every good work by which God begets him. This can be explained by speaking of the Savior. The Saviour did not

(2) *Commentaria in epist. ad Rom*, iv, 7, P.G., xiv, 985. - The ascetic counsels, so frequent among our Alexandrians, are often connected with our incorporation into Christ. ORIGEN, *In Thren*, P.G., xni, 640, 660, C.B., ORIGEN, IV, 260, 276. - *In Mt*, xn, 24, P.G. xin, 1037.

(3) CLEMENT, *Strom*, v, 11, P.G., ix, 109, C.B., CLEMENT, II, 374. - Elsewhere (*Strom.*, iv, 9, P.G., vin, 1281, C.B., CLEMENT, I, 280), in describing what it means to "bear witness in Christ" (*Le.*, xn, 8), the same Clement writes: "These alone bear witness in Christ, who live in his religion and morals (ἐν τη κατ' αὐτόν ὁμολογία καὶ πράξει). In these Christ himself bears witness, for he takes them into himself, and is possessed by them." Clement refers in this place to Heracleon, whom he approves on this point. - We can also see the end of the prayer which ends the *Pedagogue* (P.G., vin, 681, C.B., CLEMENT, I, 291). Clement speaks of the God-Man and continues: "Let all things be the One, in whom are all things, through whom are all things one, through whom is eternity, of whom are all members, whose glory is the ages. All things to him that is good, all things to him that is beautiful, all things to him that is wise, and all things to him that is just. To him be glory now and for ever." - Christians are not only *unum*, they are *unus*. ORIGEN, *In Reg. hom.* 1, P.G., xn, 998; efr *In Ez. hom.* ix, P.G., xm, 792.

was begotten by the Father in a transitory manner, but the Father always begets him. So it is with the righteous. The Savior, in fact, is the radiance of the Father's glory; and the radiance is not sent forth for a moment only by the light, but as long as the light shines, it spreads its radiance: thus the radiance of the glory of God is born without ceasing... In the same way, you, if you possess the spirit of adoption, God begets you in him by each of your works and by each of your thoughts, and, by this perpetual generation, you are born every moment a son of God, in Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen (i).

If, at every moment, Christians are born sons of God in Jesus Christ, they must also be born at every moment, in Jesus Christ, sons of Mary. This thought of the maternity of the Virgin is expressed by Origen at the beginning of his *Commentaries on Saint John*.

We must dare to say, he writes, that the principle (ἀπαρχή) of all the - Scriptures is the Gospels, and that the principle of the Gospels is the Gospel according to St. John. This Gospel, no one can perceive the deep meaning of it, if it did not rest on the womb of Jesus and if Jesus did not give Mary to him to become his mother also...

For if no one is a son of Mary, according to those who think sanely, except Jesus; and if Jesus said to his mother, "Woman, behold your son,

(1) ORIGEN, *In Jer. hom.* ix, 4, P.G., xm, 356-357, C.B., ORIGEN, ni, 70. Cfr Παρὶ Ἀρχόν, iv, 32, P.G., xi, 406. - See also, on the mystical body in general, *Tomus xii in Mt.*, 24, P.G., xm, 1037, and *Contra Celsum*, v, 12, P.G., xi, 1197. - *In Ezek.* ix, 1, P.G., xm, /32. - To the text we have quoted may be compared this passage of St. HIPPOLYTUS, *In Daniel*, 1, 9, C.B., HIPPOLYTUS, 1, 17: "Understand, O man, what is written: 'The mouth' of the Father has spoken a pure Word" (*Ps.* XLIV, 2). Now a second Word appears, produced in the holy. He perpetually gives birth to the saints, and he himself is perpetually given birth to them. Already St. METHODIUS commented on the same verse of the Psalter in the same sense (*De sanguisuga*, i, C.B., METHODIUS, 478; cfr. *De cibis*, iv, IBID., 430): "Be fashioned by Christ who is in you, that you may say, *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum*." Elsewhere, S. HIPPOLYTUS, *De Christo et Antichristo*, LXI, P.G., x, 780, C.B., HIPPOLYTUS, I, (II), 41, attributes this childbirth to the Church, "who does not cease," he says, "to give birth in her heart to the Word who is persecuted by the wicked. See also *Epistle to Diognetus*, xi, P.G., 11, 1184, FUNK, I, 330. The Word came, "who was in the beginning, and appeared new, and yet is old and is born, always young, in the hearts of the saints". Cfr p. 333, note.

and not "Behold, this also is your son," as if he had said to her, "Behold, Jesus is born to you. And indeed everything that is perfect no longer lives: it is Christ who lives in him; since, therefore, Christ lives in him, it can be said of him to Mary, "Behold your son the Christ" (1).

Just as the greatness of Christ passes into us, so our lowliness passes into him. Therefore, it can be said of him that he is not yet perfectly subject to the Father, but that he will be one day, as Scripture says: (2) "When all things have been subjected to him, then the Son himself will be subjected to him who subjected all things to him, so that God may be all in all." This submission, Origen explains, concerns the mystical Christ: when we ourselves are fully submitted to God, that is, when we are fully and definitively incorporated into Christ, only then will Christ himself, in us, be fully submitted to God.

This exegesis is found in a passage of the *Homilies on Leviticus*. The beginning of the passage is obscure: the author declares there, and with insistence, and without correction, that Christ, even now, weeps for our sins and suffers because of them. The statement is so clear that St. Bernard and even Pierre-Daniel Huet (3), have declared that there was no way to save the Alexandrian orthodoxy on this point. In our opinion, one can be more indulgent. The end of the passage, which Origen expressly links to the beginning, explains it in its entirety: from one end to the other, it is not a question of Christ considered in himself alone, but of Christ in so far as he is mystically united to men. The text is a little long, so we will only give the principal places, but these few quotations, we think, will suffice for us to see what is to be understood by the present sufferings of Christ and by his subjection to the Father.

(1) ORIGEN, *Commentaria in Joh*, praef, P.G., xiv, 32.

(2) *I Cor.* xv, 27, 28.

(3) HUET, *Ori genian a*, n, 2, 3, § 29, P.G., xvn, 835. He quotes St. Bernard and Sixtus of Siena. The latter (*Bibliotheca sancta*, Naples, 1742, vol. n, p. 626) seems to have understood the text exactly, though he adds some details which are not in Origen.

Origen, therefore, asks how to explain what Jesus says in St. Matthew (*Mt.*, xxvi, 29), that he will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes. He says that until the kingdom comes, it will be a time of atonement and pain. That time is now. So, continues the Alexandrian,

Even now, does my Savior deplore my sins. My Saviour cannot rejoice, while I remain in iniquity... And how can he drink the wine of gladness, who is the advocate for my sins, while I vex him in sin?

He, therefore, is in pain, as long as we persist in our erring ways. If the Apostle mourns the misfortune of some who have sinned and have not done penance for their transgressions (*II Cor.*, xii, 21), what is to be said of Him who is called the son of love? ... How can we believe that the Apostle suffers for the ungodly and grieves for sinners, and that my Lord Jesus has no tears when He comes to the Father to offer a sacrifice of propitiation for us (1)?

This Christ always in pain is the mystical Christ. Origen, of course, could have said this more clearly, for in truth the passage seems to speak rather of Christ in his individual person. But what follows explains it all. These sins which Christ mourns, Origen continues, are the obstacle which prevents his work from being perfect: as long as we, who are his members, are stained by them, he himself, in us, still lacks the holiness which he should have (2). (2) Now the meaning of the passage is fixed: it is the mystical body that is meant, and the Alexandrian develops this view at length, applying it to the text of St. Paul of which we have spoken: "The Son, in the end, will be perfectly subject to the Father." (*I Cor.*, xv, 28).

Since all of us are his body and all of us are called his members, as long as there are some among us who are not yet

(1) ORIGEN, *In Levit. hom.* vu, 2, P.G., xn, 478, 479, C.B., ORIGEN, VI, PP- 374 and 376.

(2) *Ibid*, P.G., 479, C.B., 376.

If any of them have submitted to God with perfect submission, they say that he has not yet submitted. But when he has completed his work and brought all his creation to the height of perfection, he will be said to be subject in those whom he has subjected to the Father, and in whom he has completed the work which God has given him to do, so that God may be all in all.

Thus, Origen continues, and this is the passage which interests us most, Jesus is not completely in glory until his whole body is there:

He does not want to receive his full glory without you, that is to say, [He does not want it] without his people who are his body and who are his members. For he wishes to dwell in this body of the Church and in these members of his people as a soul, so that all movements and works may be done according to his will. Thus will be fulfilled in us the word of the prophet, "I will dwell in them and walk in them." (*Lev.*, xxvi, 11, 12).

So again, says Origen after a few lines, so shall we come to say, < I live, but it is no longer I, but Christ who lives in me." (*Gai.*, n, 20). For, as the Apostle says (*I Cor.*, xn, 27), we are His members in an incomplete way, and His bones in an incomplete way also. But when the bones shall be joined to the bones, and the joints to the joints, as we have said above (at the resurrection, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, *Ez.*, xxxvii), he will be able to say of us the prophetic word, "All my bones shall say: Lord, who is like unto thee?" (*Ps.* xxxiv, 10). For all these bones speak and sing a hymn, and give thanks to God.

...Previously, each of these bones was miserable, it was crushed by the hand of a stronger one. It had not the joint of charity, nor the sinews of patience, nor the veins of the vital spirits, nor the vigour of faith. But when he came who was to gather up what was scattered and bind up what was scattered, joining every bone to every bone and every joint to every joint, he began to build the holy body of the Church.

All that I have just said," Origen continues, "is an aside in my commentary, but it was necessary to explain it to you.

What were the reasons in the ancient law that prevented the high priest from drinking wine before entering the sanctuary? It is because the present time is a time of preparation and penance. But once this time is over, it will be the hour of triumph, the hour of glad drinks and the hour of an outpouring of new life. Origen celebrates this newness of life with enthusiasm.

Then, yes," he cries, "then Christ will drink the wine, but it will be new wine, and new wine in the new heaven and in the new earth, and in the new man, with new men, with those who sing the new song. You see, one cannot drink the new cup of the new vine while one is clothed with the old man and his deeds (i).

This is the whole passage; we can now judge whether we had the right to say that, from one end to the other, it speaks of the mystical body. The last lines show that it is everywhere about Christ who, in us, has not yet reached the fullness of his growth and the stature of a perfect man. Because of this, in us He is still struggling with sin, as the beginning of the text says, and progressing towards becoming finally all obedience to God, as the end of the development says. These are, moreover, ideas which will be familiar to the tradition, as we shall see in the course of our work.

Moreover, the beginning of the passage, which is less clear, is also, for us, much less interesting than the end which is very clear. In the end, in fact, we have a model of a kind of exegesis which will become habitual: Origen applies to the mystical body what Scripture says about Christ in general. Christ, he says, will be subject to the Father when we are. For, and this is the presupposition of such a commentary, the unity between Christ and the Christians, between the head and the members, is close enough for Scripture to attribute to the one what, in all rigor, is true only of the other.

(i) *In Levit, hom*, vu, 2, P.G., xn, 481-482, C.B., ORIGEN, VI, pp. 379-380,

This kind of exegesis is often found in the Fathers of later times. We would like to show that it goes back to the Didascale of Alexandria (1). Origen, moreover, uses it on several occasions, both to comment, as here, on the verses of the first epistle to the Corinthians (2), and to explain other passages (3).

In addition to this method of exegesis, it is necessary to note, in the passage which we have quoted, an energetic affirmation. Christ, Origen declares, is the soul for the whole Mystical Body; he wants to dwell in the Mystical Body "in such a way as to direct all its movements", so that everything that is done in it will be the expression of his own thought.

This universal action of the humanity of Christ, this role of sanctifier that it has within every man, even helps to understand his union with the infinite, with the Word. Origen even considers this mystical aspect of Christ to be sufficiently certain to argue in favor of his divinity.

This is what he does in a passage of the *Contra Celsum*. Celsus, who nevertheless admitted, with the Stoics, that the wise man is equal to the gods, mocked the Christian dogma which united the soul of Jesus with the first-born Word of every creature (*Col.*, 1:15). Origen replies to him that the Christian truths agree perfectly with each other (ἀκολουθίαι δογμάτων), that, according to the Scriptures, the Word is united with the whole Church, and that consequently there is nothing to prevent his being united also, but in a specially excellent way, with the humanity of Christ. The passage, as we shall see, has the appearance of a profession of faith; what is put into effect there, in a somewhat Gnostic way, it must be admitted, is the ordinary belief of Christians. Here is the text:

(1) Its prehistory goes back even further: we see it being formed in St. Justin, in the Epistle of Barnabas and in *II Clementis*, see above, ch. i, p. 307, ff.

(2) ORIGEN, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, in, 5, 6 and 7, P.G., xi, 331, C.B., ORIGEN, v, 277; *In Ps.* xxxvi hom. n, P.G., xn, 1329.

(3) See also *In Ps.* 2; xxix, 2, P.G., xn, 1253, 1292, 1293; *In Joh.* x, 20, 22, 23, P.G., xiv, 372, ff, quoted in part, p. 366,

We say," says Origen, "according to divine Scripture, that the body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, is the whole Church of God; that the members of this body, of this whole, are each believer. As the soul animates and moves the body which, without it, would be inert; so the Word gives strength and movement for good to the whole body which is the Church; he moves each member of the Church, and none of them does anything without him. These things, I think, are consistent and well connected. What, then, prevents the soul of Jesus, or rather Jesus himself, from being united to the Word in a close and excellent union, so that he is no other than the monogenes and the first-born (i)?

We will stop with this text. Many others, no doubt, could be taken from the works of Origen and Clement. But are we rash to believe that the little that precedes is sufficient to give an idea of the riches contained in their theology, and of the place which, in spite of everything, the truth of the mystical body holds in it?

(i) *Contra Celsum*, NI, 48, P.G., xi, 1373, C.B., ORIGEN, H, 119. St. Athanasius has a similar reasoning: *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*, XLI, P.G., xxv, 168 (cfr. ch. iv, p. 377). We also find, but in a fragment of questionable authenticity, an attestation of the same kind attributed to Origen: see PITRA, *Analecta sacra*, t. ni, p. 588. - Let us quote again CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Strom*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Strom*, vu, 14, P.G., ix, 521, C.B., ni, 62: "Allegorical exegesis sees in the Church the body of the Lord (cf. ORIGEN, *In Cant.*, 11, P.G., xm, 118, 132); for it is a spiritual and holy choir. Those who are Christians in name only are the flesh of this body. And this spiritual body the Apostle warns not to give it up to fornication or apostasy (*I Cor.*, vi, 13). He who lives as a pagan in the Church, or acts, speaks, or thinks as a pagan in the Church, defiles the Church, that is, his own body (*I Cor.*, vi, 18). He who clings to this courtesan worldly life becomes one body with it, but a very different body... But he who adheres to the Lord becomes, by an ineffable union, one spirit with Him (*I Cor.*, vi, 17). Thus one becomes a son of God, a holy man, impassive, Gnostic, perfect, formed by the teaching of the Lord, and those who, in deeds, words, and thoughts, have thus come closer to the Lord will receive the dwelling promised to men of this type. These indications will suffice for those who have ears; indeed, the mystery must not be revealed, but only insinuated as much as is necessary to remind those who know it."

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CHAPTER IV

SAINT ATHANASIUS. DIVINITY OF THE WORD AND DIVINIZATION OF HIS MYSTICAL BODY. ARIANISM

BEFORE ARIANISM. The Logos in the world; the life of the mystical body demonstrating the resurrection of Christ.

STRUGGLE AGAINST ARIANISM. I. DOCTRINAL EXPOSITION. Doctrine of divinization. The incarnate Word is the principle of divine life in the mystical body. Our divinization proves his divinity; for it is his divinity that operates our divinization. Our union with the Word, our unity in the incarnate Word. The text, "That they may be one." II. CONTROVERSY OVER ARIAN ARGUMENTS. Exegesis based on our divinization in the mystical Christ. The Word exalted in us, sanctified in us, created in us.

The treatise *On V incarnation and against the Arians*. Authentic? In any case, from the school of Athanasius. Same ideas, more formulated, same exegesis. Christ sanctifies himself in us, he completes his incarnation in us.

CONCLUSION. The doctrine of the mystical body and Athanasius. Summary of his doctrine; what remains to be explained; the corollaries he draws from it.

He is no longer a teacher; he is a bishop. And what a bishop! Patriarch, pope as it were, of the Church of Alexandria, he was, for forty-five years, from 328 to 373, the pillar of the Church and the father of orthodoxy. In him the soul of the great bishops we have already contemplated, the soul of the Ignatians and the Irenaeus, their jealous zeal for tradition, their fearless ardour in thinking and defending the faith, and also, because this is always the case, their profound sense of the life of Christ in the Church (1), lived again.

(1) Born in 295, probably in Alexandria; he apparently spent part of his youth in the desert under the guidance of St. Anthony; attended the Council

It is dogma, rather than subtle thoughts, that he is concerned with. Also, of the philosophical and gnostic speculations with which Clement and Origen had surrounded and sometimes charged the doctrine, there is no more question in his work. He wants only the divine truth, the revealed truth, and if he wants to understand it, it is not so much by bringing it closer to metaphysical theses as by seeking its inner light.

Philosophy, of course, he does not reject. On the contrary, he quotes it, even with honor, but as a simple auxiliary (i). Here, for example, is how he speaks of the mystical body in the first of his works, the double *Discourse against the pagans and on the incarnation*, written between 318 and 320.

The Greek philosophers say that the world is a great body. In this they are right. We can see it, moreover, and its parts fall under our senses. If, then, the Word of God dwells in this world, which is a body, and if He is found in each and every part of it, is it surprising or peculiar that the Word should be found in man?

Just as a musician who has tuned his lyre draws from it low, high, or medium tones, so well blended one into the other that they form one melody, so the Wisdom of God, holding the universe like a lyre, adapts one to the other and each to all the things that are in the heavens and those that are on earth; he leads them all according to his will and thus makes one world, and one, too, the order of the world, in a beautiful and harmonious way.

of Nicaea, and three years later became bishop of Alexandria. He was banished five times and spent more than a third of his episcopate in exile. He died in Alexandria on 2 May 373.

(1) In particular, St. Athanasius is anxious to discard the Stoic idea of a God who would be poured into things in such a way that the world is like his unfolding: *II Contra arianos*, xi, P.G., xxvi, 169. - Ps. ATHANASIUS, *IV Contra arianos*, xm, P.G., xxvi, 484. Cfr S. ATHANASIUS, *De sententia Dionysii*, xvii, P.G., xxv, 505.

(2) *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*, xli, P.G., xxv, 168; cfr. n° XLII.

(3) *Oratio contra gentes*, XLII, P.G., xxv, 84; cfr *II Contra arianos*, XLVIII, xxviii, P.G., xxvi, 249, 205. - *Epist. I ad Serapionem*, xxvi, P.G., xxvi, 592. In *II Contra arianos*, LXXXI, P.G., xxvi, 317, he makes the Word speak as follows: "All things were created in me and through me (*Col.*, 1, 16). But as it was necessary that in things also wisdom should be created, by my subsistence (την μὲν οὐσ(αν), I was with the Father, but by condescension,

We recognize in these lines, but expressed by a master, the conception which sees in the mystical body not only humanity, but the whole universe. We have already encountered it in Irenaeus, who says that the Word recapitulates in himself all material creation; it is found in the apologists, as well as in the first Alexandrians, who show that the incarnate Word, because he is logos and reason, seals the unity and harmony of all things, among themselves and with God. Among the latter, the idea was certainly not without a certain subordinationism: it is so difficult to express at once, in a perfect manner, in clearly defined terms, such elevated ideas; and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, except at the moments when the magisterium acts in the fullness of its power, is not accustomed to spare, even to those who are most docile to it, all the trial and error.

But the Holy Spirit in the Church always continues his work of truth, and we know how strongly Athanasius and those who came after him spoke of the total equality of the Son and the Father under his influence.

As for the idea that the Incarnate Word makes, in himself, the unity and harmony, not only of men, but of the whole universe and even of material things, it will remain dear to the Fathers of the Church. (i) First of all, because of the Platonic formation of the

I applied my likeness to things, so that the whole world, as united in one body, was not in discord (μὴ στασιάζειν), but was in concord (ὁμόνοεῖν) with itself."

(i) Especially in S. DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, director of the Didascalie in 231, bishop of Alexandria in 248, died in 264 or 265. It is he whose orthodoxy is defended by St. Athanasius in the *De sententia Dionysii*. He wrote against the atomists a treatise *On Nature*, fragments of which survive in EUSEBIUS, *Evangelical Preparation* (vi, 23-27), edited in MIGNE, P.G., x, 1249-1269, and in C. L. FELTOE, *Διονυσίου λείψανα. The letters and other remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, Cambridge, 1904, pp. 127, 164. According to Denys, 'the world is one and well connected; this is our opinion and that of the wisest among the Greeks-Plato and Pythagoras, the Stoics and Heraclitus. P.G., x, 1249; cfr. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oratio vi and Orat. theol.* 11, P.G., xxxv, 740 and xxxvi, 72; - St. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In Ps. 1 and In illud: Tunc ipse Filius...*, P.G., XLIV, 441 and 1320; - St. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, cienne of several of them. Secondly, because of his opposition to the atomism of Epicurus, so often immoral. Lastly, and above all, because of its profound truth and the immense conception, which, through it, God gives us of the providential plan

and the mystical body.

Athanasius, in particular, is so penetrated by this that he often expresses it: Christ, he is fond of saying, is the leaven of the world; *πάσα κτίσις, τὰ πάντα*, the whole universe is the mass which he - works and the body which he gives life (i).

But our doctor does not remain at this still too philosophical point of view. From the outset, he goes beyond it to center his doctrine around the theological truth par excellence: the dogma of the divinity of the Son and of the incarnation. This is what he does in the second part of the discourse we are talking about, entitled: *Discourse on the Vincarnation of the Word*. Athanasius was only twenty-five years old when he wrote this work, which is rightly considered the pearl of theological treatises written in Greek. (2) It is a work full of youthful freshness and ardour, but already powerful and strongly structured; the author, one can feel it,

In Joh., i and vn-vni, P.G., LXXIII, 145, and LXXIV, 33; *Thesaurus*, xv, P.G., LXXV, 268, cfr *Contra Julianum*, 11, P.G., LXXVI, 589, 592; *In Mt.*

(1) *Or. de incarnatione*, xxv, P.G., xxv, 140: the air itself was sanctified by the Saviour while he was hanging on the cross. See also *III Contra arianos*, ix, P.G., xxvi, 340: "All things," he writes elsewhere (*I Contra arianos*, XLVI, P.G., xxvi, 108), "are partakers of the Word and of Wisdom, and all are sanctified by him in the Spirit." - We become, through baptism, heirs of eternal life, and creatures are sanctified and renewed (*Epist. I ad Serapionem*, xxii and xxm, P.G., xxvi, 584)¹⁵ i although all creation participates in the Word in the Spirit (*Ibid*, xxm, P.G., xxvi, 585, it., 589, etc.), for he redeemed the whole earth with his blood (*Epist. heortast.* v, P.G., xxvi, 1380); it., *De synodis*, LI, P.G., xxvi, 784. - *Oratio contra gentes*, XLIV, P.G., xxv, 84.

(2) KRUEGER, in *Realencykl. für prot. Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 1, p. 674 - R. L. OTTLEY, *the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, London, 1919, p. 188.

is at home in Christian doctrine, and he thinks it with all his soul.

Now, the theme of this discourse is the communication of virtue, of strength, of holiness, of supernatural life in a word, which is - established between Christians and Christ, and which manifests the union which exists between the head and the members, that is to say, the unity of the mystical body. According to Athanasius, this communication is so abundant and so evident that one can acquire faith in the resurrection of Christ just by seeing what vitality the Church receives from its head.

The whole earth," the saint explains, "is filled with Christ. Everywhere his doctrine is spreading, silencing the oracles of the demons; everywhere magic is receding at the approach of his morality. While the false gods of the pagans differ from town to town, the Savior, alone, everywhere the same, conquers the whole world and is adored by all.

With a single sign of the cross, all the frauds of the demons are dispelled... and while the philosophers of the Greeks, in spite of all their writings, were not able to convert even a few of their fellow citizens to their doctrine of immortality and to the practice of virtue, Christ alone, by artless words and eloquent disciples, was able to persuade crowds of men all over the world to despise death in order to think only of eternal things.

Let him make the sign of the cross, which the pagans laugh at, in the midst of the demon's spells and infernal oracles, simply by naming Christ, and he will see the demons flee, divination cease and witchcraft disappear.

Death too is defeated by the cross..., the faithful trample it underfoot like a corpse. The children themselves go out to meet it with joyful steps, and it is not only the men, but even the women who measure themselves with it... Those who have passed through

(1) *Oratio de incarnatione*, passim, esp. XLV, and XLVI, P.G., xxv, 177,5f.

(2) *Ibid*, XLvn, P.G., 180-181. The thought is already in ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, vu, 35, P.G., xi, 1469, C.B., ORIGEN, II, 186.

(3) *Ibid*, XLVIII, P.G., 181. Similar passage in S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Contra Julianum*, vi, P.G., LXXVI, 804 and 809.

Christ overcome it and bear witness to Christ by laughing at it.

And if anyone doubts this defeat of death, let him embrace the faith of Christ, let him follow in his footsteps; he will feel that death is weak and has been defeated. This has happened to many unbelievers: after receiving the faith, they have so despised death that they have become martyrs of Christ.

Christ's action is beyond our comprehension, just as the moving immensity of the waves that follow one another without end escapes our gaze (2). (2) At once, his doctrine and his action have filled the earth, as light spreads at sunrise. (3) He has been able to persuade people everywhere to be temperate and virgin, and his secret virtue has so changed many barbarous peoples that they, once torn by perpetual wars and cruel even to their own relatives, now think only of peace and concord. And the whole development is summed up in this victorious apostrophe:

Who and what is this Christ, whose name and presence alone obliterate the rest; who alone is stronger than all, and who fills the earth with his teaching?

"What is he?" The answer, which the whole context brings, cannot be difficult: he is God, God in the full force of the term, God, if one dares to express oneself in this way, God as far as one can be. And yet, this transcendence does not separate him from us. On the contrary, it is this transcendence that makes him interior to all souls, and even active in the whole universe. We underline this trait because it will be, in Athanasius, as well as in the whole Church, a capital element of the doctrine

(1) *Oratio de incarnatione*, $\chi\chi\nu\iota\text{-}\chi\chi\nu\iota\tau$, P.G., xxv, 141-145. The death of the martyrs testifies, according to St. Athanasius, not so much to the past fact of the resurrection, as to the perpetual infusion into the Church of a supernatural life, superior to death. It, *Ill Contra arianos*, LVII, P.G., xxvi, 444.

(2) *Ibid*, Liv, P.G., 192.

(3) *Ibid*, LV, P.G., 194.

(4) *Ibid*, Mil, P.G., 189.

(5) *Ibid*, XLVin, P.G., 181,

of the mystical body. The Savior, our common Savior, as Athanasius

likes to call him (1), precisely because he is alive in himself with transcendent perfection, is at the same time the life of the world.

Since the Savior works such things in souls, can we doubt that he is alive or rather that he is life?

Christ life, life in himself and life of men, in these terms already the Gospel of Saint John showed both the absolute superiority of Christ and his interiority with respect to souls, that is to say, his quality of mystical head. To this way of conceiving, the Greek Church will remain especially faithful: it is in terms of life, it is by explaining the communication of life which is established from the Father to the Son, then from the Son to his holy humanity, then from this humanity to all men, that she will preferably formulate her teaching on our incorporation into the Savior. We shall see this in the following chapters; we shall even see it in this chapter.

But, in order to express what this life is and what this mystical communication of life is, supplements of doctrine and a prolonged meditation of the revealed fact are still necessary. We have just seen this theological work begin in Saint Athanasius. In St. Athanasius again, we will look at the first stages. The works of the saint which we have considered are still only early works. There is not yet any question of Arianism. Now,

(1) ὁ κοινός πάντων σωτήρ, *Oratio de incarnatione*, xxx, P.G., xxv, 148, and six times in the discourse. It, *Epistola encyclica ad episcopos*, vi, IBID, 236.

(2) *Ibid.* xxx, P.G. xxv, 148: "If it is true that the dead can no longer do anything, that their memory subsists only near their tomb and for a short time, if it is true that the living alone act and work on men, everyone can think and judge for himself of the truth. Since the Saviour works such things in men, since he persuades such a multitude of Greeks and barbarians every day to embrace his doctrine and obey his teaching, can anyone still doubt that the Saviour has risen, that Christ lives, or rather, that he is life?"

the doctrinal destiny of St. Athanasius was to be the great opponent of this heresy.



Precisely around this time of the Double Discourse, about 318, and in that Alexandria where Athanasius was a deacon, Arius began to preach his errors (1). (1) It was like a wildfire: in a short time the heresiarch found himself at the head of a large and determined army.

His heresy, as is well known, was this: the Word, he claimed, may be called God, no doubt, but he is not so much as the Father. Created, though before all other creatures, but created nevertheless, he is therefore made, and made not of the very substance of the Father, but of nothing: this makes him absolutely inferior to the Creator. It was not always true that he existed, and, produced as he is by that kind of radical change which is creation, he belongs, in essence, to the order of things that are changeable and decaying, subject to failure. Only, by his free will, he has so established himself in goodness; he has, moreover, received from the free generosity of the Father so many graces and excellences without equal, that he far outweighs all other creatures. Therefore, in a certain sense, he can be called God, not by nature but by grace.

(1) We have from Arius a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia (in S. EPI-PHANIUS, *Panarion*, LXIX, 6, P.G., XLII, 209); a letter to St. Alexander of Alexandria (*Ibid.*, η, P.G., XLII, 213, and in S. ATHANASIUS, *De synodis*, xvi, P.G., xxvi, 708); fragments of his *Thalia* (in S. ATHANASIUS, *Ibid.* xv, P.G., xxvi, 705 and *I Contra arianos*, v, vi, ix, P.G., xxvi, 20-32); a profession of faith (in SOCRATES, *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. I, cap. xxvi, P.G., LXVH, 149); and numerous pieces of information given by those who fought against the heresy or who told its history. - J. H. NEWMAN, *the Arians of the fourth Century*, London, 1876, may be consulted, still useful, notwithstanding the many texts and fragments since discovered. - A. M. GWATKIN, *Studies of Arianism*, Cambridge, 1900. - G. BARDY, *Fragments attributed to Arius*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. xxvi, 1930, p. 253; (on Aëtius and Asterius, *Ibid.*, vol. xxn, 1926, p. 221, and vol. xxiv, 1928, p. 809)

(2) Μετοχή καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεοποιήθη, sang Arius in his *Thalia* (apud S. ATHANASIUS, *I Contra arianos*, ix, P.G., xxvi, 29),

The proof of this, the Arians continued, is that Scripture itself subordinates the Word to the Supreme God, even before the incarnation. And they quoted, in support of their error, a rather large number of texts (1), which we shall find in the course of this chapter.

Arianism was only ten years old when, in 328, three years after the Council of Nicaea, Athanasius was acclaimed Patriarch of Alexandria. He had already vigorously fought against the heresy, and he did not cease, during his half-century of episcopacy, to fight against it. "There were even days when it seemed that the faith had no other support than Athanasius. That was enough. Athanasius had against him the empire and its police, the councils, the episcopate; the game was still equal as long as such a man was standing (2)."

In his refutation of Arianism, St. Athanasius attacks both the system of the heretics and the scriptural arguments with which they claim to provide him. To the system he replies with a precise statement of Christian doctrine on the points in dispute; to the alleged texts he opposes a method of exegesis. We shall examine both of them; both are the affirmation of our incorporation in Christ. Here again, as at the beginning of his activity, the holy doctor places at the center of his teaching the doctrine of the mystical body.

The system of the Arians, for Saint Athanasius, is above all a theory of divinization. According to them, he says, the Word is not God by nature, but divinized by the Father. He is the instrument of our salvation, the intermediary which God uses to create us and raise us to divine adoption. He is therefore like us, though in a more perfect way, God by participation.

Impossible, replies the saint. If the Word is not God, God in all rigour of terms, if it is not consubstantial

(1) *Ecclesiasticus*, i, 9; *Prov.*, viii, 22; *Mt* xxiv, 36; *Joh.* xvii, 19; *Rom.* i, 4; *I Cor.* XV, 27, 28; *Joh.* xvii, passim.

(a) L. DUCHESNB, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, vol. n, p. 168. How can he give his members a share in what he himself does not possess in full?

Now we are made divine, and we are in Christ; we are made adopted sons of God, and we are in Christ. We are made adopted sons

of God, and we are made adopted sons of God in Christ; therefore Christ must be God and Son, and must be perfect.

The point of doctrine on which Athanasius bases his reasoning is the divinization of the Christian. This was a universally received truth; we have already encountered it in St. Paul, in the Fourth Gospel, in St. Ignatius of Antioch, and in St. Irenaeus (2).

From this divinization, Athanasius goes back to the strict divinity of the Word, not only as one goes back from the effect to its cause, but as one can conclude from what the members are to what the head is.

(1) *II Contra arianos*, LXX, P.G., xxvi, 296 and passim. Already in *De incarnatione Verbi*, vu, P.G., xxv, 109.

(2) Cfr. *Thalia*, *I Contra arianos*, ix, P.G., xxvi, 29 (quoted p. 383, note 2). - Of this divinisation, many ecclesiastical authors of these first epochs spoke; see, for example, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Protrepticus*, I, P.G., vin, 64. Athanasius himself often mentions it: see especially *Or. de incarnatione Verbi*, LIV, P.G., xxv, 192. - *I Contra arianos*, xxxvii-xxxix, P.G., xxvi, 92. - *III Contra arianos*, xxxiii, xxxiv and LVII-LVIII, P.G., xxvi, 396, 444. - *Epist. I ad Serapionem*, ix; *Epist. ad Epict.* vi, 7; *Epist. ad Adelph.* iv, v, vm, P.G., xxvi, 624, 1060, 1061, 1077, 1081. - *Fragmenta*, P.G., xxvi, 1240, 1244. - *Epist. heortast.* x, P.G., xxvi, 1401. - Likewise St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Basil, St. Augustine, Didymus the Blind, and St. Maximus the Confessor. - On this subject one may consult: L. BAUR, *Untersuchungen über die Vergöttlichungslehre in der Theologie der Griechischen Väter*, in the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. xcvm, 1916, pp. 467,5f.; vol. xcix, 1917, pp. 225, ff.; vol. c, 1918, pp. 426,3f. - A. HARNACK, *die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche (Texte u. Unters.*, XLII, 3), Leipzig, 1918. - P. GENNICH, *die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt*, Leipzig, 1907. - O. FALLER, S. J., *Griechische Vergottung und christliche Vergöttlichung*, in the *Gregorianum*, vol. vi, 1925, pp. 405, ff. - M.^e LOT BORODINE, *la Doctrine de la déification dans l'Eglise grecque jusqu'au XV siècle*, in *Revue d'histoire des religions*, t. cv, 1932, p. 5; t. cvi, 1932, p. 525; t. cvii, 1933, p. 8. - J. GROSS, *The Divinization of the Christian according to the Greek Fathers. Contribution historique à l'étude de la grâce*, Paris, 1938 (cfr A. J. FESTUGIERE, in *Spiritual Life*, t. LIX, 1939* M).

If there had only been the first reasoning, if the great doctor had simply said: Christ produces our divinization, therefore he must be God in perfection, we would have been unable to conclude anything from his argument with respect to the mystical body: the only nexus to which he would have appealed would have been a causal nexus. So it is, for example, for the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Saint Athanasius, in his letters to Serapion, also proves it by saying that the Holy Spirit must be God, since he divinizes us. But it does not follow that we are incorporated into the Spirit, or that he divinizes us by an insertion that we would have in him. On the other hand, in Christ we find not only the causal principle of our divinization, but the vital principle of it, so to speak. He makes us sons, not only by producing, as from afar, something in us, but by producing this by union with him, by communication from head to member, by organic nexus and not only by nexus of efficiency.

We point out this last point to the reader; in the quotations that follow, it is the demonstrative element. It will soon be seen that it is sufficiently prominent. Athanasius, in fact, in order to prove the strict divinity of the Saviour, proceeds as he proceeded to demonstrate his resurrection and his divinity in general: he insists on his union with men, on the divine life which we have in him: it shows that he is equal to the Father, as it showed that he is alive.

Let us look at the doctrine of divinization: we will realize more and more, as the presentation progresses, that it is a doctrine of the mystical body.

And first, there is a divinization, and a divinization by union with Christ.

And, indeed, the saint explains, there can be no adoption apart from

(1) Cf. especially *Epistola I ad Serapionem*, xxn, ff. P.G., xxvi, 584, ff. of the true Son, since he himself says: "No one knows the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals." (*Lk.* x, 22)... Since, then, all who have been called sons and gods (by grace), whether on earth or in heaven, have received adoption and divinization through the Word, and since the Word is the Son, it is clear that all receive from him, that he is before all, and even

that he alone is true Son and true God of true God (1).

Here is another passage (2). We quote it at length. It will be seen how the argument of St. Athanasius supposes a close union between us and Christ.

If the Son were a creature, man would still be as mortal as before, for he would not have been united to God. For a creature cannot unite other creatures to God: he himself needs someone to unite him. A part of creation cannot give salvation to creation, since it needs it. Therefore, God sent his own Son. He took on created flesh and became a son of man. Now all men were condemned to death. But he who is innocent offered his body for all to die, so that all died through him, all died in him, and the sentence that condemned us is fulfilled. (3) Moreover, through him we are all delivered from sin and the curse, we are raised from the dead and, clothed with immortality and incorruption, we remain for eternity.

Always in him, therefore. And this is what will show even better all that is given to us, and always in him 2

As has often been explained (4), as soon as the Word clothed the flesh, all the venom of the serpent was extinguished in it; all evil movements were extirpated from it, and at the same time death, following

(1) I *Contra arianos*, xxxix, P.G., xxvi, 93. From the point of view of the doctrine of the mystical Christ, the three *Discourses against the Arians* all give exactly the same doctrine; but the first insists on the antiarian exegeses, the second on our life in Christ, the third on our union with the Word.

(2) II *Contra arianos*, LXIX, and LXX, P.G., xxvi, 293-296.

(3) ... τν', ἐπειδὴ πάντες εἰσὶν ὑπεύθυνοι τοῦ θανάτω, ἄλλος ὢν τῶν πάντων, αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ πάντων τὸ ἴδιον σώμα τῷ θανάτῳ προσενέγκη καὶ λοιπόν, ὥς πάντων δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντων, and so on.

(4) *Ibid.*

of sin, has been done away with, as He Himself says: "The prince of this world cometh, but he findeth nothing in me." (*Joh.*_i xiv, 30). And again, as St. John writes, "Christ hath manifested Himself, to destroy the works of the devil." (*I Joh.*, iii, 8). The flesh having thus been delivered from its miseries, all of us, because of our kinship according to the flesh, have been delivered and have been united to the Word. Therefore, united as we are with God, we are not destined to dwell on earth, but, according to His word (*Joh.*_i xiv, 3), where He is, we shall be... This would not have happened if the Word

had been a creature. This would not have been the case if the Word had been a creature, for the devil, who is also a creature, could have resisted without end... By this, the truth shows that the Word is not one of the creatures, but rather that he is the creator. He took a created and mortal body; as creator, he renewed it, he divinized it in himself, to lead us all into the kingdom of heaven in his likeness.

There is no break between the Incarnate Word and Christians; the divinity, in him, divinizes the human race. Let us listen to the saint continue, always in the same sense:

The union with a simple creature would not have divinized man.

Formidable shortcut: hypostatic union, humanity of the Savior, human race divinized, all that fits in one sentence. And this is not a slackening of thought: the saint plays tightly against a vigilant opponent.

It was therefore necessary, he concludes, that the Son was truly God. Man could never have presented himself to the Father if he who put on a body had not been the true and natural Word of God. Just as we would not have been delivered from sin and the curse if it had not been for the human flesh which the Word had taken on - for what would we have had in common with a foreign flesh? -In the same way, man would not have been divinized if it had not been the natural, proper and true Word of the Father who had become flesh. Therefore, the true nature of the divinity and the true nature of humanity were united in such a way that salvation and divinization were assured.

A passage extremely rich in doctrine, such as is not

(1) *II Contra arianos*, LXX, P.L., xxvi, 296. found only in the very great doctors, and often in Athanasius. The saint has a clear eye for doctrine; one would even say that he foresees its future; for, with one clear stroke, he bars the way to the two future heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Christ, he declares, must be, at once, truly man, truly God, and truly one, to truly unite men with God. This is the soteriological argument, which we have already encountered, which Athanasius formulates here in a vigorous brevity (1), and which tradition will develop. And the nerve of this argument, as well as the

truth which is assumed, either implicitly or explicitly, throughout all these pages of light, is that Christ must be, with us, truly one enough to make us commune in him with his divinity.

Such ways of saying explain why Athanasius has been placed among the Fathers, of whom we have already spoken in connection with St. Methodius, who would teach a hypostatic union of the Word, not with an individual humanity, but with humanity in general. But these same ways of saying, and especially the insistence which the saint puts on preaching the transcendence of Christ, show enough what he means: he unites humanity in general with the Word only through the intermediary of the one God-Man.

Only, this unique, he does not see it separate. In this respect, everything in his writings, even the structure of his sentences, is significant. We have just seen it and we will often see it again: he slips quite naturally from what he says about Christ to what he says about Christians, without making any separation, so accustomed is he to thinking at the same time of these two who are one. Grammarians can make their reservations; theologians are delighted. The very style of the saint is a testimony to them, all the more revealing because it is less prepared, on the unity of Christ and his members.

(1) See also, principally, *Y Epistola ad Epid.*, vu, P. G., xxvi, 1061 et passim.

Redemption is certainly, in essence, the work of the passion, the cross and the struggles of the Saviour against sin; Athanasius says this over and over again. But, for him, it is above all a work of unity. (2) The world is too much one for the Word, by inserting himself into this whole, by becoming one with our race, (3) not to ennoble all things.

This unity, moreover, is intensified by the incarnation, thus making the principle that will spread its effects more powerful.

Such is God's love for mankind," he writes, "that he is willing to become a father, by grace, to those of whom he is the creator. This is done in men when they, mere creatures, receive in their hearts, as the Apostle says (*Gai*, iv, 6), the Spirit of the Son, who cries out: "Abba, Father". These are those who, having received the Word, receive from Him the power to become

children of God. They could not become children, since they are creatures in themselves, if they did not receive in themselves the Son of God. Therefore the Word became flesh, to make man susceptible of divinity... We are not sons [of God] by ourselves, but the Son who is in us; and God is not our Father by nature, but he is our Father by the Word who is in us, in whom and through whom we cry, 'Abba, Father' (*Rom*, vii, 15). And the Father, on his part, says to those in whom he sees his own Son, "I have begotten you" (*Ps*" 11, 7), and calls them his sons (4).

(1) See also for example: *Or. de incarnatione*, xxxm-xxxvi, LIV, P.G., xxv, 152, 153. - *In illud: Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, 11, P.G., xxv, 212. - *I Contra arianos*, XLIII; *II Contra arianos*, vu, xiv, xvi, LXIX, P.G., xxvi, 100, 161, 176, 180, 293. - *III Contra arianos*, xxxi, LVIII, P.G., xxvi, 389, 445. - *Epist. IV ad Serapionem*, xix, xx, P.G., xxvi, 669. - *Epist. ad Adelph*, vi; *Ad Maximum*, v, P.G., xxvi, 1080, 1089. - "This is the conception of Athanasius," writes J. A. MOEHLER, *Athanasius the Great and I Church of His Time*, trans. ZICKWOLFF and COHEN, Brussels, 1842, vol. 1, p. 152, that all believers fought death in Jesus Christ as he later really fights it in them."

(2) "When, therefore, he became a man, instantly everything was made straight and perfect (εὐθύς διορθώθη καὶ ἐτελειώθη ὁ Θεός οὐα)." *In illud: Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, II, P.G., xxv, 212. The explanation follows, "The man, indeed, was in him, and was quickened there." *Ibid*.

(3) Διὰ τὸ φορεῖν αὐτόν τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα. *I Contra arianos*, XLVII, P.G., xxvi, 108 (it., 161, 164). - *De incarnatione Verbi*, vii, P.G., xxv, 108.

(4) *II Contra arianos*, LIX, P.G., xxvi, 273; cfr (PS.-ATHANASIOS), *IV Contra arianos*, xxii, P.G., xxvi, 500.

We are therefore divinized by adoption in the incarnate Son and by union with the Word of God.

As the Word, having come in a human body, was subjected to our miseries, so we, having received the Word, share in his immortality.

That is the whole point of Christianity," he continued.

The Arians are scandalized, they despise the Word, because it is written that He was troubled and wept (*Joh.*, xi, 35, 38). In this they seem to have no human feelings, since they do not know our nature and its weaknesses. They should rather admire that the Word was in such flesh, and did not, as He might have done, prevent all insult.... But he came, as I have already said, to suffer in the flesh, and so to make the flesh impassible and immortal, that, as we have often said, wrath and chastisement might pass over him, and henceforth dare not approach men, but be done away with. Men, thus made incorruptible, will be for ever the temples of the Word. If the opponents of Christ had thought of this, if they had held on to this goal of the Church as an anchor, they would not have been shipwrecked in the faith.

The most energetic passage on the Union of all Christians with the Word in Christ is found in the same

1)) *III Contra arianos*, LVII, P.G., xxvi, 444. The context is to be noted: "The Lord," says St. Athanasius, "by His death removed our death; by His human works He removed from us all our human [weaknesses], and by the fear He showed [in the garden of agony] He delivered us from our fears. In the same way, his resurrection makes us resurrect. "For it was fitting that the flesh, corruptible by nature, should not remain mortal, but should become incorruptible because of the Word who clothed it. And this flesh put on by the Word (mystically) is the flesh of us all, for the passage continues with the words quoted in the text: *Ὡς γάρ αὐτός, γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν σώματι, τὰ ἡμῶν ἐμμήσατο, οὕτως ἡμεῖς, δεξάμενοι αὐτόν, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου μεταλαμβάνομεν ἀθανασίας.

2) *III Contra arianos*, LVIII, P.G., cxcvi, 444" 445- Here are the last words in Greek: Ταῦτα εἰ οὕτως καὶ οἱ χριστομάχοι διανοοῦντο, τὸν τε σκοπὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ὡς ἀγκυραν τῆς πίστεως ἐπεγίνωσκον, οὐτ' ἂν ἐναυά- γησαν περὶ τὴν πίστιν...

third *Discourse against the Arians* (i). It is a question of the weaknesses of our nature, which the Word took into himself, and of the greatness of the divinization which he puts into us.

Now that the Word has become man and has made our miseries his own, they no longer even touch our bodies because of the Word who has come into them, and they are destroyed by him. Men are not dead under their sins; but, resurrected according to the power of the Word, they remain forever incorruptible and immortal. When his humanity is born of Mary, the mother of God, it is said that it is he who is born, he who gives being to all that is born. In reality, however, it is our birth that he takes into himself, and we are no longer simply of the earth that must return to the earth, but we are united to the Word of heaven, who wants to lead us to heaven. In the same way, it is not without reason that he took into himself the other weaknesses of the body: it is so that we are no longer only men, but that, belonging henceforth to the Word, we participate in eternal life. The death of our first birth in Adam is over: that birth and all the other miseries of the flesh have been carried over into the Word; we, raised from the earth, see the curse of sin taken away by him who, in us and for us, has become a curse. And this is right. As we were made of earth and died in Adam, so we are all regenerated by water and spirit and made alive in Christ. Henceforth, the flesh is no longer an earthly thing, but is made Word, because of the Word of God, who for our sake became flesh.

(1) No. xxxiii, P.G., xxvi, 393. Here are the first words of the No.: "Who would not admire this [that Christ took our miseries into himself]; who would not find this a divine work? For if the divine works of the Word had not been accomplished by His humanity, man would never have been made divine; and, on the other hand, if the weaknesses of the flesh had not become proper to the Word, man would never have been delivered from them."

(2) Here is the Greek text of this important passage:

Τούτο δέ τις οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; ἢ τις οὐκ ἂν σύνθοιτο θεῖον ἀληθῶς εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα; Εἰ γάρ τὰ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Λόγου ἔργα μὴ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐγίνετο, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος - καὶ πάλιν, εἰ τὰ ἴδια τῆς σαρκὸς οὐκ ἐλέγετο τοῦ Λόγου, οὐκ ἂν ἡλευθερώθη παντελῶς ἀπὸ τούτων ὁ ἄνθρωπος... Νυν δέ τοῦ Λόγου γενομένου ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἰδιοποιουμένου τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, οὐκέτι ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος ἀπτεται διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Λόγον - ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀνηλωται, λοιπὸν δέ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ἴδια πάθη μένουσι ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ νεκροὶ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου δύναμιν ἀναστάντες, ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀφθαρτοὶ αἰεὶ διαμένουσιν. *Ὁθεν καὶ γεννωμένης τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας, αὐτὸς λέγεται γεγεννησθαι, ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις γένεσιν τὸ εἶναι Λαρέχων

The flesh, the flesh of all of us, is attached to the Word, it is "verbiined", one would have to say to render the Greek in all its force:

one sees with what realism Athanasius conceives and expresses our union with the incarnate Son. Moreover, he insists, and continues, after a few lines.

Men, he says, have their weaknesses transferred and destroyed in him who is not subject to them; they therefore become strong and free forever. St. John taught it in these words, "Ye know that he came to take away our sins, and sin is not in him." (*I Joh.*, iii, 5). Since this is so, heretics need not object: Why does the flesh, which is mortal, rise again? Why, after the resurrection, does it no longer experience hunger, thirst, suffering or death? How does the flesh, which is made of earth, get rid of what is natural to it? To these quarrelsome heretics, the flesh could answer: "Yes, I am made of earth and mortal in myself. But I have become the flesh of the Word: He has borne my miseries, though He is superior to them, and I have been delivered from them. I am no longer a slave to all these things because of the Lord who has set me free. If you reproach me for being rid of my natural corruption, beware of reproaching the Word for putting on my slavery." For as the Word, having taken on a body, became man, so we men, taken by the flesh of the Word, are divinized by him and made heirs of the eternal life (1).

ἵνα τὴν ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταθῇ γένεσιν, καὶ μηκέτι ὡς γῆ μόνῃ βντες εἰς γῆν ἀπέλθωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς τῇ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Λόγῳ συναφθέντες, εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναχθώμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Οὐκοῦν οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἀπεικότως εἰς ἑαυτὸν μετέθηκεν - ἵνα μηκέτι ὡς ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἴδιοι τοῦ Λόγου, τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς μετέσχωμεν. Οὐκέτι γάρ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν γένεσιν ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθνήσκομεν, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς σαρκικῆς ἀσθενείας μετατεθέντων τὸν Λόγον ἐγειρόμεθα ἀπὸ γῆς, λυθεὶς τῆς δι' ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτίας κατάρρας διὰ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενον κατάραν - καὶ εἰκότως γε. "Ὡς περ γὰρ ἐκ γῆς ὄντες πάντες ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθνήσκομεν, οὕτως ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὕδατος ὕδατος ὕδατος ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθέντες ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ζωοποιούμεθα, οὐκέτι ὡς γῆνιν ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν λογωθείσης τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγον, δι' ἡμᾶς ἐγένετο σὰρξ. *III Contra arianos*, χχϛ, P.G., χχϛι, 393'396. The Maurist translation renders λογωθείσης τῆς σαρκὸς by *caro Verbum et ipsa effecta est* (*Ibid.*). - The same idea is found in *III Contra arianos*, xxv, P.G., xxvi, 376. - *I Contra arianos*, LXIX, P.G., xxvi, 293 (quoted p. 387). - *I Contra arianos*, XLVII, P.G., xxvi, 109. - *Epist. heortast.* v, 5, P.G., xxvi, 1383. Cfr *Sermo major de fide* (pseudepigrapha as it seems), vi, P.G., xxvi, 1268.

(1) *III Contra arianos*, xxxiv, P.G., xxvi, 397- Here in Greek is the main

The end of this passage sheds light on the whole thing. Until the last sentence, one might have thought that the flesh of which the saint speaks is exclusively the physical body of Christ: it is, he says, the

flesh of the Word, the flesh which, in contact with the divinity, has lost its miseries. But no, Athanasius always sees with the same eyes and describes in the same development this unique reality which is the head united to the members. The last words leave no doubt: from the beginning, he was thinking of all the faithful, and the flesh of the Word is all of them.

They are therefore sacred. The worship of which God alone is worthy must, for Christ's sake, be extended also to humanity, that is to say - Athanasius is faithful to his way of thinking - to the holy humanity of Christ and to us. It is even of this extension of worship, to the feeling of the saint, that Scripture speaks when it says that Jesus, after his death, was exalted by God and that the angels began to worship him.

The fact that the Lord became incarnate, that Jesus is worshipped, that He is believed to be the Son of God and the revealer of the Father, shows that this supreme elevation is not conferred on the Word as the Word, but on us. By our kinship with His body, we too have become temples of God, we are made sons of God. In us henceforth the Lord can be worshipped, and those who see us can proclaim, as the Apostle did, that truly the Lord is in us (*I Cor*, xiv, 25) (1).

sentence of this speech: Εἰμι μὲν ἐκ γῆς κατὰ φύσιν θνητὴ, ἀλλ' ὕστερον τοῦ Λόγου γέγονα σὰρξ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβάσταξέ μου τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὶ ἀπαθὴς ὦν - ἐγὼ δὲ γέγονα τούτων ἐλευθέρᾳ, οὐκ ἀφιεμένη δουλεύειν ἐτι τούτοις διὰ τὸν ἐλευθερώσαντά με κύριον τούτων.

(i) *I Contra arianos*, XLIII, P.G., xcvi, 100: Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν σώματι γενόμενον τὸν κύριον καὶ κληθέντα Τησοῦν προσκυνεῖσθαι... δῆλον ἂν εἶη, καθάπερ εἴρηται, βεβαιῶς δὲ Λόγος, ἢ Λόγος ἐστίν, ἵλαβε τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν ναδὲς θεοῦ γεγονάμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ υἱοὶ λοιπὸν πεποιήμεθα, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἤδη προσκυνεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον, καὶ τοὺς δρῶντας ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὡς δ' Ἀπόστολος εἴρηκεν, ὅτι ὄντως δὲ θεὸς ἐν τούτοις ἐστίν. Similar idea in S. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oratio* XL, P.G., xxxvi, 372; "If the devil come to tempt thee and show thee all the kingdoms, claiming worship, despise him, for he is needy. Say to him, making the sign of the cross, 'I too am the image of God; but I was not cast down

The body of Christ is, before God and man, the price of ours; it is, in a way, a silent intercession: through it, Jesus does not cease to say to the Father:

I am your Word, and you are in me. And I am in them through the body. Thus, through you, the salvation of men is made in me. I ask you, therefore, that they also may become one, according to the body which is in me and according to the perfection [completion] of that body. Let them also become perfect, united with this body and becoming one in it. Let it be as if I carried them all in me, that they may be one body, one spirit, one perfect man. For all of us, through participation in the same Christ, become one body, possessing in ourselves the one Lord.

This, the saint continues, is the true meaning of the text: "That they may be one, as we are one" (*Joh.*, xvn, *passim*); it is a question of the unity of Christ which envelops us all.



Let us stop for a moment on this commentary: it contains the seeds of developments that we will find in the following. The text of Saint John which is explained there, "That they may be one, as we are one", served the Arians as their principal argument. See, they said, the Father and the Son have only a union of likeness between them, since Jesus himself compares it to the union which links Christians together, and which can only be a union of likeness. They are therefore not

"I have clothed myself with Christ and he has become mine" through baptism. It is up to you, therefore, to adore me." He will go away, believe me, overcome by these words." Cfr ID., *Carmen de incarnatione*, 26, P.G., xxxvii, 467.

(1) ... ἐπειδὴ σύ μὲν ἐν ἐμοί βti σου Λόγος εἰμί, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ σέ τετελείωται ἐν ἐμοί τῶν ἀνθρώπων τηρίωτηρία, ἐρωτῶ ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ γένωνται ὃν κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἐμοί σῶμα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελείωσιν ἵνα καὶ γένωνται τέλειοι, ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν ἐνότητα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ὃν γενόμενοι ἵνα, ὥς ἂν πάντες φορεσθέντες παρ' ἐμοῦ, πάντες ὡσιν ὃν σῶμα καὶ ὃν πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον καταντήσωσιν. Οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνοντες, ὃν γινόμεθα σῶμα, τὸν ἑνα κύριον ὄχοντες κύριον ἑαυτοῖς. *III Contra arianos*, xxii, P.G., χχvi, 368-369. - There is here, perhaps, an allusion to Eucharistic communion: cfr. the parallel passages of St. Hilary and St. Cyril, pp. 433, ff. and 503, ff.

We are not the same substance, any more than we are with each other (i).

Not at all, answers Athanasius. The word "like" in the phrase "that they may be one like us" does not indicate equality, but a simple imitation which may be very remote (2). Moreover, he continues, and here his reasoning becomes very interesting, it is false that we are united among ourselves only by resemblance and by community of nature. There is, in addition, the union of charity and concord (3). (3) Above all, there is "something more excellent and more perfect: the Word descended into all of us when he took our bodies. (4) And the saint continues with the passage which has just been quoted. (4) In it he explains, as he says further on, that we are one of a divine unity as the Son is one with the Father.

(2) *III Contra arianos*, xvn and ss., P.G., xxvi, 357. Cfr p. 260.

(3) *Ibid*, xix, ss, P.G., 364.

(4) *Ibid*, xx, P.G., 365.

(5) Μειζόντι καὶ τελειότερον περὶ ἡμῶν δ κύριος αἰτεῖ, δῆλον γάρ ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος - τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα. *Ibid*, χχπ, P.G., 368. The context shows that ἐν ἡμῖν must be taken in the sense of: within us.

(6) *Ibid*, xxiv, P.G., 372. Jesus speaks thus to His Father: "Seeing them so perfect [so united], the world will know that You have sent Me. If I had not come and carried their bodies, none of them would have been made perfect, but all would have remained corruptible. Work therefore in them, Father. As you have given me to bear this body, give them your Spirit, that they also may become one in it, and that they may be made perfect in me. Their perfection is a proof that your Word has come; and the world, seeing them perfect and full of God, will quite believe that you have sent me (*Joh.*, xvn, 21) and that I have come. Wherefore would they have been perfect, if I, thy Word, having taken a body, had not become man, and had not accomplished the work which thou hast given me. Now the work is accomplished, for men, purified from sin, are no longer dead. Much more, they are even divinized, and, looking to us, they have the bond of charity between them." The text of these last words is not certain (cfr P.G., xxvi, 372, note 12). The affirmation becomes even stronger in no. xxv (P.G., 376), where the saint concludes his reasoning thus: "The Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given by the Word. We must therefore receive the Spirit, so that, having received him, we may have the Spirit of the Word who is in the Father, and so that it may appear that we too have become one through the Spirit in the Father.

What Athanasius says here, St. Hilary, then St. Cyril of Alexandria, will complete it, and they too, in commenting on the same verse of the fourth Gospel. It is even in these places that they will give their most developed doctrine, the most perfect also that the Church of the East has taught, on incorporation in Christ (i).

This text of John, moreover, is not the only one which Athanasius disputed with the Arians and won back from them. They had seized upon many others, those which seem to subordinate the Word or Christ to the Father, those which speak of the humiliations endured by Christ during his passion, those which declare his obedience to the Father, those which assure that Wisdom was created by God at the beginning of his works.

Athanasius is going to take away their weapons. These texts, he says, far from favouring the Arian heresy, teach the Christian truth; not, no doubt, the truth which the heterodox deny, but another, the truth of our close union with the Saviour. They apply, indeed, not to the divinity

the Son, and, through the Son, in the Father." The words "as we" indicate, says Athanasius, that this union will be eternal, unless we sin.

(i) See also a long development of St. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1323. "These words," he says, "require no explanation to apply to our subject [to show us that union with the Father is given to us in Christ]; it is said too plainly, 'That they may be one, as we are' (*Joh.*, xvn, 22)... I cannot be alone in them; you must be there also, since you and I are one. I cannot be alone in them, but you must be in them, for you and I are one." Thus they will be made perfect in unity by being made perfect in us, for we are one. The Son explains this grace more clearly in the following words: "You have loved them as you have loved me" (*Joh.*, xvn, 23). If the Father loves the Son, and if we are in the Son, we who by faith become His body, it is inevitable that he who loves his Son should also love the body of the Son, as he loves the Son. Now we are that body." St. Gregory here clearly states that the unity of the mystical body is based, not so much on the unity of the divine nature known by reason, but on the consubstantial unity of the Trinity known by faith. We must also quote an interesting passage of St. Basil, referring to the same text: "God is one," he writes, "and coming into each one, he unites us, and multiplicity no longer exists, by the coming into us of the one." *Epist. vin*, 7" P.G., xxxii, 260.

We are not talking about Christ, but about the humanity he has taken

on, that is to say, about his holy humanity and ours, both together, so close is the bond that binds us to him.

The answer may seem surprising. Present-day exegetes find it simpler to consider only the holy humanity of Jesus, in order to apply to him all the imperfections attributed to the Saviour. But they are not Athanasius. The great doctor, no doubt, knows as well as they do that the answer would be sufficient if he confined himself to distinguishing between the two natures of the one Christ. Sometimes he is even content with this distinction, but this is quite rare. He usually prefers a more complex and richer explanation: he sees everywhere the Savior united to his own, and he fears to separate what God himself has united.

Obviously, if Athanasius had made little use of such a mode of exegesis, or if he had been the only one to use it among the Fathers, one might have seen it as a polemical device and hesitated to draw any conclusions. But it will be seen in the course of this work that this kind of interpretation is common in the Church; it is not rash, therefore, to seek in it an attestation of the Christian faith. It is therefore important to look at it closely.

In Athanasius, it is used deliberately, in accordance with a principle:

What is written of the Saviour according to humanity, he declares, must all refer to the human race. For he took our body and put on human weakness.

(i) "Α γάρ περί του Σωτηρος ἀνθρωπίνως (this adverb is used several times by St. Athanasius in similar contexts; it means to speak as one speaks of men, attributing weaknesses, imperfections) γεγραπται, ταῦτα τῷ κοινῷ γένει των ἀνθρώπων ἀναφέρεσθαι προσηκει. *Apologia pro fuga sua*, xni, P.G., xxv, 661. - "For it was fitting," says the saint elsewhere, "that he, who is far other than things, who is even rather the creator of things, should receive in himself the renovation of things, so that as he is created in us, so all things should be created anew in him." S. ATHANASIUS, *II Contra arianos*, Lin, P.G., xxvr, 260. - See also *Epi st.*

It is even more to the human race than to the individual humanity of Christ that Athanasius relates the passages of which we speak, and his controversy against the Arians becomes a long preaching of the

mystical body.

In the first of his *Discourses against the Arians*, the argument - occupies about ten chapters. It deals with a text of St. Paul (*Phil.*, π, 9): "Christ became obedient unto death; therefore God exalted him and gave him a name above every name." This exaltation given to Christ made the Arians triumph: the Word was not, therefore, from the beginning and by itself, superior to everything, since it is still susceptible of being glorified. This exaltation concerns only the humanity of the Saviour and us.

The Word, the image of the Father and eternal, took the form of a slave and suffered death in his flesh for our sake, so that he might offer himself to his Father through death. And so it is said that as a man, for our sake and for us, he is exalted. Just as we all died in Christ through his death, so in Christ we are all exalted, raised from the dead and taken into heaven. "Jesus entered heaven as our forerunner" (*Heb.* vi. 20); He entered, not into the figures of the old law, but into heaven proper, "to appear before God for us" (*Heb.* ix. 24). As He is said to have entered heaven, though He is forever the Lord and Maker of heaven, so He is said to be exalted for us. It is also written (*Joh.*, xvn, 19) that the Word, who sanctifies all things, sanctifies Himself before the Father for us. Not that He should become more holy, but that He might sanctify us all in Him. Well, in the same way we must understand the present text: God hath exalted him, not to make him higher, he is the Most High; but that he might become our righteousness, and that we might be exalted in him. By this we enter heaven: he opens the gates to us, and those who guard them say, "Open your gates, O princes, and arise, ye everlasting gates.

ad Epict. vi, P.G., xxvi, 1060: "The sufferings of the body of the Word, the Word attributed to Himself, so that we might participate in the divinity of the Word." MEHLER, *St. Athanasius*, vol. 1, p. 261, gives the same explanation: "For the holy patriarch," he says, "Christ is the one in whom are included, as it were, all those who have been redeemed."

and the King of glory will enter." (*Ps.* xxm, 7). This is not to say that the gates were closed to the Lord and Maker of all, but it is written of us, to whom the gate of paradise was closed (1). (1) Therefore, since he is a man and because of the flesh he bore, it is said of him, 'Open the doors and he shall enter. But because of His divinity, He is said to be the King of glory. This exaltation which comes to us, the Holy Spirit predicts in the eighth Psalm, "In thy righteousness shall they be exalted: for the brightness of their

virtue is thine." (*Ps.* Lxxxviii, 17, 18). Since the Son is the righteousness, it is not he who needs exaltation, but we are exalted in the righteousness which is he.

Here are a few more lines, in connection with a text just mentioned: "And I sanctify myself for their sakes, that they also may be sanctified in the truth." (*Joh.* xvi, 18).

In saying this, he showed that it is not he who is sanctified, but he who sanctifies. For he is not sanctified by another, but sanctifies himself, that we in truth may be sanctified. He who sanctifies himself is master of sanctifying. So it is as if He said, "I, the Word of the Father, give myself to man, the Spirit; I sanctify myself as man, in this Spirit, that in me, who am the truth - for it is written, 'Your Word is truth' (*Joh.*, xvi, 17) - all may be sanctified."

That if he sanctify himself for us, and that by becoming man, it is clear that the descent of the Holy Ghost which was made upon him at Jordan was made upon us, because he bore our body. It was not He who benefited from it, but we were sanctified by it: we participated in His anointing, so that we can apply to ourselves the words: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (*I Cor.*, in, 16). So when the Lord, as a man, was purifying himself in the Jordan, it was we who were purifying ourselves.

(1) The same comment is found in *De incarnatione Verbi*, xxv, P.G., xxv, 140; the procedure is therefore not an invention of opportunism: a The Logos himself did not need to have the doors opened for him, for he is the lord of all. None of the creatures are closed before the Creator. It was we who needed it, we whom He carried to heaven by His own body. As he offered his body to death for all, so through that body he opened the way to heaven for us."

(2) / *Contra arianos*, xxi, P.G., xxvi, 96-97; cfr *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, xiv, P.G., xxv, 448.

who, in him and through him, were cleansed. And when he received the Spirit, we received him through him.

Scripture, in speaking of the Word or Wisdom, may therefore say that he is "created," ἐκτίσθαι (2); in reality, it is only his humanity and us.

As he came to earth, not for his own sake, but for our sake, so he is not created in himself, but in us. And if He is not created in Himself, but in us, He is evidently not a creature Himself; but He says this in behalf of the flesh which He has put on. That this is the meaning of the Scriptures, the Apostle teaches in his epistle to the Ephesians: < He has broken down, he says, the wall of partition... and created in himself the two peoples [Jews and Gentiles] into one new man, making peace." (*Eph.*, II, II, 14, 15). If both are created in him, and if they form his body, we can say, in a way, that he is created, since he bears them both in himself. For he united the creatures in himself and lived in them, becoming a creature as they are... Just as when He put on our weaknesses, He is said to be weak, though He is not, since He is the strength of God; just as He became sin and a curse for us, though He is without sin, but because He bore our sins and our curse; so when He creates us in Himself, can He say, "God created me," though He Himself is not a creature.

(3) But if, as the Arians claim, the Word is of a created essence, and if it is of itself that it says: "God created me," then it is not because of us that it is created. If he is not created because of us, then we must no longer say that we are created in him. If we are not created in him, we do not possess him in ourselves; he is outside of us, since he is only a kind of teacher from whom we receive instruction.

(1) *I Contra arianos*, XLVI and XLVII, P.G., xxvi, 108-109. The same idea returns twice in the following (col. 109). Thus: It is not, therefore, the Word as Word and Wisdom who is anointed by the Holy Spirit which he himself gives, but it is his flesh, the flesh which he took, which is anointed in him and by him. In this way, the sanctification descended upon the Lord as a man comes into all men through him." Same thought and almost in the same words in No. XLVIII (col. 112-113).

(2) The Vulgate translates *possedit me, Prou*, vin, 22. Athanasius comments on this text throughout the second discourse against the Arians.

(3) *II Contra arianos*, LV, LVI, P.G., xxvi, 264-265.

Of this, Athanasius does not want to hear. A Christ who is only a teacher of religion and morals, like a teacher of didactics, is no longer Christ. Christ is our life and our resurrection, or we are the most miserable of men. Therefore Arianism, which comes to deny this truth, is the worst of errors. And in truth, Athanasius continues:

If this be so, if Christ is but a teacher who teaches without," sin reigns as much as before in the flesh, and is not expelled from it- But all this the Apostle repels, saying, "We are the work of God, created in Christ Jesus." (*Eph.*, n, 10). If now we have been created in Christ, it is not he who is a creature, but we are creatures in him, and it is for us that the word "created" is written. Because of our misfortune, the Word agreed to take on the language of creatures, but this language does not suit him as the Word; it is ours, we who are created in him.

This method of exegesis is not, for Athanasius, a pis- ter, but an ideal; none, in his opinion, is more "ecclesiastical" (2). The more he thinks about it, the more he likes it, as is shown by the last of his doctrinal works, the treatise *On Vincarnation against the Arians*, if the work is authentic (3).

(1) *II Contra arianos*, LVI, P.G., xxvi, 265. See also *Ibid*, LXIX, P.G., 293- - *III Contra arianos*, xxxm, LVII, P.G., xxvi, 393, 444. - *IV Contra arianos* (Ps.-Athanasius), vu, P.G., xxvi, 477. - *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, 11, iv, v, vin, xn, xx, *xxi*, P.G., xxvi, 988, ff.

(2) *I Contra arianos*, XLIV, P.G., *xxvi*, 101. St. Athanasius preludes these sorts of interpretations as early as *V Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* (xxv, P.G., xxv, 140, already quoted), before the Arian controversies. He uses it elsewhere than in his dogmatic writings, thus in his *Expositio in psalmos* (auth.?), ps. xv, XXII, XL, P.G., xxvii, 105, 109, 132, 133, 197; cfr. ANTONELLI, preface to *De titulis psalmorum*, *xv-xxvi*, P.G., *xxvi*, 611, 633.

(3) As the MAURISTS, BARDENHEWER, RAUSCHEN-WITTIG-ALTANER, and also FESSIER-JUNGMANN think.

Certainly, the reasons against authenticity are strong (1). But perhaps, as we shall see in a moment, they are not decisive. In any case, for the point which occupies us, the work is clearly in the prolongation of the principal writings of the saint, especially of his *Discourses against the Arians*. Athanasius, if he is not the author, is certainly the inspirer: we find him entirely in it. It is always the same way of refuting the same adversaries, and also the same way of speaking at the same time of Christ and of Christians, a more significant clue, because it is more revealing of the mentality. Only, the refutations are more thorough and the exegesis of the texts more strongly supported. One would account for this progress by attributing the work to the last years of the saint, as suggested by the Maurists (2); years more tranquil and where he had more leisure to breathe and think. This same late date would resolve, it seems to us, in part, the objections made to the authenticity: it would explain that the style has become less firm and the repetitions more frequent (3), it would also explain, at least to a certain extent, some modifications in the formulas.

We will therefore report some passages: this will be a complement to our study on Athanasius. This will force us to refer to texts whose equivalent is found in the preceding quotations. But the identity of doctrine will only appear better, and we will be able to see from some new features and even from the repetitions that the thought has been enriched and

(1) Thus, for instance, the expression τρεις ὑποστάσεις, and the express mention (No. xxi, P.G., xxvi, 1021) of two wills in Christ. But it should be noted that at the synod of 362 Athanasius had recognized the legitimacy of the use of ὑπόστασις in the sense of person, and that, as regards the two wills of Christ, Athanasius always insisted, against the Arians, on the distinction between what Christ does and wills as a man and what He does as God (especially *III Contra arianos*, xxxv, P.G., xxvi, 397)-

(2) P.G., xxvi, 983.

(3) See especially No. vin, P.G., xxvi, 996.

strengthened. Here are some lines in which the author deals with the infirmities of Christ:

He did not come for his own salvation, the immortal God, but for the salvation of us who were dead. He did not suffer for Himself, but for us, and if He took our lowliness and poverty into Himself, it was to give us His riches. His passion is our impassibility; His death is our immortality; His tears are our joy; His burial, our resurrection; and His baptism, our sanctification. "For their sakes," he says, "I sanctify myself, that they may be sanctified in truth." (*Joh.*, xvn, 19). His stripes are our healing; for "by His stripes we have been healed" (*Is.*, HE, 5); and His chastening is our peace; for "the chastening of our peace is upon Him" (*Ibid.*); that is, He is chastened for our peace. His ignominy is our glory; for he asks glory for us when he says, "Glorify me, Father, with thee, with the glory which I had, with thee, before the world was." (*Joh.*, xvn, 5). It is we, in fact, who are glorified in Him. His descent is our ascension, as it is written, "God hath raised us up with Christ, and seated us with Him in heaven in Christ Jesus" (*Eph.*, 11, 6), and that other text, "To show to the ages to come the exceeding riches of His grace in kindness in Christ Jesus toward us." (*Eph.*, 11, 7). His words on the cross, "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit" (*Leviticus* xxiii, 46), commend to the Father all men, who are quickened in Him. We are His members, indeed, and all the members together are one body, which is the Church, as St. Paul writes to the Galatians (iii, 28); "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus." He therefore commends them all in himself (1).

It is always the same principle, as it is the same process: between Christ and Christians, there is continuity.

All that Scripture says the Word received, it says because of His body which is the firstfruits of the Church. "Christ is the firstfruits." (*I Cor.*, xv, 23). When the firstfruits have received a name superior to any name, then the whole mass is exalted with him and placed on his throne according to the saying, "God hath raised us up with Christ and seated us with him." (*Eph.*, 11, 16). (*Eph.* 11:16). By this means men have received the grace to be called gods and sons of God. First of all, then, the

(1) *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, v, P.G., xxvi, 992.

The Lord raised His own body and exalted it in Himself; then He raised the members of His body in their turn, in order to give them, as God, all that He Himself received as man (i).

So perfect is the union between the head and the members that, by giving us life in him, the Savior himself also gives life.

He gives life to Himself, He sanctifies Himself, He exalts Himself. Hence, when He says that the Father sanctified Him, exalted Him, gave Him a name above every name (*Phil.*, π, 8, 9), and gave Him life, it is clear that it is also through Him that the Father has done all these things. It is through him that he exalts him, through him that he sanctifies him, through him that he exalts him, through him that he gives him life. And when he gives his spirit into the hands of his Father, he offers himself to God as a man, so that he may offer all men to God.

The humanity of Christ, taken in its totality, is the Church. So, says St. Athanasius,

When Peter says: "Let all the house of Israel know with certainty that this Jesus whom you crucified, God made him Lord and Christ" (*Act.*, π, 36), it is not of the divinity of Jesus that he affirms that God made him Lord and Christ, but of his humanity which is the whole Church (3).

We must dare to say, it seems, in order to render all the force of this passage and of the others that we have encountered, that the hypostatic union does not only concern our Lord; that it is prolonged, in some way, in us, the members who are the prolongation of the head, and that it makes us divine men, by continuity with the God-Man. Saint Athanasius will say it again:

It is the Church, in Christ, that rules and reigns, after he has been crucified. It is also the Church that receives the anointing for the kingdom

(1) *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, xn, P.G., xxvi, 1004.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, xxi, P.G., 1022.

of the two, that he might reign with him who for her sake humbled himself and, taking the form of a slave, assumed her into himself. The Word, in fact. The Son of God was always Lord and God, and it was not after His crucifixion that He received these titles. But, as we have said, it was his humanity which his divinity made Lord and Christ.

So, as Athanasius will repeat with the insistence of age, by continuity with Christ, we are all divinized.

All that the Scripture says about the Lord is about His poverty. It says this to show that we are enriched in Him, not to give us occasion to blaspheme against the Son of God. The Son of God became man so that the sons of man, that is, the sons of Adam, might become sons of God. He who was born of the Father in the highest heaven in an ineffable, inexpressible, incomprehensible and eternal way, came down to earth to be born of the Virgin, the mother of God, Mary, so that we, born first of the earth, might be raised to be born a second time, of God... He therefore takes the name of Son of Man, that men may call God their Father in heaven: "Our Father," he says, "who art in heaven. (*ML*, vi, 9). As we, the servants of God, have become sons of God, so the master of all servants became the son of his servant, that is, of Adam, and mortal, that the mortal sons of Adam might become sons of God, as it is written, "He gave them power to become children of God." (*Joh.*, i, 12). The Son of God suffers death for the sake of his father in the flesh, so that the sons of man may participate in the life of God, for the sake of God, their father in the spirit. He is the Son of God by nature; we by grace. And he, by goodness and grace, became a son of Adam, while we are by nature. He has

(1) *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, xxi, P.G., xxvi, 1022.

(2) Here is the rest. "Therefore He says, 'I go to My Father and your Father' to My God and your God." (*Joh.*, i, xx, 17). God, as I have already said, is His Father by nature, He is ours by grace; and He became His God according to the economy because of the incarnation, while He is, by nature, our God and our teacher. Therefore the Word and Son of the Father, having united Himself to the flesh, became flesh and perfect man, so that men, having united themselves to the Spirit, might become one spirit. He is God bearing flesh, and we are men bearing Spirit. He took the firstfruits of the substance of man, that is, the offspring of Adam (which is the form of a slave) and gave to all the firstfruits of the Holy Spirit, so that we might all become sons of God, in the likeness of the Son of God. And for this reason he, the true and natural Son of God, bears us all [in himself] so that we all may bear [in ourselves] God's Tunic (1).

These few extracts are sufficient to show the identity of doctrine between the treatise *On Vincarnation and against the Arians* and the works of the saint which we have already studied.

And now, to conclude, we can say, in the first place, that the doctrine of the mystical body occupies a primordial place in the theology of Saint Athanasius. As we have just seen, it serves him, and very often, to explain, formulate and prove the dogma for which he fought the most; it also serves him, and very often, to refute the principal arguments of his principal adversaries, we mean, to interpret in an orthodox sense the texts with which the Arians wanted to support their heresy. It had even penetrated so deeply into his soul that he expressed it even without thinking about it, and that we must think of it in order to understand the texts where he speaks, at the same time and without marking any separation, of the Saviour and of us.

Having thus taken hold of Athanasius, this doctrine grew with him. The more Catholic orthodoxy became incarnate in him, the more clear and energetic it became under his pen. As we have seen in the preceding pages, his mature works speak of it more than his early ones.

So we can say, with an ancient author, but whose appreciation retains its value: "Athanasius had taken deep roots, so to speak, in the Church. He identified himself with it, and the past of the Church was always present to him

And he came in the likeness of a man, to give us of the substance of the Father the firstfruits of the Holy Ghost."

(1) *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, vin, P.G., xxvi, 99[^]-997"

spirit. He taught that Jesus Christ is inwardly united to his Church as he has united himself to humanity, that he is one person with her, and that the Church is in some sense Christ himself (i)."

If we now turn to the content of the doctrine, the first thing to notice is that it is not developed for its own sake. A superficial reading might even lead one to believe that it is absent, or more or less. Scriptural comparisons of the body and the members, of the vine and the branches, are relatively rare; only the Pauline expression "in Christ" is used quite frequently (2).

As we have already pointed out in connection with Irenaeus, the truth of the mystical body is not always explained in isolation, as if it were a point of doctrine to be explained separately. In order to study it fruitfully, we must even get rid of this too fragmentary conception of Christian dogma. One as it is, the revealed has its parts involved in each other. More than others, the truth of our incorporation in Christ, so rich in applications, in consequences, in various aspects, is often exposed, and even with force, without being spoken of *ex professo*.

So it is with Athanasius. His doctrine of the mystical body is a doctrine of the divinization of Christians. He explains that we are changed, elevated, adopted, finally divinized, as a result of the union of grace that the incarnate Word gives us with himself. What he says thus, and about our justification,

(1) MOEHLER, *St. Athanasius*, 1. π, ZICKWOLFF Translation, t. i, p. no. (We correct on the German text the last words.) - In the same sense, K. BORNHAEUSER, *Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius und J oh, Damasc.* in the *Beiträge z. Forder, christl. Theology*, 7th year, 1903, Gütersloh, pp. 27 and 48 of the separate edition.

(2) See especially *II Contra arianos*, y.xix, LXXVI, LXXVII, P.G., xxvi, 293 > 308-309. On our incorporation into Christ, see again *Apol, ad Constant.* xxxin, P.G., xxv, 640, and *De sententia Dionysii*, x, P.G., xxv, 496: Christ is the vine, we the branches; in him we have ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν (already quoted p. 252).

and about the incarnate Word, he says it about the supernatural body that we form in this incarnate Word.

His philosophical mentality, as well as his pastoral concerns, had prepared him for this way of seeing. This can be seen in his early writings: the divinity appears to him in the effects it produces among us; he sees a manifestation of the life of the risen Saviour in the vitality of the Church. This way of looking at things, he will keep it, and even the Arian controversy will make it more attentive and more resolute: in the life of the Church, in the life of Christians, what he will always see, what he will always show, is the divinity, the strict divinity, of the Savior. This divinity divinizes us; the Incarnation, which produced the God-Man, is a conquering action: it must make of us adopted sons of God; Jesus Christ, finally, according to the words so often used in the fourth Gospel, Jesus Christ, because he is the Son, is our life.

But how and why Γ is, how does the Incarnation, by its own virtue, go so far as to unite the whole regenerate human race to God in Christ, Athanasius does not explain. On this capital point he will still have to be completed, and he will be completed especially by St. Hilary and by St. Cyril of Alexandria.

Moreover, although imperfect, Athanasius' theology on the mystical body is extremely rich. One will have noticed all that it contains with regard to our adoption in the Savior, to our redemption by union with him, to the communion of idioms and properties which is established between him and us, to the dignity of our bodies and our souls, to the cult due to the saints, to the causality exercised on us by all events

I)) Note that Athanasius is also convinced, and with fervour, of the concrete reality of the Saviour. See especially: *I Contra arianos*, XLVI, XLVIII, XL, XLI, XLii, P.G., xxvi, 108, 112, 93, 97, 100 - *III Contra arianos*, xxx, P.G., xxxvi, 388. - *Epist. IV ad Serapionem*, xv, P.G., xxvi, 656, etc. - In the same way we, in receiving to be in Christ, remain ourselves: *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, xiv, P.G., xxv, 448.

of his life, to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in our souls (i), to the supernatural unity of all Christianity. Athanasius says all this by showing how, in Christ, we are divinized. We have already

encountered almost all these features in St. Irenaeus. In the Fathers of whom we will have to speak later, we could find almost all of them again, at least in those who have a somewhat developed teaching on the mystical body. But, in order to avoid repeating ourselves, we will not make an inventory each time: the entire treasure now belongs to tradition.

It should be noted, however, that to this treasure Athanasius added a precious stone, a stone discovered before him, but which he cut: we mean the method of exegesis based on our mystical identity with the Saviour, which he uses so much against the Arians. It is a jewel which we shall often see shining in the future.

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¹ He compares the internal action of the Paraclete to that of the Saviour: *Epist. I ad Serapionem*, xix, xxv, xxxi; *It., III*, ni, v, P.G., xxvi, 573, 588, 600, 632; cfr *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, xiv, P.G., xxvi, 1008.

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CHAPTER V

SAINT HILARY. DIVINIZATION BY MYSTICAL INCLUSION IN THE INCARNATE WORD. THE INCARNATION CONTINUED **BY THE EUCHARIST. COLLECTIVE INCARNATION** or UNIQUE INCARNATION?

SAINT HILARY. Why we study him among the Fathers of the East. His importance. Conversion and first contact with the doctrine of the mystical body. Other possible contact during the exile in Asia.

HIS DOCTRINE. ALL men are one: they are included in Christ. He has even been accused of conceiving the incarnation as a union of the Word with the whole human race. Christ contains the whole "nature" of men, their whole race. This is a "sacrament"; baptism effects it, it makes "the body of Christ" the place where we must be, where we already are. Thus are we "assumed" into Christ, so that in him we are divinized.

MYSTICAL BODY AND EUCHARIST. Commentary on the Johannine verse: "That they may be one as we are. (*Joh.* i xvn, n and 22). Our unity is a reality, because it is made by baptism, because it is affirmed by Christ. Christ produces it especially in the Eucharist, by becoming one, really, with us, while remaining one with the Father. The Eucharist completes the Incarnation, that is to say, it gives men divinization, by uniting them to Christ by a unity whose reality cannot be sufficiently stated.

CONCLUSION. Main feature: realism of this doctrine of the mystical body. The "collective" incarnation, which the saint would teach, is only the mystical expansion, in all men, of the effects of the incarnation. How does the incarnation have this contagious virtue? Hilary does not say. His doctrine ends in uncertain lines, with some less happy formulas. Providence must still, through the theological work of the fifth century, bring the dogma of the incarnation to its perfect formulas.

Hilary (i) is a Westerner. He was born in Poitiers, around 315,

(1) Born about twenty years after Athanasius, he died six years before

of a pagan family. He was converted at a time which we cannot specify, but we know that in 355 he sat as a bishop at the Council of Milan. It was again at Poitiers, whose schools were famous at the time, that he received his secular education, and probably at Poitiers too that he studied Christianity.

And yet, at least as far as the doctrine of the mystical body is concerned, his teaching places itself in the line of the Eastern tradition. He takes up, perhaps without his knowing it - but what does it matter? - He even adds important complements to it, and these complements are precisely those which we will find later in Cyril of Alexandria. One will be able to judge by the whole study which will follow (1).

We do not have an explanation for these similarities. One can easily imagine possibilities of influence, but at this time, no more. The study of the relationship between Hilary and Greek theology, the study even of his relationship with the Greek language, could bring interesting conclusions. But it would be long and arduous, and it has not yet tempted anyone, as far as we know.

Still, our saint deserves to be called the Athanasius of the West. Not that he has the mind or the pen

him, in 366. His exile in Phrygia corresponds to Athanasius' third banishment.

(1) One must especially compare S. HILARY, *De Trinitate* viii, 3, P.L., x, 238-249, with S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De S. Trinitate dial. Trinitate dial.* 1, P.G., LXXV, 693-700 and especially *In Joh.* xi, 11-12, P.G., LXXIV, 552-565- See also S. ATHANASIUS, *III Contra arianos*, xvii-xxvii, P.G., xxvi, 357-381. There are similarities of plan, of quotations, of vocabulary. Nothing however which allows a clear conclusion. Compare especially what we say of St. Hilary on pp. 420ff. with what we say of St. Cyril on pp. 509.3ff. and 503ff. Note that, already before the exile, Hilary speaks of the *theoteta* "quam deitatem latini nuncupant" in the *Commentarius in Matthaem* xvi, 4, xxvi, 5, P.L., ix, 1008, 1058. One would also easily note several turns of phrase which recall the Greek, cf. p. 433, note. If, as Saint Jerome says, Hilary did not know Greek, he would thus have undergone by intermediaries the influence of the theology of the East.

of the great doctor; he is, on the contrary, hard to read (i). But he has the same strength of soul united to the same gentleness of character; he has the same jealous love of orthodoxy; he has fought the same battles against the same enemies; he has known the same exiles: he, from Gaul to Asia, and Athanasius, from Alexandria to Gaul; he has held, finally, the same energetic doctrine on the subject of the mystical body.

On the way in which he was brought into contact with the truth of the mystical body, we have only one indication, precious, because it is he himself who gives it, but quite incomplete, because it speaks only of one aspect of this truth. And it is not easy to interpret.

It is an account found at the beginning of his work *De Trinitate*, written around the years 356-357 (2), in which he recounts his conversion, which had taken place several years earlier, it is not known exactly how many. The account serves as an introduction to the book, and it deals with the knowledge of God which faith alone makes sufficient and even perfect; thus it introduces the studies on the Trinity which the volume contains. But this literary significance of the piece restricts its documentary value; for it is always to be feared that the ideas it brings about may have reacted on him, especially since he himself is deeply involved in the theological developments he initiates and in which he ends up losing himself. Secondly, the phases of the conversion as he reports them recall the apologetic plan drawn up by St. Athanasius some thirty years earlier in the *Discourse against the Greeks* and in the *Discourse on the Incarnation*. The Patriarch of Alexandria, it will be remembered, insisted on the argument which the vitality of the Christian faith gives in favour of the divinity of Christ. Similar ideas are developed by St. Hilary.

(1) Therefore, we will often have to put a note on the Latin text, because of the inadequacies of the translation.

(2) The whole work was written between 356 and 359. But the first four books must have preceded the following ones by some time (COUSTANT, BARDENHEWER).

Because of these considerations, it is difficult to determine to what extent the pages we are dealing with are a true biographical document. However, we will not leave them aside: in our opinion, their tone of sincerity and conviction, and also their place at the beginning of a treatise which wants to be only an objective search for the integral truth, prevent us from seeing in them only a fiction. The similarities with the treatise of Athanasius perhaps only prove that the path indicated by the holy patriarch was also the one that grace followed, at least sometimes, in reality.

In any case, here are the indications provided by the passage. To begin with, St. Hilary states that it always seemed to him that the great matter was to know God. He turned to philosophical systems for satisfaction, but they gave him nothing but contradictions and absurdities. Finally, he came upon the holy books, and there he found the truth. He was especially struck by what they said about the immensity of God, which makes everything contained in God, and about the doctrine of the incarnation as expounded by St. John. (1) Now, as we remember, this doctrine is at the same time a doctrine of the mystical body; Saint John explains at the same time that Christ is the Word of God and that we, in him, receive, as his members, the divine life.

But already at these last moments, it seems, for the account is not very clear, Hilary had taken the final steps; he had found, as he says, more than he had hoped for; he had been baptized (2). Faith had given him, as he says, a new birth and a new life.

For the Word who is God became flesh, so that through this Word made flesh, flesh might become united to the Word who is God.

(1) *De Trinitate*, 1, 6 and 10, P.L., x, 28, 31 - Cf. on the omnipresence of God, *Tractatus in Psalmos*, cxvni, 8-9, P.L., ix, 629, C.V., xxn, 5² 7-

(2) Clues to this order are scattered throughout the piece: 8 (col. 31); 10 (col. 32); 11 (col. 32, 33); 12 (col. 33).

(3) *Ibid*, π, P.L., x, 33. "In receiving the Word, one is raised to the dignity

For the Word has created our race anew in Himself; He has abolished the old sentence (i).

Life in Christ, divinization in Christ, second creation in Christ, these are formulas which express our mystical incorporation into the Savior. In the passage we have just read, they do not have a particularly strong emphasis. So they express only a first contact.

In spite of their poverty of indication, we have been anxious to report them, however, because of the light they shed, however small, on the way in which God guards the deposit of truth and makes it grow. More than once in the course of these pages we shall find, in so far as these things can be ascertained, that Providence seems to have made use of visions and experiences of the inner life, not certainly to teach men, as a new doctrine, the life of Christ in souls, but to make them understand what Scripture says on this subject from the apostolic origins. Even in the time of the apostles, in the writing of the holy books, we have seen that God followed a similar course. It was in a vision that He showed Paul how He dwells with His people every day, and in a vision, too, it is probable, that He made John understand, better than the other apostles, the life He has in us and we in Him. Thus he remains faithful to his ways, and the way

children of God, by a birth, not of the flesh, but of faith... The Word therefore became flesh, so that, through the God-Word who became flesh, the flesh might receive union with the God-Word (*ut, per Deum Verbum carnem factum, caro proficeret in Deum Verbum*: it is a question of all flesh). And so that the Word made flesh may be, in all rigor, both the God-Word and the flesh of our body, he dwelt in us. Insofar as he dwells, he shows that he remains God, and insofar as it is in us that he dwells, the God made flesh also shows that he is of our flesh. The mercy which made him take flesh did not strip him of what is proper to him, for, as the only Son of the Father, full of grace and truth, he is perfect God and perfect man." Note the reasoning: according to Hilary, to dwell in us means to put on (through individual flesh) the flesh of all men.

(i) *De Trinitate*, i, 13, P.L., x, 35.

The way he leads the tradition is similar to the way he led the composition of Scripture.

We wanted to make this remark to prevent Ton from misunderstanding the meaning and importance of the few visions we will discuss in this book. None of them, except of course those recorded in Scripture, are given as the revelation of a new truth; all of them had no other reason than to give attention to what had been taught from the beginning.

Returning now to St. Hilary, it should be noted that the vision of which we have given an account does not seem to have been the main source of what he knows about the mystical body. It is highly probable that he was instructed on this point in the schools of Gaul, where he studied theology. Many texts in his *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, which dates from this period, show, as we shall see, an already considerable knowledge of what tradition had said on this subject.

Soon, during his banishment to Asia, he had the opportunity to learn more, though we cannot say how much more was needed or how much he did.

The stay we are talking about dates from the early years of his episcopate. Until then, he had not even heard of Arianism and the struggles over the heresy. He was about to be thrown into it. Just at this time, Saturninus of Arles, supported by Ursatius and Valens, was trying to detach Gaul from orthodoxy. Hilary resisted him energetically, and his courage had the result of exposing him to imperial severity; Constantius sent him into exile in the political diocese of Asia. He left in 356.

He was going to a region where the doctrine of the mystical body had been much studied, as we have said at the end of the chapter devoted to St. Irenaeus. Hilary, who became the soul of the resistance, was necessarily made aware of the doctrines. In fact, the most important passage he wrote on

This passage is very similar, as we shall see, to a long text by St. Cyril of Alexandria, who also had many dealings with Asia, both of which seem to betray an Eastern influence.

However, since we are unable to discern what Hilaire would have learned then from what he knew previously, in the following pages we will not distinguish between writings prior to the banishment and those subsequent to it.

For St. Hilary, therefore, as for St. Athanasius, the solidarity of men with one another is already close in the natural order. In the supernatural order, it is even more intimate. All together, they are but one body, (1) a whole, a *universitas*, as he expresses it. (2) In each man, we find all the others: in the paralytic, for example, all the nations are present, lying before the Savior to be healed (3); Doeg represents all the wicked (4); Adam, then, after him, Abraham, includes in him all men (5).

In Jesus Christ there was every man," he wrote in the *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, "and so his body, the instrument of the Word, accomplished in itself the whole mystery of our redemption.

(1) *Comm. in Mt.* iv, 12, P.L. ix, 935.

(2) *Comm. in Mt.* iv, 21, P.L., ix, 939. - *De Trinitate*, in, 24, P.L., x, 66 - Cfr *In Ps.* xci, 9, P.L., ix, 499, C.V., xxn, 353. - *De Trinitate*, xi, 16, P.L., x, 409. - *In Ps.*, Liv, 9, P.L., ix, 352, C.V., xxn, 153.

(3) *Jamque in paralytico gentium universitas offertur medenda. Comm. in Mt.* vin, 5, P.L., ix, 960. It. vu, 11; xvni, 6, P.L., ix, 958, 1020.

(4) *In Ps.* Li, 6, P.L., ix, 312, C.V., xxn, 100.

(5) *Comm. in Mt.*, vin, 5; xvm, 6, P.L., ix, 960, 1020; *In Ps.*, cxxn, 3, P.L., ix, 669, C.V., xxn, 582. Similarly in the demon: *In Ps.* cxxxix, 14, P.L., ix, 822, C.V., xxn, 786.

(6) *Comm. in Mt.* 11, 5, P.L., ix, 927 : *Erat in Christo Jesu homo totus*

Our Lord, he says in another place in the same work, is poured into the body of each of the faithful.

He took the body of each of us, and through that body he became our very own (2).

So much so, that through this body, all humanity is contained in him. By this kind of gathering in Him of all men, He is like a city, and we, by our

union with His flesh, are the inhabitants (3).

There is no need to point out Γ energy of expression; it earned Hilary the same accusation as it did of St. Methodius: already in the sixteenth century Erasmus (4) reproached him for losing sight

[id est, *omnis homo*," says Constant. In fact, the context is decisive in this sense. Cfr S. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Oratio catechetica*, xxxn, P.G., XLV, 80. βλος ἄνθρωπος, in the same sense]; ideo, *in famulatum spiritus corpus assumptum omne in se sacramentum salutis nostrae explevit*. The saint continues a few lines below. "Our own body and name were taken by him (*assumptum ab eo creationis nostrae fuerat et corpus et nomen*): therefore it was not he who needed perfection, but he had to sanctify the waters intended to purify us"; and a little later: "He had to fulfill all righteousness, and with it the whole law. Thus, according to the testimony of the prophet, he needs no purification, and yet, by the authority of his example, he consummates the holy work of our salvation, by sanctifying man, both by the Incarnation [taking him into himself] and by water." So the events that accompanied Christ's baptism represented the effects of our baptism. "Through the holy water the Holy Spirit comes into us from heaven, the anointing of heavenly glory is poured out upon us, and the voice of the Father proclaims the adoption which makes us children of God." This is the first passage of St. Hilary on our union with Christ.

(1) Commentary on the sentence of the last judgment (*Mt.*, xxv, 31). *In universorum fidelium corporibus mentibusque transfunditur. Commentarius in Mt.* xxviii, 1, P.L., ix, 1063, cfr *Ibid.* x, 27; xxviii, 1; xxxni, 6; xxxi, 10, P.L., ix, 977, 1064, 1075, 1069.

(2) *Comm. in Mt.* xix, 5, P.L. ix, 1025: "The Jews, instead of loving their neighbour as themselves, persecuted their neighbour, that is, Christ, *who omnium nostrum corpus assumpsit, et unicuique nostrum assumpti corporis ratione factus est proximus*, to the cross. Cfr *Ibid.* xxin, 7; xxiv, i, P.L., ix, 1047, 1048.

(3) *Comm. in Mt.* iv, 12, P.L., ix, 935-

(4) Apud COUSTANT, *Praefatio generalis*, P.L., ix, 76. Already the scholastics, P. Lombard for example, have admitted the difficulty of certain passages of Hilary.

the incommunicable aspect of the Incarnation, to teach a union of the Word with the whole human race. Even today, Protestant historians of dogma speak in the same sense. (i) On the Catholic side, too, these expressions have not failed to surprise. In order to justify them, they have appealed to oratorical imprecision. Hilary and the other Fathers who speak like him would only like to say that Christ has merited all justice for us, and that our holiness is, by far, similar to his: this is enough for him to speak of a universal incarnation; it is universal, not in itself, certainly, but in its effects, all distinct from it.

This is certainly a good answer, but it is a very broad one. Is it necessary to abandon such resolute ways of saying things, which so many Fathers have maintained, simply by pleading mitigating circumstances? We do not think so. In our opinion, these formulas contain treasures of doctrine, so refined and delicate that it took years of trial and error to express them satisfactorily. The Fathers, as we shall see, worked on them one after the other, and finally succeeded in saying what, from the beginning, they were trying to explain: the close and mystical relationship between the divinity of the Saviour and the divinization of Christians.

In St. Hilary, the work has only just begun and the formulas are far from having reached their perfection. But we do not have to look at them long to see that, through them, what the saint wants to express is the wonder of our incorporation into the God-Man.

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There is here, as he readily says, a mystery, a sacrament: *sacramentum*, that is, a thing full of meaning,

(i) HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. H, 4^e, Tubingue, 1909, p. 171. - DORNER, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, 2^e ed. t. i, Stuttgart, 1845, p. 1067; cfr. note by Dom COUSTANT to *De Trinitate*, π, 24, P.L., x, 66, ff.

but of transcendent significance, something also which is imposed on us, but in virtue of a religious and sacred necessity. It is the sacrament of us in Christ (1) as he expresses himself, or, as he also often says, the sacrament of Christ in us (2).

The two expressions are synonymous: they have been so since the beginning of the Christian era. Their meaning, if need be, can be clarified by other expressions which the saint is almost as fond of, and which also speak of the same two correlative interiorities. In Jesus Christ there was every man, he likes to repeat; in him there was the nature of all of us, and at the same time, he also says, Christ, through the body he took, inhabits the nature of every man, the nature of all flesh.

On the meaning of the word nature in these last ways of saying, the context leaves no doubt. It is, at least almost always, not the understanding of human nature, as the philosophers say, but its extension. The saint means, and he says, that all men have become, in some real way, interior to the Saviour. The explanations he gives are decisive. This presence in Christ of the nature of all of us means that in him we can contemplate all of us,(4) and that he, for his part, by the Incarnation, dwells within each one. (5) The good shepherd, as he says, has taken the lost sheep, not only on his shoulders, but in his own flesh.

(1) *In Ps.* xci, 9, P.L., ix, 499, C.V., xxn, 353- Cfr *Eph.*, 11, 5.

(2) *In Ps.* cxxxviii, 30, 31, P.L., ix, 808, C.V., xxn, 765-66. -*De Trinitate*, ix, 9-10; xi, 14, P.L., x, 288, ff. 409. Cfr *De Trinitate*, ix, 13, P.L., x, 292. Already in the *Comm. in Mt.* v, 15; xvi, 5, P.L., ix, 950, 1009. Then: *De Trinitate*, ix, 5, P.L., x, 284. - *In Ps.* lxx, 4; cxxliii, 21, P.L., ix, 585, 853, C.V., xxn, 195, 826.

(3) *De Trinitate*, xi, 16, P.L., x, 409. - *In Ps.* li, 16, 17; liv, 9, PL, ix, 317-318, 352, C.V., ^xn, 108-109, 153.

(4) *In Ps.* cxxiv, 3, 4, P.L., ix, 681, C.V., xxn, 599.

(5) *De Trinitate*, xi, 16, P.L., x, 409; *In Ps.* li, 16, P.L., ix, 317, C.V., xxn, 108. *Comm. in Mt.* iv, 2, P.L., ix, 935.

(6) *Comm. in Mt.* xvm, 6, P.L., ix, 1020. "The ninety-nine sheep left in the wilderness represent the multitude of good spirits-

This same manner of using the word nature (*natura* or φύσις), and in the same expressions, is found, in the same degree at least, in only one other Father, as far as we know. This is precisely St. Cyril of Alexandria, who has, moreover, other points of contact with St. Hilary. Once again, we do not know the explanation of these similarities. But we had to point them out.

It is quite possible that both of them have a Platonic philosophical training which explains in part their use of the word nature and their view of all the individuals of a species as forming a whole. But what is certain is that neither of them is appealing here to philosophical theses. Human speculation may have helped them to find formulas and made these formulas difficult for us to understand. We do not see that it has taught them anything about truth itself. This truth, as they show it, is a mystery, a mystery due to the Incarnation, and not a corollary of learned abstractions; it is the ancient announcement of Scripture and tradition: that Christ dwells in us and we in him.

As for the word *natura* or φύσις, which they readily employ, it is well to remember that it has not its exact correspondent in the French term nature (i). Often it retains a general and vague meaning, and we have found no better word for it than reality and its derivatives. Often even the best translation is a kind of abstention: in this case we have put the French word nature, but in quotation marks. We will always make sure that it is easy to recognize the term.

Let us now return to the mystery, the *sacramentum*, of which

reux. It is in the midst of them that the sinner was brought back, with great joy, into the Body of Christ. Cfr *In Ps.* LI, 3, P.L., ix, 310, C.V., xxii, 98. This image will be found in St. Gregory of Nyssa; cfr. ch. vi, p. 453.

(1) The meaning of this word is difficult to determine in St. Hilary. Erasmus, according to Dom COUSTANT (P.L., ix, 43), was mistaken.

Hilary speaks so willingly of the mystery of our nature in Christ and of Christ residing in all of us.

This reciprocal penetration takes place the first time, the saint explains, at baptism. Did he not himself, moreover, experience it at that moment? By being reborn in water and in the Holy Spirit,

we are reconciled through the body of his flesh. Therefore, by union with the flesh which he took, we are in Christ. This is the mystery of God, hidden

in God for ages and generations, which is now revealed to the saints: that they are co-heirs, co-bodily, co-participants in the promise of God in Christ (*Eph.*, ii, 5, 6). All, by union with his flesh, have entered into Christ... He will bring their humility into the glory of his flesh, provided that, resisting the passions and purifying themselves of their defilements, they remember that after baptism they have no other flesh but that of Christ.

He renews us in a new life, he writes elsewhere, he transforms us into a new man, by placing us in the body of his flesh. For it is he who is the Church: through the mystery of his body, he contains it all in himself.

(2) *In Ps. xci, 9, P.L., ix, 499, C.V., xxn, 353 ... nunc autem reconciliati sumus in corpore carnis ejus. Ergo per conjunctionem carnis assumptae sumus in Christo : et hoc est sacramentum Dei absconditum a saeculis et generationibus in Deo, quod nunc revelatum est sanctis ejus, esse nos cohaeredes et concorporales et comparticipes pollicitationis ejus in Christo. Patet ergo universis aditus in Christo per conjunctionem carnis, si exuant veterem hominem, et cruci ejus affigant, et ab his quae ante gesserunt, in baptismo ejus consepeliantur ad vitam : et ut in consortium carnis Christi introeant, carnem cum vitiis et concupiscentiis affigant. Istius modi enim corpora configurabit in transformatione (CN. : transformationem) corporis sui, et horum humilitatem in gloriam carnis suae transferet, qui contundentes omnes cupiditatum aculeos et voluptatum sordes abluentes per novae nativitatis sacramentum, meminerint se non suam carnem habere, sed Christi.* - This union makes it possible to apply to us what is said of Christ in Scripture, *In Ps. CXLI, 3, P.L., ix, 834, C.V., xxn, 801. It, Tractatus mysteriorum*, beginning and passim, C.V., LV, 3, ff. Hilary rarely makes use of this mystical communication between Christ and us to refute the Arians. *In Ps. ix, 4, P.L., ix, 243, C.V., xxn, 78.*

(3) *In Ps. cxxv, 6, P.L., ix, 688, C.V., xxn, 609 : A dominatu enim vitiorum - animam liberavit, anteriora delicta non reputans et nos in vitam novam renovans et in novum hominem transformans, constituens nos in corpore carnis suae. Ipse enim est Ecclesia, per sacramentum corporis sui in se universam eam continens.*

When we die, the change will appear in a striking way. This is what the saint explains by comparing the body of Christ to a holy mountain, where we will find our rest.

The holy mountain is the body which he took from man... On this mountain is built a city that cannot be hidden, for, as the Apostle says: "There is no other foundation than Christ. (*I Cor.*, iii, 12). Since, then, those who are Christ's were chosen of God in the body of Christ before the creation of the world, and the Church is the body of Christ, and Christ is the foundation of our building, and is the city built on the mountain, the question is now asked, who can rest on that mountain?

The answer is that we ourselves will taste the final peace after

death.

All our hope of rest is in the body of Christ, and since we must rest on the mountain, that mountain can only be the body which He took from us. Before He took it, He was already God; in this body, He is still God; and, through it, He transfigures the infirmities of our body (2) into the image of His glorious body, provided, however, that, on our part, we crucify on His cross the vices of our body, in order to rise again in His own body. For it is to this body that we shall ascend, after having dwelt in the Church [militant during life], and in it we shall rest in the greatness of God.

This passage requires explanation. Here, clearly expressed by Dom Constant in the study which he put in preface to his edition of Saint Hilaire (3), is the idea which the saint would propose. The glorification of the chosen ones would take place in two stages. First, until the Last Judgment, the souls separated from their bodies would be united to the body of Christ, who has already risen. This would be what the saint calls the reign of Christ. Secondly,

(1) *In Ps.* xiv, 5, 7, P.L., ix, 302, C.V., xxii, 87. Cf. the end of the same *Tractatus* and *In Ps.* cxxii, 3; cxxiv, 5, P.L., ix, 669, 682; C.V., xxn, 582, 599;

(2) This text (*Phil.*, ni, 21) is, among those which treat of the mystical body, one of the most quoted by Saint Hilary. In the same way, *Eph.* ni, 6: "The nations are concorporeal and co-participants in the promise in Christ," has

(3) No. xcvi, P.L., ix, 95, ff.

After the resurrection, the souls, reunited at last with their own bodies, would directly enjoy celestial happiness, and this would be the reign of God.

To what extent these ideas express a deep conviction in St Hilary is difficult to say: neither his work, nor the whole of the tradition, give sufficient context to them. Perhaps they are only a way of - representing and expressing things that seems convenient to him. In any case, they show, by the way, the outstanding place reserved for the individual humanity of the Saviour by this Hilary who, it is said, lost sight of it.

For us, we need not push our examination any further: the doctrine of the mystical body in our saint is independent of these eschatological views; our incorporation into Christ, according to him, exists during this earthly life, as real, if not as manifest, as after death.

Having become a man of the Virgin, he took on the "reality" of the flesh. Thus the whole human race is united in him and sanctified in him. All are established and restored in him by what he wished to take of the corporeal; and, reciprocally, he is established in all by what he has of the invisible.

It was not he who needed to become man, he who created man. It was we who needed God to become flesh and dwell in us, that is, to take on individual flesh and dwell in us.

(1) *De Trinitate*, 11, 24, P.L., x, 66: "It was for the sake of the human race that the Son of God was born of the Virgin and by the operation of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, who is God, covered the beginnings of His bodily life with His power as with a shadow, and presided over the formation of His flesh." And Hilary continues at once: *ut homo, factus ex virgine, naturam in se carnis acciperet, perque hujus admixtionis societatem, sanctificatum in eo universi generis humani corpus existeret: ut, quemadmodum omnes in se per id quod corporeum se esse voluit conderentur, ita rursum in omnes ipse per id quod est ejus invisibile referretur*, - Also, says the saint elsewhere, *In Ps.* xm, 4, P.L., ix, 297, C.V., xxii, 81, "may we be found in that body which He Himself took from us, in which we were chosen by the Father before the constitution of the world (*Eph.*, 1, 4)... for, through the assumption of our flesh, all our salvation is in God." _

within all flesh. His abasement is our nobility, his ignominy is our glory: since he is God in the flesh, we, being flesh, are renewed in the divinity.

We are thus "assumed" into him, as our saint likes to say; "the mystery", the sacrament, consists in our "assumption" into Christ. Thus he expresses himself several times in a long passage on the incarnation which opens the ninth book of the treatise *De Trinitate*. We will give some extracts from it. It will be noted with what surety of doctrine the saint, as we have seen him do with Saint Athanasius, condemns in advance the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. It will be noted again how, still in the manner of Athanasius, he makes little distinction between what is true of Christ and what is true of Christians. The essential thing, for him also, is the continuity which links the head to the members, which makes the greatness of the head pass into the members, and which, through the singular union which the Word takes with the humanity of the Saviour, brings about the collective divinization of humanity.

Here, first of all, are a few words of introduction - beware of Nestorius and Eutyches! notes the editor, Dom Coustant (2):

Let us therefore warn all the faithful of our common faith, so that his confession, which gives us the eternity of life, may also give us the - understanding of eternity.

He who does not know that Christ Jesus is as true God as He is true man, ignores his own life altogether. There is as much danger in not seeing in Christ, either the spiritual element that makes Him God, or the flesh of our body.

"The flesh of our body", the formula is well chosen for

(2) *De Trinitate*, 11, 25, P.L., x, 67 (true repetition, a few lines apart, of the preceding passage): *Non ille eguit homo effici,,, sed nos eguimus ut Deus caro fieret, et habitaret in nobis, id est, assumptione carnis unius, interna universae carnis incoleret...* Important passage, which shows well that Hilary does not imagine a hypostatic union of the Word with the whole of human nature, but with the flesh of Christ alone, - and that it is through the intermediary of the latter, that a real, but mystical union with the whole of humanity is produced.

(3) *De Trinitate*, ix, 3, P.L., 282.

to show the relationship of the Incarnation with the human race. As the author says a little further on:

This mystery was made, not for God, but for us. He gains nothing by our

"assumption" [*that is*, by taking us into himself]; but his voluntary abasements become our exaltation: he loses nothing of what God is, and man acquires to become God.

"Man acquires to become God," says Hilary. And of which man is he speaking? Of the historical humanity of Jesus or of the whole mystical body? He does not specify, but immediately, insisting on the communion which unites us to the Saviour, he continues:

God, the only-begotten Son, he declares, was born, man, of the Virgin, in order to give in himself, to man, the dignity of God (1).

God is thus born, he declares a little further on, so that we may be taken up into God [*lit.*, for our "assumption"], he suffers to restore our innocence, and finally, he dies to expiate our crimes. Thus, each one's humanity remains in God and the infirmities of our weakness are united to God (2).

The idea, obviously, is that the union with the Word which dwells in Christ in fullness flows, as it were, into us by participation. Hilary himself explains this at once, commenting on some verses of St. Paul to the Colossians (11:9-11): "In him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and you are filled in him, who is the head of all principle and power."

St. Hilary declares that the Apostle, after having stated

(1) *De Trinitate*, ix, 4, P.L., x, 284.

(2) *Ibid*, 7, P.L., x, 286. *Nascitur itaque Deus assumptioni nostrae, patitur vero innocentiae, postremo moritur ultioni : dum et homo noster in Deo permanet, et infirmitatum nostrarum passiones Deo sociae sunt, et spirituales nequitiae ac malitiae potestates triumpho carnis, Deo per carnem moriente, subduntur.* Cfr *In Ps.* LI, 3; LXVIII, 16, P.L., ix, 310, 480, C.V., xxn, 98, 327 - *De Trinitate*, vni, 32: Christ is *corpus omnium*; vin, 50: *nobis corpus est*, P.L., x, 260, 273. These expressions bring to mind Tertullian (cfr. vol. π, p. 13, η. 3)-the fullness of the Godhead dwelling bodily in Christ, continues at once in speaking of the mystery of our "assumption." He says, "You are filled in him." For as the fullness of the Godhead is found in him, so we are filled in him. And indeed, he does not say simply, "You are filled," but "You are filled in him," because all of us, regenerated as we are or will be by the hope of faith to eternal life, now dwell in the body of Christ. Later we shall be filled, not in Him, but in ourselves, on the day of which the Apostle says that God will

then transfigure the body of our humility, making it like the body of His glory (*Phil.*, ii, 21) (1).

This, Hilary concludes after a few lines, is the mystery of his "nature" [of what he really is] and of our "assumption" (always the same continuity): the fullness of the divinity dwelling in him, we, in him, by his human birth, are filled (2).

Our resurrection (3) will manifest our exaltation. We

(1) *De Trinitate*, ix, 8, P.L., x, 287. Here is the Latin of these last words, and the continuation: *Neque sane ait, repleti estis, sed in eo estis repleti: quia per fidei spem in vitam aeternam regenerati et regenerandi omnes nunc in Christi corpore manent; replendis postea ipsis, non jam in eo, sed in ipsis, secundum tempus illud de quo Apostolus ait ; Qui transfigurabit corpus infirmitatis nostrae conforme corpori gloriae suae (Phil., in, 21). Nunc igitur, in eo repleti sumus, id est, per assumptionem carnis ejus, in quo divinitatis plenitudo corporaliter inhabitat.*

(2) *Ibid*, 9, P.L., x, 288.

(3) *Ibid*. St. Hilary speaks often enough of our resurrection in Christ. "All redeemed flesh is in Christ to rise again." *In Ps.* LV, 7, P.L., ix, 360, C.V., xxii, 166: "We are in Christ, contemplating our own resurrection in the resurrection of our body which is in him (*in resurrectione nostri in eo corporis*)." *In Ps.* cxxiv, 4, P.L., ix, 681, C.V., xxii, 599. The body we have in Christ is our mystical presence in Him (cf. *Ibid.*, 3). "Those who are in Christ will rise according to Christ, in whom the resurrection of all flesh is already consummated." *Tractatus mysteriorum*, No. 5, C.V., LXV, p. 7. St. Hilary expounds the same idea in one of the few hymns we still possess from him (C.V., LXV, 213-214). He says to death:

*Non est caducum corpus istud quod tenes,
Nullumque in illo jus habet corruptio. Omnis
te vincit carnis nostrae infirmitas;*

Natura carnis (scii., omnis carnis nostrae, note) est connata cum Deo. Per hanc in altos, scandam laeta cum meo

Caelos reswgens. glorioso■. corpore

That Christ took on the "nature" of all flesh, and thus, having become the true vine, contains in Himself the whole race of branches, making us sons of God, as He became a son of man; - that everyone can enter the body of God and his kingdom; - that everyone has been introduced into it by the incarnation, since the Word, in becoming flesh, took into himself "the nature" of the whole human race.

*
* *

In this mystical body, the physical body of the Savior not only has, as we see, an eminent place, it also has

Quantis fidelis spebus Christum credidi.

In se qui natus me per carnem suscipit.

(1) *De Trinitate*, ix, 13, P.L., x, 292 (he explains what St Paul says, *Rom.*, vi, 10, 11): *Mortem peccato, id est, corpori nostro adscribens, vitam autem Deo cui est naturale quod vivit, et per id nos corpori nostro mori oportere, ut Deo vivamus in Christo Jesu, qui peccati nostri corpus assumens, totus jam Deo vivit, naturae nostrae societate in communionem divinae immortalitatis unita.*

(2) *In Ps. LI*, 16, P.L., ix, 317, C.V., xxn, 108. St. Hilary describes the fate of the righteous and the ungodly after death. The ungodly, he says, will be torn from the true home, "that is, from the holy and venerable body and temple of God, born of the Virgin. In this body the faithful will dwell, united to the flesh of the Lord (*tamquam consors dominicae carnis*). The ungodly, on the other hand, will be excluded and will not be able to unite with this body in which they have not believed, as unworthy of such a dwelling. This is what the Lord meant, when He said, "I am the vine." (*Joh.*, xv, 1). Those, then, who by faith in the incarnate God shall merit to dwell in the "nature" of the body assumed by God, these shall be pruned, that they may produce eternal fruit. For it is necessary that the branches remain in the vine and keep the nature of the vine." Next comes the passage quoted in the text.

(3) *In Ps. LI*, 17, P.L., ix, 318, C.V., xxn, 109. *Qui enim non manebit in Christo, regni Christi incola non erit. Non erit autem, non quod sibi non patuerit incolatus (universis enim patet, ut consortes sint corporis Dei atque regni; quia Verbum caro factum est et habitavit [C.V.: inhabitavit] in nobis; naturam scilicet in se totius humani generis assumens): sed unusquisque pro merito, [C.V.: addit se] et evellendum se [C.V.: delet ss] de Tabernaculo, et eradicandum de terra viventium praebet; non prohibitus unquam inesse, quia per naturae assumptionem sit receptus, sed eradicatur ob infidelitatis crimen, naturae consortio indignus existens.*

a necessary function. It is through the individual humanity of Christ that humanity in general is united in God. And this not only in the future life, but from this life onwards and always.

Saint Hilary explains this point in the most remarkable of his developments concerning the mystical body. It is the prayer of Christ reported by Saint John: "May they be one, Father, as we are one." We have already said in speaking of St. Athanasius what noise the Arians made about these verses, and what importance the commentaries which the Fathers have given on them possess for the doctrine of the mystical body.

The commentary of Saint Hilary is more complete than that of Athanasius. He adds to it a series of features which we will find, very similar, in Cyril of Alexandria. Both of them make mention of the Eucharist in their commentaries; both of them show that the sacramental body communicates to us unity in God and in Christ;

both of them say and repeat that this unity which Christ effects is real: *unitas naturalis*, declares the one, ἑνώσις φυσική, insists the other.

The commentary of St. Hilary is found at the beginning of the eighth book of *De Trinitate*. The author begins by making an energetic attack on the proselytism of the heretics, who are more eager to spread error than Catholics are to defend the truth. As an example of their impiety and astuteness, he gives their way of interpreting the verses we are dealing with. They want to see, he says, in the unity of the Father and the Son, only a unity of concord and not a unity of substance. And for all reason they allege that the unity which unites us to one another, and to which Christ compares his unity with the Father, is only such a unity, a unity of charity. Scripture itself, they assure us, suggests this exegesis, making it clear that the unity of Christians is "to be of one heart and one soul" (*Acts* iv. 32).

In truth," replied Hilaire, not without verve, "one loses one's reason

when we lose God, and, since Christ is wisdom, we must leave wisdom when we depart from Christ (i).

The idea of a simple moral unity, both between the faithful and between the divine persons, seems to him frankly absurd. The faithful, the Arians object, are one, because they have only one heart and one soul. But precisely, our saint continues, this unity of sentiments comes from the unity of faith, and the unity of faith is a "natural" unity, as he says, real, we would translate. It is made up, in fact, "of this new and unique life which is given to us at baptism, of this eternal reality deposited in all by grace". Only this profound unity of life can produce unanimity of hearts and souls. "Let no one, therefore, speak any longer of a mere union of concord in those who are one in the reality (*natura*) of the same regeneration (2)."

We do not invent anything, he explains, we do not divert words from their meaning in order to deceive our listeners with lying fictions...; the Apostle himself teaches that this unity of the faithful comes from the "nature" of the sacraments. All of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ," he writes to the Galatians (n, 27, 28). There is no longer a Jew or a Greek... You are all one in Christ Jesus." Does this unity, made up of such diversity of nations, conditions, and sexes, relate to the concord of wills or to the unity of the sacrament, to that baptism which is the same for all and which clothes us all with one Christ? What does a simple unanimity have to do with it, when we are one, because we have all put on one Christ, in the "reality" of one baptism?

Here is the reason with which the heretics thought to equip their exegesis, retorted against them. Hilary now comes to the text itself: "Let them be one, as we are one. It is necessary, he says, to hear nothing of it, to interpret it as the heretics do.

(1) *De Trinitate*, viii, 6, P.L., x, 241.

(2) *Ibid*, 7, P.L., x, 241.

(3) *Ibid*, 8, P.L., x, 242.

What do you mean by unanimity, unity of soul and heart, obtained by the agreement of wills? If the Lord had only thought of making us one in this way, he should have prayed in all propriety of terms as follows: "Father, as

we desire the same thing, so let them also desire the same thing, so that by concord we may all be one."

Will you perhaps say that he who is the word does not know the meaning of words? and that he who is the truth did not know how to speak in truth? and that wisdom spoke vain words? and that strength was so weak that it could not express what it wanted? No, no, He spoke the mysteries of the Gospel in true and exact words. He was not only addressing our understanding, but our faith, when he said, "That they may all be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us." (*J oh.*, xvn, 21). First, it is the request made for them, "That they may all be one." Secondly, He shows the term of this unity in the example of [divine] unity, saying, "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, may they also be in us." As the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, so, and in the manner of this unity, all must be one in the Father and the Son (1).

The saint goes on to show that this unity is so little more than a simple concordance, that it is a sign of Christ's divinity, a grace received from God and not the mere fact of our good dispositions. It is that glory which Christ received from the Father and which he extends to us; it is the communication to men of his divinity. Bold words, certainly, Hilaire admits, but worthy of faith; it is foolish to hope for it, but not to believe in it would be blasphemy: all believers are "assumed, by the greatness of the Son, to imitate the greatness of the Father (2).

But this divinization, says our saint, we have already spoken of it (and we ourselves, since we have also treated of it in another place, will not return to it here). What we must examine now, Hilary continues, is the means by which it is communicated to us (3). This means is

(1) *De Trinitate*, vin, n, P.L., x, 243.

(2) *Ibid*, 12, P.L., x, 245.

(3) *Ibid*.

The Eucharist, he explains in magnificent pages, which must be quoted widely:

I ask them now," he writes, "the inventors of the union of wills between the Father and the Son; I ask them if it is by the concordance of wills, or by the truth of his 'nature' that Christ, today, is in us? The answer to this is that the Word was truly made flesh, and that we, in the Lord's Supper, truly take on the flesh of the Word. How then can we not say that he really (*naturaliter*) dwells in us, since in becoming man he took into himself for ever the reality (*naturam*) of our flesh, and then he gives us both the "reality" of his flesh and the "reality" of his divinity in the sacrament of his flesh to eat? This is how we are all one: the Father is in Christ and Christ is in us. Now if anyone wants to deny that Christ is "really" in the Father, let him first deny that he himself is "really" in Christ or that Christ is "really" in him, for what makes us one in the Father and in the Son is that the Father is in Christ and Christ is in us. Since, then, Christ took the flesh of our body and is truly the man born of Mary, and since we, under the sacred species, truly take the flesh of his body (and thus become one, the Father being in him and he in us), what is there to speak of a unity of will, when the "realism" of his presence in us through the Eucharist and of our assumption of him through the Incarnation testifies to the extent to which the unity with the Father is perfect?

(i) *De Trinitate*, vin, 13, P.L., x, 246. The translation of this passage is, in places, difficult. Here is the text: *Eos nunc, qui inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis ingerunt unitatem, interrogo utrumne per naturae veritatem hodie Christus in nobis sit, an per concordiam voluntatis? Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et vere nos Verbum carnem cibo dominico sumimus; quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostrae jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suae ad naturam aeternitatis sub sacramento communicandae carnis admiscuit. Ita enim omnes unum sumus, quia et in Christo Pater est, et Christus in nobis est. Quisquis ergo naturaliter Patrem in Christo negabit, neget prius non* (double negation reinforcing itself: Greek construction?) *naturaliter vel se in Christo, vel Christum sibi inesse, quia in Christo Pater, et Christus in nobis, unum in his nos esse faciunt. Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit et vere homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, Christus est, nosque vere sub mysterio carnis corporis sui sumimus (et per hoc unum erimus quia Pater in eo est, et ille in nobis), quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietates, perfectae sacramentum sit unitatis? Cfr De Trinitate, ni, 24, P.L., x, 66. On the same role of the Eucharist, one can find a very brief indication*

Mystical body, 1.1. - 31

Christ is thus united to Christians in two ways: he has taken them all into himself through the incarnation, and he comes into them all

through the Eucharist. These two mystical interiorities are not, - moreover, on the same line. The first, that which comes from the incarnation, is the indispensable principle of the second; and the second merely applies to men and thus fully realizes the first. It is by coming into us through the Eucharist that Christ gives us the ability to live the divine life which, through the incarnation, he came to bring here below for every man. Let us listen to our saint continue to explain these splendors of Eucharistic theology. It is impossible to imagine a closer union, he explains.

How much we are in him through the communion of his body and blood, Christ himself proclaims, saying, "This world shall see me no more. But ye shall see me, because I live and ye live; because I am in the Father, and ye in me, and I in you." (*Joh.*, xiv, 19, 20). If it were only a unity of will, why indicate in this way the stages by which the unity will arrive at its perfection? But no: what he means is that he is in the Father by the < reality " of the Godhead, and we in him by his bodily birth, and he in us by the mystery of the Eucharist. Such is the perfect unity which the Mediator gives: he holds us in him, while abiding, he, in the Father, and while abiding in the Father, he abides in us. In this way, we acquire unity with the Father, for he is "truly" in the Father, and we are "truly" in him, and he is "truly" in us (2).

in *In Ps.* cxxi, 5, P.L., ix, 662, C.V., xxn, 573. Here the saint gives a sort of definition of the mystical body. "The Church is a body," he says, "not that it is made up of confused and mingled bodies, nor that its unity is that of a heap and heap, but we are one by the unity of faith, by the concord of will and action, by the unity of the sacrament which is given to all."

(1) Let us quote again this passage, *DR Trinitate*, vin, 15, P.L., x, 247: "Christ himself said it," he explains... By receiving them [the holy species], by eating them, we are in Christ and Christ is in us. Is this not the truth? Who can deny it, except those who deny the divinity of Christ? Therefore, he is in us through his flesh, and we are in him; and with him, that which we are, is in God."

(2) *De Trinitate*, vin, 15, P.L., x, 247-248. Here is the text of this important

How "natural" [real] this unity is in us, Christ Himself declares in these words, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him." (*Joh.*, vi, 57). No one will be in Christ except those in whom He has been, and He will take [assume] into Himself the flesh of no one except those who have taken His own. The mysterious formula of this perfect unity He teaches by saying, "As my Father, who liveth, hath sent me, and as I live of my Father, so he that eateth my flesh shall live also of me." (*Ibid.*, vi, 58). He lives, then, of the Father, and the way He lives of the Father is the way we live of Him... If, then, we men live "naturally" by him, that is, by the possession in us of the "reality" of his flesh, could it be that he, in his divinity, does not "naturally" have the Father in him, since he lives of the Father (1).

And the saint closes the exegetical discussion by recalling the occasion.

passage: *Quam autem in eo per sacramentum communicatae carnis et sanguinis simus, ipse testatur dicens* : " Et hic mundus me jam non videt... " (*Joh.*, xiv, 19). *Si voluntatis tantum unitatem intelligi vellet, cur gradum quemdam atque ordinem consummandae unitatis exposuit, nisi ut cum ille in Patre per naturam divinitatis esset ; nos contra in eo per corporalem ejus nativitatem, et ille rursum in nobis per sacramentorum inesse mysterium crederetur : ac sic perfecta per mediatorem unitas doceretur, cum nobis in se manentibus ipse maneret in Patre, et in Patre manens, maneret in nobis, et ita ad unitatem Patris proficeremus, cum qui in eo naturaliter secundum nativitatem inest, nos quoque in eo naturaliter inessemus, ipso in nobis naturaliter permanente*. - On Christ the mediator, see *Ibid.* ix, 3, P.L. x, 283 (a beautiful Christological formula): "The Word made flesh is constituted in his substance (*in se*) as mediator for the salvation of the Church. He fulfills this sacred function of mediator between God and men, because he is both, while being one (*utrumque unus existens*). For the two natures being united in him, he is one and the same, of two natures (*naturae utriusque res eadem est*)."

(1) *De Trinitate*, vin, 16, P.L., x, 248. Here is the beginning of this passage, the rest is easy. *Quam autem naturalis in nobis haec unitas sit, ipse ita testatus est*: Qui edit carnem meam, etc. (*Joh.*, vi, 57). *Non enim quis in eo erit, nisi in quo ipse fuerit; ejus tantum in se assumptam habens carnem, qui suam sumpserit*. - These passages of St. Hilary have often been quoted, e.g. by SILVESTRE II, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, vil, P.L., cxxxix, 184; by DURAND DE TROAR, *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, iv, P.L., cxlix, 1383; by GUITMOND, *De corporis et sanguinis Domini veritate*, ni, P.L., cxlix, 1476, etc. They are part of the common heritage of tradition, it may be said,

We have recalled all this, he declares, because of the lies of the heretics, who, in order to prove that there is only a unity of will between the Son and the Father, allege the analogy of our own unity with God, as if we were united to the Son, and through the Son to the Father, only by our obedience and our willingness to serve, but without that 'natural' communion which

the sacrament of the flesh and blood gives us in truth. Whereas, on the contrary, the glory of the Son which is given to us, and the dwelling of the Son in us through his flesh, and the inseparable union which we have in him through the body, all this shows that the mystery of a true and "natural" unity must be affirmed and held high.

Here then, summarized by Hilary himself, is his doctrine of the mystical body. We shall now present it in its entirety: it is possible to identify its characteristics.

His dominant feature, it may be said, is realism. For him, it is true to the letter that all the faithful are one, truly one, in Christ, and that in him they receive a new and divine life, the life which the incarnation has brought to fullness in the humanity of the Saviour.

It is this realism that inspires so many strong expressions. Christ contains in himself the whole "reality (*natura*) of our race", and "we ourselves are all contained in Christ". It is this realism also which leads him to compare our unity in Christ with the consubstantial unity of the divine persons, and to consider as equally real the mystical presence of the Saviour in souls and his sacramental presence in the Eucharist.

As for the content, the doctrine he proposes is essentially, like that of Saint Athanasius, a doctrine of divinization. Only, more strongly than in Athanasius, it tends to become, in addition, a doctrine of the incarnation. But it does not yet achieve this.

According to Hilary, our union with Christ and with each other is

(i) *De Trinitate*, vii, 17, P.L., x, 249. is closely linked to the union of the Son with the Father: we are all taken, all assumed, all divinized in the body taken by the Word.

And this assumption, the saint indicates the means: it is done through the Eucharist, through the union of our souls with the flesh of Christ.

Thus he inculcates, but more strongly, what Athanasius said very clearly: that it is not directly in the divinity, but in the humanity of Christ that we are incorporated.

But this greatness, the humanity of the Savior, is derived from his divinity. Christ divinizes us as men, because he is God. It is therefore

the Incarnation that explains our divinization.

The unique and transcendent Incarnation thus has as its - consequence a kind of collective and mystical incarnation. And the latter is so little opposed to the former that it is only its irradiation. Such is the true doctrine of Hilary on the point where he is accused: he does not deny the one Man-God; on the contrary, he does not cease to confess him, and the few passages which, isolated from the context, could suggest something else, bear the same testimony when they are placed in the whole of his teaching. They have all been included in this chapter: the reader will be able to judge their significance.

But how does the union with the divinity make this humanity capable of containing us all mystically; from where does this universal and secret extension come to the Incarnation, the Bishop of Poitiers does not say. He only suspects it, one would say, and his doctrine stops there, hesitant, in uncertain indications.

He sees clearly in which direction the research must go, and that everything is explained by a certain exaltation, a "*melio-*

(i) *De Trinitate*, ix, io, P.L., x, 288. *Consummatur deinde omne assumpti hominis sacramentum!*" and he quotes St. Paul {*Coi.*, 11, 13} ♦ "Ye were dead, and were quickened in Christ."

ratio", produced by the hypostatic union in the humanity of the Word. But he no longer risks anything but hazardous advances. Imagination substituting for doctrine - it seems that one can speak in this way - he seeks to represent the excellence of the Saviour. He then imagines the humanity of Christ as being of a superior essence, formed of heavenly matter, because of his virgin birth and the part played by God, by the Son himself, as he explains, in his conception. In his opinion, it was, by nature, independent of natural laws, and offered no scope for fatigue, pain, or death. Walking on water, healing the sick by simple contact, were, for her, not extraordinary effects, but her normal mode of action. If she suffered and if she ceased to live, it was exclusively because she wanted to.

These privileges of Christ, we must add, Hilary does not relate them to his doctrine of the mystical body. The latter gains by not

being burdened with a doubtful element.

For it must be admitted that they bear an unfortunate resemblance to Docetism. Such a superhuman humanity is no longer entirely consubstantial with us; one would fear, at times, to find in it only the appearance of a body. This fear is certainly vain. Our saint says too clearly and in too many places that the Saviour is perfectly human for any hesitation to remain. But it is no less true that on this point, which is nevertheless essential, his doctrine remains incomplete. The Spirit who assists the tradition has not yet found the adequate formulas.

Thus, the truth of our incorporation into Christ is too closely linked to the Christological dogma for it to reach its definitive expression before the time when this Christological dogma must be most carefully meditated upon. This period, precisely, is the one which follows the anti-Arian struggles, in which St. Hilary is so involved. It will therefore be necessary to wait until the fifth century to find a fairly complete systematic exposition of our incorporation into Christ.

It is with a long and patient hand that God leads the tradition. He, in one fell swoop, after having prepared us for a long time for the rest, has given us all the truth, by giving us his Son. But when it comes to making people understand the full splendour of his message, he cannot go so quickly, unless he does without us, or does violence to us, which his goodness refuses to do. For men to realize all the light they have received by receiving him who is the light, for them to express to themselves all the meaning of the words they have received by receiving the Word, they need time, and a lot of time, even when God assists them.

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CHAPTER VI

ST GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS AND ST GREGORY OF NYSSA. PERSONAL ASPECT OF INCORPORATION INTO CHRIST; SOTERIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT AND APOLLINARIANISM; EXEGESIS THROUGH THE MYSTICAL BODY

The Cappadocians. Saint Basil has nothing to note.

SAINT GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. His theology and the interior life. HIS DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL BODY AND THE INNER LIFE. "A mystery in us"; "my" Christ; Christ is united to us in everything; verbs in *συν*. Contemporary aspect of the events of his life; it applies to our whole existence. Christian feasts are still his gestures. He "makes me" God, by "carrying me" all in him.

Apollinarianism. SOTERIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT that Gregory of Nazianzus opposes. "What is not assumed is not cured."

ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA reasons in the same way. Christ has taken the lost sheep back into himself. The soteriological argument is found in Saint Damasus; it is traditional. Its presupposition: the unity of the mystical body.

EXEGESIS BASED ON OUR INCORPORATION INTO CHRIST. "The Son will be subject to the Father" means that we, His members, will be obedient. All the virtues of the members come to them from the head, and remain in them the good of the head. Gregory of Nyssa and the divinization of all humanity in Christ.

If Ton wished to study, immediately after St. Athanasius and St. Hilary, the one of the Fathers in whom their doctrine is continued, it is St. Cyril of Alexandria that we should now deal with. Between them and him, as far as the essential doctrine of the mystical body is concerned, there is no intermediary, as far as we know.

But, as regards secondary points, applications and consequences, several Fathers who came after Hilary and before Cyril are of - considerable importance. We shall devote a few chapters to collecting

their teachings.

The first to be named are the great Cappadocians, Basil and the two Gregorians.

Among them, Basil the Great (1) should be the first to be studied. Unfortunately, the Bishop of Caesarea speaks very little about our incorporation into Christ. In the Christian life as he presents it to the faithful and the monks, he insists more on the ascetic effort necessary to imitate Christ than on the mysterious transformation which makes us members of the Saviour (2).

So, without stopping, let us move on to the school of his friend, Gregory of Nazianzus.

Gregory was about a year older than Basil; he was his fellow student at Caesarea in Palestine and at Athens; then, when Basil, in 372, had consecrated him at Nazianzus as Bishop of

(1) Born around 330 in Caesarea of Cappadocia. In 370 he became bishop of Caesarea, metropolitan of Cappadocia and exarch of Pontus. He died in early 378. His contemporaries had already dubbed him the great one.

(2) Ὁμοῦς χριστιανισμοῦ μίμησις Χριστοῦ, he says in the *Regulae fusius tractatae*, xin, 1, P.G., xxxi, 1028; cfr *Ibid.*, vin, 3, P.G., 480; *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, xv, P.G., xxxn, 128; *Constit.* 1, P.G., xxxi, 1325 (authentic?): every action and every word of Our Lord is a rule of piety and virtue. This imitation confers on us a way of life admirable beyond all expression, *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, xix, P.G., xxxn, 157. It unites us all in one body which is the Church, *In Ps.* xxix, P.G., xxix, 308; *De Spiritu Sancto*, xxvi, P.G., xxxn, 182. This body is so one, that it has only one soul, *De iudicio Dei*, 3, P.G., xxxi, 680. The unity of this body is especially visible in the cenobitic life. *Homilia in illud .’ Attende*, 4 I *Regulae fusius tractatae*, vu, 2; xxxv, 1, P.G., xxxi, 205, 929, 1004. See also *Epistolae* LXX, XCII, CLXIV; CCXLIII, i, P.G., xxxn, 433" 4⁴" 36> 9⁴>^à About separations and schisms in the Church.

Sesima, he became his suffragan. Later, in 380, after the death of Basil, he was promoted to the see of Constantinople; but he soon left it, in the face of aggressive opposition, and died, near Nazianzus where he was born, in 389 or 390.

He was not, like Basil, a director, nor, like Gregory of Nyssa, a bold speculator. A delicate soul, shy one would say, he was, in the group of Cappadocians, the most "interior". Εἰς εαυτόν, he titles several of his little poems and even several of his homilies, and this title expresses well one of the aspects of his temperament: he seeks in Christianity the place which touches the personal life.

Besides, he is not an imprecise sentimentalist. What he thinks, he thinks clearly and says it forcefully. The lapidary clarity of his maxims even struck the ancients: he was given the nickname of Theologian, so much at ease does he seem in divine matters.

Concern for personal life, on the one hand, and intellectual vigor and strength of expression, on the other, are both found in his doctrine of the mystical body.

First of all, concern for personal life. For him, it is not the Christian in general, in the abstract, who is incorporated into Christ, it is each Christian in particular, each Christian, even, in his most personal life, it is himself finally, in his own self.

"What is this new mystery that concerns me?" the saint exclaims one day in the funeral oration of his brother, and this exclamation, which leads to a development on our divinization in Christ, may serve as an introduction to his whole doctrine of the mystical body (1).

The scene takes place in the church in Caesarea. The speaker has just let his memories speak, evoking the image of the deceased and the old family intimacies. But, little by little, his soul vibrates in its own way, and he lets it speak. The speech

(1) Τίτδ καινόν τούτο περί ἐμέ μυστήριον; *Oratio* vi, 23" P.G., *xxxv*, 785; cfr *Oratio laaax*, 13, P.G., *xxxvi*, 34⁸ -

becomes a meditation on the vanity of passing things. And more and more, as the earthly visions fade, the light of eternity shines more brightly. Mourning is slowly transformed into hope, into assurance even, for this eternal life we carry in our mortal bodies. And this contrast constitutes Christians.

What is this new mystery in me? I am small and great, low and high, mortal and immortal. I am one with the world, the other with God; one with the flesh, the other with the spirit.

And all this is in Christ.

I must be buried with Christ, rise with him, inherit heaven with him, become a son of God, become God.

See," he continued, "where the discourse has led us. I would almost thank the misfortune which has suggested these reflections to me, and which has made me more enamoured of the resurrection and of the hereafter.

This is the great mystery for us, this is the incarnate God who became poor for us. He came to raise the flesh, to save his image, to repair man. He came to make us perfectly one in Christ, in Christ who came perfectly and completely into us, to put into us all that he is. There is no longer man or woman, barbarian or Scythian, slave or free man (*Col., n, n*), characteristics of the flesh: there is only the divine image which we all bear within us, according to which we were created, which must be formed and impressed upon us, so strongly that it is sufficient to make us known.

For St Gregory, the supernatural is a mystery within us, an event of interior life. Christ, "my Christ" as he lovingly says (1), is for his soul a perpetual companion. To live is to act with him. "To act with": to express this incessant communion of operation, the saint readily employs the compound verbs in *συν* (with), which

(1) *Oratio xxxvn*, 4, P.G., xxxvi, 285.

the Apostle had forged for the same purpose (i). (i) His phrases, of course, do not have the burning energy of Paul's, but they do shed new light on an ancient truth. We must listen to our saint repeat that the events of Christ's life last forever in us and that Christian feasts are not mere commemorations.

How many feasts for me," he cries, "in each of the mysteries of Christ! The summary of them all is my perfection, my restoration, my return to the innocence of the first Adam...

Celebrate, then, the nativity, which loosened the bonds of your nativity; honour the little Bethlehem, which led you to heaven; adore the manger, through which, deprived of reason as you were, you were nourished by the Word...

Run with the star; with the magi, offer your gifts: gold, frankincense, myrrh, to the king, to God and to the man who died for you. Glorify God with the shepherds; with the angels, sing hymns, and join the choir of the archangels...

Go through all the ages and all the virtues of Christ without fail, as a disciple of Christ. Be purified, be circumcised. Teach in the temple, drive out the sellers, let yourself be stoned, if necessary; you will escape the stones and, like God, you will pass through them: the word cannot be stoned; your silence will be more impressive than the long speeches of others (2).

The author continues the enumeration at length. In this place, as in others, he goes through the whole life of Christ, to show that it is an example of our own. And he ends:

Finally, be "crucified-with" Christ (here are the compounds in *συν*), be "put to death-with" him, be "buried-with" him, that you may "rise-with" him, be "glorified-with" him, and "reign-with" him (3).

(1) Examples of this will soon be found. Like St. Paul, our saint generally uses these words in groups: groups of two: *Oratio* xvi, II, P.G., xxxv, 949. - *Oratio* XLV, 28; XL, 9; xxxvni, 18, P.G., xxxvi, 661, 369, 333. - *Oratio* 1, 3; xiv, 14, P.G., xxxv, 397, 876 - Groups of three: *Oratio* vu, 23; xxxm, 4, P.G., xxxv, 78, and xxxvi, 220.

(2) *Oratio* xxxvni, 16, 17, 18, P.G., xxxvi, 329, 332.

(3) *Ibid*, 18, P.G., xxxvi, 332, 333. - The next day the saint took up the same development: "We ran with the star..." *Oratio* xxxix, 14, P.G., xxxvi, 349.

At his baptism, Christ sinks the whole of the old Adam into the purifying water. When he emerges from the river, he raises up the whole world in himself, and he sees the heavens opened which Adam had closed to himself and his race (i).

The miracles of Christ are still contemporary: they are renewed in our souls: we are the Chananean woman whom he healed and Lazarus whom he raised (2). (2) By receiving the Word in us, we gather in our souls all the healings that he accomplished (3).

The fact that he lived sanctifies our existence:

Behold, He wished to sleep, that He might bless our sleep; He wished to be weary, that He might consecrate our toil; He wished to weep, that He might give merit to our tears (4).

As the prophet Elisha lay down on his back

(1) *Oratio* xxxix, 15, 16, P.G., xxxvi, 352, 353.

(2) *Oratio* XL, 33, P.G., xxxvi, 405 : "Yesterday you were the Canaanite soul bent by sin to the earth; today you have been raised up by the Word. Do not be brought low again, like a branch bent by the evil one: your debasement would be difficult to heal. Yesterday you were weakened by loss of blood, for sin came out of you and bloodied you. Today you are free from your evil and restored to health: you have touched the garment of Christ at the border and your wound has been closed. Keep your purity, lest you relapse, lest you be unable to grasp salvation by touching Christ. For Christ does not like to be taken more than once, though he is a great friend of men. Yesterday you were on your bed, without strength or movement, and you had no man to throw you into the pool when the waters were rough. Today you have found a man, who is God also, who is God and man... a Lazarus come forth." (*Joh.*, xi, 43). You heard this great voice, when you were in the tomb, etc." - Cfr XLV, 24, P.G., xxxvi, 656.

(3) "Receiving in you the whole Word, you will gather into your soul all the healings of Christ, by which each in turn is healed." *Oratio* XL, 34, P.G., xxxvi, 408.

(4) The author has just explained that "Christ leaves Judea to persuade us to leave the letter and take the spirit". He continues, "Now he teaches on the mountains, now he speaks in the public squares, now he crosses the lake in a boat, now he roars the storm," and then: Τάχα καί ύπνον δέχεται, τνα καί ύπνον εύλογη ση, τάχα καί κόπια, ίνα καί τόν τόπον (*pro* κόπον; cfr ed. Mauristes, Paris, 1778, p. 646) άγίαση, τάχα καί δακρύει, τνα τό δάκρυον έπαινετον άπεργάσσηται. *Oratio* χχvι, 2, P.G., χχvι, 284.

on the corpse of the little Sunamite to resurrect him, Christ extends to us all his acts and merits to save us.

He set wood against wood, and his hands against hands: his hands generously open against those that had stretched out greedily, his hands nailed against those that had fallen away dejectedly, his hands embracing the whole earth against those that had caused Adam to be expelled (i).

The Savior's passion is therefore still contemporary. He still suffers

every day, in the sense that his sufferings are always active, and always renewed by sinners.

See, then," the saint cries, "how much the Word is still suffering. Some honor him as God, others despise his humanity.

He always goes deeper and deeper into the life of men. Thus the great Christian feasts are not only commemorations of things past; they are celebrations of a contemporary reality. Christmas, for example, does not simply say that Christ was born

(1) *Oratio* π, 25, P.G., xxxv, 433. See also 1:5, P.G., xxxv, 400. "He took the form of a slave to give us freedom, He came down to exalt us, He was tempted that we might overcome, He was despised that we might glorify, He died that we might be saved, He ascended into heaven that we might be raised from sin." And the saint concludes, "Let us then give all, let us offer all to him who gave himself as the redeemer of our sins. And one can give nothing so good as oneself, if one understands the mystery well." (cfr 399). Same ideas in *V Oratio* xxxvii, 2; XLV, 25, P.G., xxxvi, 284, 400, 657.

(2) *Oratio* xxxvm, 15, P.G., xxxvi, 329: Οἱ αὖ πάσχει καὶ νυν ὁ Λόγος. It., *Oratio* XLV, 27, P.G., xxxvi, 660 and, in much the same terms, XLI, P.G., xxxvi, 436. - To this text may be brought a rather long passage from S. PAULINUS OF NOLE (who died some forty years after St. Gregory of Nazianzus), *Epistola* xxxvm, P.L., LXI, 359. "From the beginning of the ages Christ has suffered in all his own.... It is he who in Abel is killed by his brother, who in Noah is mocked by his son... He is the man who for our sake is put to grief and learns to endure infirmity, for this infirmity without him we have neither strength nor wisdom to bear, 9 once he says that even now his birth continues in us. Even now, declares the saint,

Now the angels rejoice, now the shepherds are dazzled by the lightning, now the star goes from the East to the great and inaccessible light, now the Magi prostrate themselves and offer their gifts.

So again Easter: it is always the resurrection:

Yesterday," says the saint, "I was crucified with Christ, today I am glorified with him; yesterday I died with him, today I am quickened with him; yesterday I was buried with him, today I am raised with him...

Let us become like Christ, since Christ also became like us; let us become gods for his sake, since he became man for our sake (2).

"Let us become gods." Always the doctrine of the mystical Christ is connected with a doctrine of divinization: heavenly leaven (3), the

God-Man transforms our dough into him.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus expresses this divinization, like the rest, in his own way, that is, in relation to the interior life. "He made me God. His work is that I become a son of God, that I become God", we heard him say in the funeral oration of Caesarius (4).

Even now, Christ intercedes as a man for my salvation, for he still has the body he took, so that he might make me God by virtue of his incarnation.

(1) *Oratio* xix, 12, 13, P.G., xxxv, 1057. - It, 1, 2, 3, P.G., xxxv, 397; xxxix, 14, P.G., xxxvi, 349.

(2) Sermon delivered at Nazianzus, on his return from the retreat to which he had fled after his priestly ordination. *Oratio* 1, 4, 5, P.G., xxxv, 397.

(3) *Epistola ad Cledonium*, 1, P.G., xxxvn, 185. - *Oratio* xxx, 14, 21, P.G., xxxvi, 121, 132.

(4) *Oratio* vu, 24, P.G., xxxv, 785, passage already quoted. - Similar phrase with the same ending (καὶ θεὸν αὐτόν) in *Γ'Oratio* xiv, 23" P.G., xxxv, 888: "He has made thee God, a joint heir with Christ, and even, I dare say, God."

(5) *Oratio* xxx, 14" P.G." xxxvi, 121.

He says this to his faithful, for this same divinization will be personal to each one of them. Believe therefore," he says, speaking to the catechumens he is about to baptize, "believe therefore that

Christ is all man and all God, for the sake of the man who was fallen, in order to give you salvation ... by becoming man for you, just as you must become God through him.

The saint says it again, explaining a famous text, which we will find again in Saint Gregory of Nyssa: "The Son will be subject to the Father. Between Christ and Christians, he explains, it is a personal affair and communication: an exchange of humanity and divinity.

In the form of the slave, he descends close to his fellow slaves; close to the slaves, he forms in himself that which was foreign to him.

He takes me and my miseries into himself, to consume in him all that is evil, as fire consumes wax, as the sun absorbs the vapours of the earth, and to make me a partaker of all his goodness by uniting himself to me.

The Incarnation is, therefore, not only an event that gave us Christ and renewed the face of the earth,

(1) *Oratio* XL, 45, P.G., xxxvi, 424. An important passage, in which the saint explains the creed to the catechumens, at the moment when, "having stripped off all impiety, they are to be united to the whole Godhead. (*Ibid.*). - Cfr *Oratio* 1, 5; 11, 12, 73, P.G., xxxv, 397, 432, 481 - *Oratio* xxxin, 15; xxxvm, 7, P.G., xxxvi, 232, 317-

(2) Here is the end of the passage (col. 112): At the end of time God will be all in us "because we shall not be many (πολλά), as we are now through the passions that divide us, we who do not possess God in our souls or who hardly possess Him at all. Then we shall be all transfigured into God (θεοειδεῖς) because we shall possess in ourselves God wholly and God alone. Such is the perfection to which we tend." - Κρασις, συγκρασις, mixture, is a word often used by the Greek Fathers to indicate what is intimate about the union of the two natures in the hypostatic union, and what is intimate also about the union of men with Christ in their incorporation into the Lord.

but also an event of our interior life. It reaches into the depths of ourselves; the Word, by becoming incarnate, "makes me" a god.

Great concern, no doubt, for personal life, testimony of a soul that lives in itself, by faith, with Christ; but also, vigour of thought that knows how to express in brief and condensed formulas treasures of doctrine. "He makes me God; how many feasts for me in each of the events of his life; what a mystery in my interior life!"

This same vigour of thought is found in some texts which we must now consider. They are related to the controversy against Apollinaris. To introduce them, we must first speak briefly of this heretic.

Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea in Syria from 361 to 392, was at first a defender of the orthodox faith. He attacked so fiercely those theologians who exaggerated the dualism in Christ's distinction of natures that he eventually fell into the opposite extreme. In order to explain better how the divine and human natures were one Christ, he declared that the human nature was incomplete. Otherwise, he argued, by adding itself to the divine nature, which is necessarily complete, it would put two complete beings in Christ, which is false. Moreover, he continued, if it were complete, it would introduce into Christ the possibility of sin, which is necessarily in it, but which cannot be in him. Therefore it had to be incomplete. It lacked the *vouç*, that upper part of the soul where the quality of personhood, freedom, and the possibility of sinning reside. Of this *vouç* the Godhead took the place, and by this substitution, as by a breach, it

entered into human nature and united itself perfectly with it. Christ was thus one, totally one, but by mutilation of one of his natures (1).

(1) Apollinaire's works are partly in MIGNE, P.G., xxxm.

Mystical body, 1.1. - 32

Against this heresy Gregory wrote, probably in 382, his two *Letters to Cledonius*. They soon acquired great notoriety, especially the first one, and the Councils of Ephesus and then Chalcedon cited them as decisive documents. Here is how he expressed himself in them:

If anyone places his hope in a man who is devoid of spirit, he himself is devoid of spirit and unworthy of salvation. For that which has not been assumed [by Christ] is not healed; only that is saved which is united to God.

On Apollinaire, see especially H. LIETZMANN, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, Tübingen, 1904 (vols. 2 and 3 still to be published). Cfr DRÆSEKE, *Apollinarios von Laodicea (Texte und Untersuchungen*, vu, 3-4), Leipzig, 1892. - G. VOISIN, *V Apollinarism*, Louvain, 1901. - In spite of his heresy, Apollinaris is one of those who most scrutinized the Christological dogma. He has been accused, wrongly, says C. E. RAVEN, *Apollinarism*, London, 1923, pp. 185 ff, of identifying Christ with the heavenly man in whom all humanity is contained (passages in H. LIETZMANN, *op. cit.* fragments 25, 77ff; 89-91; *De unione*, 10, 11). In reality, it is not in this way that Apollinaire speaks of the mystical body. His theories on this subject are linked to the whole of his doctrine. The humanity of Christ, according to him, is the instrument, inert in itself, that the divinity takes to unite itself to all men (fragment 10, central according to Harnack). Thus assumed by the Word, this humanity is made vivifying, fragment 116: "The flesh vivifies us because of the divinity which is united to it; and that which vivifies is divine. And indeed, the flesh is divine, for it has been united to God. It saves and we are saved by receiving it as food. Cfr also fragments 10, 12, 27, 29, 60, 79, T17, 155, 160 and also 128. *Epistola ad Dionysium*, vin; *Recapitulatio*, xiii, 23 - The flesh and the divinity, being only one nature (*saepe*), only one essence (fragment 117), have also only one operation (fragments 129, 151), an unacceptable formula which was condemned later. We see how it should be corrected, by saying: union of operations. The flesh can thus vivify. The Holy Spirit, too, quickens and sanctifies: he brings through all the sanctified creation the divinity of the Son, *ἁγιαστικῶν της βλης κτίσεως...* τὴν τουτουλου κυριότητα διαπέμπον εις τὴν ἁγιαζομένην κτίσιν. Κατὰ μέρος πίστις, towards the end, P.G., x, 1117, cfr 1120. - The Son, says in the same place Apollinaris, - administers his redemption for the renewal of mankind and the whole world, P.G., x, 1020. See also fragment 128.

(1) P.G., xxxvii, 181: Εἰ τις εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἡλπικεν, ἀνόητος βντως ἐστί, καίουκ ἄξιος βλως σώζεσθαι. Τδ γάρ ἀπόσληπτον, ἀθεράπευτον Ὁ δέηνωταιφ θεφ, τούτο καί σώζεται. Similar passage in S. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:^C Ο γάρ μη προσείληπται οὐδέ σέσωσται, *In J oh.*, vu-vin, P.G., LXXIV, 89.

"What is not assumed is not healed" - "the unassumed is unhealed" one would have to say to convey the full energy of the Greek - the expression is so firm in its brevity that it has become a theological axiom.

The saint, moreover, does not leave it isolated. He returns to the same thought, in the same letter, to refute one of Apollinaris' arguments. The heresiarch claimed that the human nature of Christ could not have a "spirit," a *vous*, because this *vous*, he said, is sinful and condemned.

And our flesh," our saint victoriously resumes, "was it not condemned perhaps? Then either take it away from the Savior because of sin, or grant it a spiritual soul for our salvation. If the least noble part of our being is assumed to be sanctified by the incarnation, will not the most noble part be assumed, to be sanctified by the incarnation (1)? (1) O wise men, if the dross in us has been worked by leaven and has become a new lump, will not the image of God, which is also in us, be worked by leaven, be united with God and made divine by the Godhead?

Impossible assumption:

Because of our guilty flesh, Christ needed flesh; because of our soul, He needed a soul; so, because of our spirit, it was necessary that He also had a spirit. Was it not the spirit, in fact, that sinned in Adam, and even before the body? It was therefore more in need of salvation than the rest. But that which needed salvation was assumed. Therefore, the spirit was assumed (3).

(2) Ἐνανθρώπησις, as opposed τοι σάρκωσις, a few lines above.

(3) *Epistola I ad Cledonium*, P.G., xxxvn, 185.

(4) *Ibid*, 188; cfr. *Oratio* 11, 23, P.G., xxxv, 433 - *Carmen theol.* ix, 40- 45; x, 1-10, P.G., xxxvn, 460, 465. - Christ sanctifies the like by the like. *Epistola I ad Cledonium*, 1, P.G., xxxvn, 184. - To the above, we might add that St. Gregory of Nazianzus compares the Church to a body quite often, but without insisting. (We simplify the references): *Oratio* n, 3; vi, 4; xxi, 7, 32; xxn, 12; xxxii, 10-13. *Epistola* LXI. - It is τὸ κοινὸν σῶμα τῆς Εκκλησίας. *Oratio* vi, 2o and 13" and often. The clearest passage is the following, and still it is not strong. "All together we are one body, and each one is a member of Christ and

This argument is found a few years later in another Cappadocian, of whom we would like to speak now, in Saint Gregory of Nyssa.

Gregory, the future bishop of Nyssa, was born about five years after Saint Basil, in 355. He was raised by his brother to the episcopal dignity in 371, in spite of himself, like Gregory of Nazianzus. He died a few years after Gregory, around 394. Among the Cappadocians, he was the most inclined to speculation and science.

As we have just said, he too opposed Apollinarem. Four years or perhaps more after the Theologian had written his *Letters to Cledonius*, he composed an *Antirrheticus contra Apollinarem*, the most important of the ancient works which have appeared against this heresy, and even, by its abundant quotations, one of the principal sources of our knowledge of Apollinaris' system.

Here is how he expresses Gregory of Nazianzus' argument in turn.

Let no one accuse us," writes the holy author, "of seeing two Christs or two Lords in the Tunic Savior. But God the Son, who is God by nature, lord of the universe, king of creation, principle

of the others. One dominates and governs, the other obeys and is led. The roles differ, commanding and obeying are not the same thing, but the two are one in the one Christ." *Oratio* xxxn, 11, P.G., xxxvi, 185. See also *VOratio* 11, P.G., xxxv, 410. - The saint also states that "we are one, because we truly believe in the unity of God. The Trinity unites those who keep it one." *Oratio* xxia, 3; vi, 13, 21, 4, P.G., xxxv, 1153 and 740, 748, 725. "We, those of the one God (οἱ τοῦ ἑνός), have become one; we, those of the Trinity, have become united and full of concord (συμφυεῖς καὶ ὁμόφυγοι);.. we, those of the gate (Christ is the door of the fold), have all entered in." *Oratio* xxxvi, i, P.G., xxxvi, 265; and vi, 4, P.G., xxxv, 725.-He also insists on the natural unity of the world. *Oratio* vi, 14, 15, P.G., xxxv, 740, and xxvm, P.G., xxxvi, 72.

first of beings and restorer of what is fallen, deigned, in his great goodness, not to reject our fallen nature from his communion. He was pleased to receive it back into life. And He is life. That is why, at the end of the centuries, when our malice had reached its peak, in order that the remedy might be applied to the full extent of the evil, He was willing to mix (i) with the humility of our nature, to take man into Himself and become man. He Himself explains this to His disciples: "I in you," He tells them, "and you in Me" (*Joh.*, xiv, 20). By this mixture man became what he himself was. He

was the Most High, and so man, who was low until then, was exalted. He, indeed, the Most High, no longer needed to be exalted. The Word was already Christ and Lord. Well, he who is assumed becomes one.

Our restoration can only be complete if all that we are is united with God in the Savior:

Who is unaware," the bishop asks, "of the divine mystery, that the author of our salvation has taken back the lost sheep? This sheep is us, we men, who have separated ourselves by sin from the hundred reasonable sheep. The Savior takes the whole sheep on His shoulders, for it was not lost in part only; but, since it had gone astray in its entirety, it is brought back in its entirety. It is not only the skin that the Savior carries (3), neglecting the substance, as Apollinaire wants. The shepherd carries her on his shoulders (*Greek*: in his shoulders), that is to say, in his divinity; by this assumption, she becomes one with him, and, through this, the Lord comes to seek and save what had perished. Having found the one he was looking for, he took her on his shoulders. The sheep did not move on its own

(1) Cfr note, p. 448.

(2) No. 53, P.G., XLV, 1252. Compare No. 15 of the same work (P.G., XLV, 1152): "The Word who was in the beginning, who was with God and was God (*Joh.*, 1, 1), in these last days, himself, became flesh for love of us and entered into communion with the baseness of our nature. Having thus mixed Himself with man, He took into Himself all our nature (τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνακραθεὶς πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν δεξιόμενος) that by this mixture with the Godhead all mankind might, with him, be brought into full view (συναποθεωρηθῇ : it should read, it seems, συναποθεωθῇ: was divinized with him; cfr note 4 in MIGNE) and that the whole mass of our nature was sanctified with the firstfruits. " Cfr No. 17, P.G., XLV, 1157, and *Oratio catechetica*, xxxn, P.G., XLV, 80.

(3) Same expression in *Contra Eunomium*, 11, P.G., XLV, 545. forces that had failed, but it was sustained by the divinity... Having therefore taken upon himself this sheep, the shepherd became one with it. Thus he can speak to his sheep with the voice of the sheep. And how could human weakness understand a divine voice? So He speaks to us as a man, as a sheep, if we may so express ourselves, saying, "My sheep hear My voice. (*Joh.*, x, 27). The shepherd who has taken the sheep upon himself, and through them speaks to us, is therefore both sheep and shepherd: in what is assumed, he is a sheep, in what is assumed, a shepherd (1).

Everything in this passage, content and form, is the very voice of Tradition. The image used by the saint is the scriptural parable of the

lost sheep, already dear to Saint Irenaeus. The thought is nothing other than a replacement of the doctrine, also scriptural and familiar to tradition, of the two Adams (2). St. Ignatius already used it to refute the Gnostics, and St. Irenaeus to develop his theory of recapitulation.

As for the argument itself, we have noted it in almost all the Fathers we have studied. Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus, Athanasius deduce without hesitation, from what we are, what Christ must be.

In the controversy against Apollinaris, as is well thought, the two Gregorians are not alone in using it. Already Saint Athanasius used it (3). Already, and very probably before Gregory of Nazianzus, Pope Saint Damasus (366-384) had recourse to it (4). (4) He says, in fact, in the synodal letter of a council celebrated in Rome, but at a date which we cannot determine with exactitude:

(1) *Contra Apollinarem*, xvi, P.G., XLV, 1153.

(2) See also *Contra Apollinarem*, xxi, P.G., XLV, 1165.

(3) In his letter to Epictetus, the dogmatic importance of which is well known: the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon declared that they received its doctrine with respect (MANSI, *Amplissima collectio conciliorum*, vol. vu, 463), *Epist.* 7, P.G., xxvi, 1061. See also *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, vn, *ibid*, 804.

(4) We quote here St. Damasus - as below, St. Martin and St. Agathon, not to claim that they are related to Eastern theology, but because this is the most logical place to quote them, from the point of view of our study.

If God had assumed only an incomplete humanity, God's gift would be incomplete, and so would our salvation, for the whole man would not be saved (i).

For, the pope continues, the whole man had perished. In particular, the *vovç*, the *sensus*, which Ton wants to deny the Saviour, had sinned more than the rest.

How then can we imagine that it had no need of salvation at the fullness of time, which had sinned before all the rest? But we, who know that we are saved completely and totally, confess, according to the faith of the Catholic Church, that God has assumed the whole man.

This same argument can also be found in Cyril of Alexandria (3). In short, it can be said to constitute a traditional way of thinking in the Church.

Now that we have met him enough times, we can think about what he presupposes.

For it has its presupposition.

In order to be able to conclude, from what the faithful are, to what the Savior is, it is necessary that salvation be a matter of mystical solidarity between them and him; it is necessary that we be able to say: men are saved exclusively insofar as they are taken up in the Savior.

For finally, in any other hypothesis, and in particular, if the role of Christ were only that of a sponsor who accumulates merits for others, would it be strictly necessary that he be of the same nature as we are? An angel, for example, if the Word had assumed it, could, after all, have acquired such immense and applicable merits. The application would have been a little more arbitrary, but that would have added little extrinsicism to the divine plan. God, after all,

(1) *Epistle II*, fragment 11, P.L., xin, 352.

(2) *Ibid*, 353-

(3) Cf. above, p. 450, n. 1 and chap. vni. pp. 490, n. 1; 494. n. 2; 511, n. i, etc. We say further on (vol. n, app. iv, page 403), how Pope St. Leo presents the same argument against the Monophysites. could perfectly well decide that this other creature should be the juridical head of our race; somewhat as Christ is the head of the angels, without yet being of the same nature as them.

No doubt; but these forensic transfers are not what the Fathers want. We have already noted this in connection with the doctrine of divinization in St. Athanasius: the idea which is at the basis of their argument is that of a vital nexus. They reason by considering the supernatural organism as one thing; so one even, that we can know what one of its ends is by studying the other, that we can know what the head is by examining what the members are. But, again, the indispensable presupposition of such an argument is that there is one organism, that is, that the mystical body is a reality.

The statement is certainly implicit; the Fathers do not formulate their presupposition; perhaps they do not even always perceive it clearly, but it does not matter: it only reveals their mentality and the spirit of Christian doctrine.

Of St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whom we have just spoken, we should mention a few other places.

The main one is a whole little treatise of controversy entitled, *On the text, "Then shall the Son himself be subject to him who shall have subjected all things to him (i)."*

Of this text {*I Cor.*^f xv, 28) we have already spoken; we have said how it gave joy to the Arians. They always had it in their mouths, declares, some decades later, Theodoret of Cyr (2). We have also said how Origen already explained it by declaring that this submission of Christ, which is still to come, is the obedience which will be rendered by

(1) The authenticity of the treaty has been questioned (FESSLER-J UNGMANN); but wrongly (BARDENHEWER).

(2) THEODOXET, *In I Cor*^e P.G., LXXXII, 357.
to God the men, members of Christ, when they are fully united to the Savior.

The explanation of Gregory of Nyssa is exactly the same. Only the saint develops it at length, so that his exegesis is, to our knowledge, the most important example of this kind of interpretation.

To begin with, the Bishop of Nyssa points out that the word subjection has several meanings in Scripture, and that the question

is which of these is required by the context. Now, he says, the apostle Paul in this place speaks of the adoption given to us by Christ (i) which makes us all children of God. This indicates sufficiently, in his opinion, that the subjection of which the Apostle speaks is the filial obedience which all of us, in Christ, must render to God (2). (2) He continues: "Nothing is so strongly affirmed by St. Paul as our - incorporation into Christ and the communication of greatness and misery which is consequently established from him to us and from us to him. When, therefore, we are subject to God, we can say that Christ is subject to us: he is in us.

When we are all joined to the one body of Christ by participation, we become one body: his. When all of us are perfected and united to God, then the whole body of Christ will be subject to the living virtue of God.

(1) These passages must be quoted: "The pure and incorruptible divinity of the Son descended into the mortal and corruptible nature of men. Of all the nature of men with which the divinity is mixed, Christ was the first fruits. It was through him that all humanity was linked to the divinity..." P.G., XLIV, 1313; it., 1320. - See also, on our divinization in Christ, *V Oratio catechetica*, 25, 26, 37, P.G., XLV, 68, 69, 97. - *Contra Eunomium*, H and xii, P.G., XLV, 533, 545, 890. - *Contra Apollinarem*, xxi, HIM, P.G., XLV, 1165, 1252. - *Hom. I in Resurr*, P.G., XLVI, 628.

(2) σ When all of us, in imitation of our firstfruits (Christ), have come out of evil, then the whole body of our nature, united with its firstfruits and become one continuous body, will obey only good. The whole body of our nature being thus mingled with the divine and incorruptible nature, the subjection of Christ spoken of will be realized in us; and the subjection thus produced in his body, will be attributed to him who works in us the grace of this subjection; > *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1316. liante [of God]. The submission of this body is called the submission of the Son himself, for he is mingled [united] with his body which is the Church (i).

This is the reasoning in a nutshell. The saint returns to it and develops it: everything is common to us with Christ, he says.

Since he is in all, he receives into himself all those who are united to him through the communion of his body, he makes them all members of his own body, so that the multitude of members is one body. Having thus united us to himself, and having become one with us in all things, he makes all that is ours his own. Now the summary of all our good things is submission to God, who brings harmony to all creation. Then every knee bends in heaven and on earth and in hell, and every tongue confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord.

(Phil., n. 10) By this, all creation becomes one body, all are grafted onto one another, and Christ brings to himself the obedience of this body towards the Father.

The prospects have become immense. It is the universe itself which, in Christ, makes an act of obedience to God. Such a broad view is, let us note in passing, customary to St Gregory. For him, the unity which Christ brings to the faithful encompasses the whole of creation (3). (3) And the obedience which, as a result, the universe and men render to God in Christ, is attributed to Christ, as we ourselves attribute to our soul what concerns only our body. Does not the rich man of the Gospel (*Lk.* xii, 19) say, before his barns full of food: "My soul, eat, drink and be glad"? See," says the saint,

He attributes to his soul the satisfaction of his body. Thus the submission to God of the body which is the Church is related to the one who inhabits this body

The Lord is life: through him, according to the Apostle, his whole body will have access to the Father when he hands over the kingdom to our God and Father,

(1) *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1317.

(2) *Ibid*, P.G., XLIV, 1317-1320.

(3) Cfr *In Ps.* 1, P.G., XLIV, 441 - *Oratio catechetica*, 2\$, P.G., XLV, 65.

His body, as we have often said, is the whole of human nature with which He was mixed. It is in this sense that the Lord is often called by Paul the mediator of God and man. For He who is in the Father and who came into humanity fulfils His function as mediator by uniting in Himself all men and thereby uniting them to the Father. He says so himself in addressing the Father, "As thou art in me, and I in thee, so may they be one in us." (*Joh.*, xvii, 20). These words sufficiently show that by uniting us to Him who is in the Father, He produces by Himself our connection to the Father (1).

Everything good we do comes to us through him, and is his before it is ours. Our good thoughts, our good deeds, it is Christ who works them in us, and it is to him that we must first report them.

Now," the saint continues, taking up an argument which he stated a few pages earlier, and in the same terms, "all good works are but different forms of the same obedience to God. This obedience, this

subjection, like all good works, comes to us from Christ, and it is in him, as in his principle, before being in us. Therefore, Scripture rightly attributes it to Him.

(1) *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1320.

(2) *Ibid*, P.G., XLIV, 1321-1324. Here is the whole reasoning: "Paul says somewhere in his writings, 'I am crucified with Christ. I live, no longer I,' but in me Christ lives." (*Gai.*, 11, 19-20). If Paul, crucified as he is with Christ, no longer lives, but Christ lives in him, what Paul does and says is rightly related to Christ who lives in him. He himself says that his words to him are spoken by Christ: "Do you want to test Christ who speaks" in me?" he asks (*II Cor.*, XIII, 3). The feats he does for the Gospel he does not declare to be his own, but attributes to the grace of Christ which dwells in him (*I Cor.*, xv, 10). If, then, it may be said that Christ, living in Paul, does and says the actions and words of Paul, since Paul, having left his former life of furious blasphemer and persecutor, now seeks only to do well and is all docile and obedient, this obedience which Paul renders to God must relate to Him who lives in him, and who speaks and works good things in him. Now the summary of all good is submission to God. What we have just said about Paul can be applied to the whole race of men. When, as the Lord says, the gospel is preached in all the world (*Mk.*, xvi. 15), then all will lay down the old man with his works and lusts and receive the Lord into themselves. As a result, the Lord will be preached to all the world.

If we are united with God and mixed with God through submission, it must be attributed to him who lives in us (1).

Exegeses of this kind, though less developed, were very common in the period we are speaking of. We find examples in St. Gregory of Nazianzus (2), St. Nil of Sinai (3),

But the greatest good of all is salvation, which is obtained by departing from evil, and one can only depart from evil by uniting oneself with others. Now the greatest good is salvation, which is obtained by departing from evil, and one can only depart from evil by uniting oneself [*literally*: by mixing oneself] with God through submission. This submission must therefore be attributed to the one who lives in us."

(1) *In illud: Tunc ipse Filius subjicietur*, P.G., XLIV, 1324. It is necessary to note this beautiful conception of obedience "which unites us to God". The saint returns to it in closing (*Ibid.*, 1325): ■ It is not a servile baseness; it is royalty, incorruptibility, and beatitude. It is Christ, who in us submits to his Father, who completes in us every perfection, and who gives to himself, in us, the attitude that pleases him."

(2) Especially in the fourth of his famous *Theological Discourses*, *Oratio xxx, 5* and following, P.G., xxxvi, 108, ff. - Before him we should mention EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, BECAUSE he is earlier in date (born about 265, died about 339). Eusebius, as Montfaucon has well seen (preface to his edition of Eusebius, P.G., xxn, 32; xxiv,

85), often makes use of this means of interpretation: "Christ speaks through us," he says, "we are His lips and His tongue." (*In Fs.* xxxiv, P.G., xxm, 316; *it.*, 789, likewise *In Ps.* xv, 21, P.G., xxiii, 156, 203). So that "present throughout the earth, standing in the midst of His own, Christ still confesses the Father through His Church. (*In Ps.* xvii, P.G., xxm, 184). "The vessels and instruments of praise pleasing to God, by which, even now, the Christ of God, through all the earth, raises to God psalms, hymns, canticles, what are they but the peoples of every Church? Better than any psalter, the multitudes of all the earth, with one voice and all together, praise the Lord. And the Son declares that he sings in honor of the Father through these crowds." *In Ps.* LXX, P.G., xxm, 788; cfr. *In Ps.* LXVIII, P.G., xxm, 729, 732 and 1161; *In Ps.* xxi, xvi, P.G., xxm, 203, 164; *In Le.*, P.G., xxiv, 597. The texts he quotes most readily, in relation to the mystical Christ, are: "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me"; and "Christ lives in me" (*Phil.*, iv, 13, and *Gai.*, ii, 20). There is also in his *De ecclesiastica theologia*, m, 18, 19, a beautiful commentary, in the taste of Origen, on the Johannine verse, "That they may be one, as we are." (*Joh.*, xvn, 22). P.G., xxiv, 1041ff.

(3) NIL. had retired to Sinai about 390; he died there about 430. See *Epist.* 1, 79 and 102; π , 289, 297. P.G., LXXIX, 117 and 125, ff, 344, 348. The first passage (P.G., LXXIX, 125-128) reproduces, with a few words, the text of St. Gregory just quoted (P.G., xxxvi, 109). The collection of the letters of the holy ascetic, contains a certain number of extracts, from Chrysos- Didymus of Alexandria (1) and Saint Cyril of Alexandria (2) and elsewhere (3). We shall return to this in the rest of our study.

tome for example. Are these interpolations, or passages transcribed by the saint for his correspondents (BARDENHEWER, vol. iv, pp. 167 ff.). For the text we are looking at, it contains some variants with the passage of St. Gregory; the most probable is that it is a quotation made by St. Nil. From the same saint, one can read the letter 258 of book 11, P.G., LXXIX, 177 (cfr Ps.-NIL, *Peristeria*, P.G., LXXIX, 872). The spiritual doctrine of this saint is summed up in this summary: to model one's self in the image of Christ (BARDENHEWER, vol. iv, p. 169).

(1) Born in 313, died in 398. He was condemned for his origenism at the 3^e Council of Constantinople, in 608. The exegesis of which we speak (see for example his *De Trinitate*, ni, 3, 34, 13, 14, 8, 30, P.G., XXXIX, 828, 961, 849, 949) is rather rare with him: he presents it as a beautiful thought of some (P.G., xxxix, 828, cfr 961). He prefers to interpret a text by bringing it together with a great number of similar texts. It is admirable how much, all blind that he is, he knows the Scripture. Didymus insists on our divinization, but less than Athanasius or Gregory of Nazianzus. For him, the Christian life is above all a gnosis, whose summit is the intimate union with Christ. Cfr G. BARDY, *Didyme l'Aveugle (Études de théologie historique, 1)*, Paris, 1910, pp. 158-160. - J. LEIPOLDT, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandria (Texte u. Unters., xxix, 3)*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 9^e. - A beautiful text on divinization by Christ and the Spirit can be found in his *De Trinitate*, ii, i, P.G., xxxix, 449.

(2) *Dial. de SS. Trinitate*, v, and *Thesaurus*, xxxix, P.G., LXXV, IOGU, 436.

(3) Comment also on this text, and in the same sense, either before or after St. Gregory: Ps.-ATHANASIUS, *De incarnatione et contra arianos*, xx, PG, xxvi, 1020. -

It is the unknown author of the *Adversus Arium et Sabellium*, prior to Gregory of Nyssa, P.G., XLV, 1292. - S. HILARY, *In Ps.* ix, 4, P.L., ix, 293. - PS.-BASIL (EVAGRIUS THE PONTIC), *Epistola* viii, 8, P.G., xxxii, 260 (he justifies his exegesis by the text which St. Augustine will use so much to show that Christ makes our miseries his own: "I am Jesus whom you persecute." *Acts*, ix, 5). - S. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oratio* xxx, 4-6, P.G., xxxvi, 108, ff. - Later still, THEODORET takes up the same explanation: *In I Cor.* P.G., LXXXII, 357-360. - Likewise S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *De fide orthodoxa*, vi, 18, P.G., xciv, 1188. - Among the Westerners we may quote S. JEROME, *Epist.* LXV, 13, P.L., xxii, 631, and *Adversus pelagianos*, i, 18, P.L., xxiii, 512. - S. AMBROSE, *De fide ad Gratianum*, v, 13, P.L., xvi, 681-686. *In Ps.* xxxvi, 16 and LXI, 9, P.L., xiv, 974 and 1170, C.V., LXIV, 82 and 383; *Epist.* xxxv, 8, P.L., xvi, 1079. - S. AUGUSTINE, *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, 69, P.L., XL, 70 (quoted in vol. n, p. 99); *Opus imperf. contra Julianum*, vi, 37, P.L., XLV, 1595- - Later GERHOF DE REICHERSBERG, *Liber contra duas haereses*, iv, P.L., xciv, 1177- - L expli-

With regard to Gregory of Nyssa, it is still necessary to mention, in addition to the exegesis which we have just read (1), a series of passages which insist very strongly on our mystical identification with Christ. Quite similar to the texts already quoted from Saint Methodius and Saint Hilary, they have also attracted the same accusation: our saint is one of the Fathers who, claim the Protestant historians of dogma, would teach rather a collective incarnation than an individual incarnation (2). What the accusation is worth, we shall judge.

The main places in question are to be found in the *Great Catechesis*, a kind of great summary of Christian teaching. In it the saint expresses the idea, already formulated by Athanasius and Origen,(3) that the union of the divinity with humanity in Christ is very well understood when one begins by thinking of the intimate presence of God in all things. God, he says, pours himself and pours himself, as it were, into all that is. This shows well, the saint continues,

cation passed into the *Glosis* (according to Theodoret), then into the Summa of St. Thomas (IIP, qu. xx, art. i, ad 3). The scholastics continued to allege it as traditional, but it never found favour with them. It is still found in moderns, for example in FRANZELIN, *Tractatus de Verbo incarnato*, thesis XLI, Rome, 1896, p. 417. - See a few words in D. PETAU, *Dogmata theologica, De Trinitate*, i. in, cap. ni, no. 15.

(1) He repeats it, but more briefly, and in the same way, in *Contra Eunomium*, n, P.G., XLV, 557. In *V Adversus Apollinarem*, xxv, P.G., XLV, 1176, he gives another explanation.

(2) Cfr BARDENHEWER, t. ni, p. 214. - The claim, often made, according to which,

according to Gregory of Nyssa, Christ assumed humanity conceived as really being the species (HARNACK, HERMANN) cannot be supported", writes G. N. Bonwetsch, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, Munich, 1909, p. 87. N. BONWETSCH, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, Munich, 1909, p. 87, and he quotes K. HOLL, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis z. d. grossen Kappadoziern*, Tübingen, 1904, pp. 222, ff. - LOOFS, (*Realencykl. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, art. *Greg. Nyss.*, t. vu, p. 152) believes rather in a close relationship between the ideas of Gregory and those of Origen and Athanasius. This is very correct, but in the sense that we will explain it.

(3) ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 48, P.G., xi, 1373 (quoted in ch. in, p. 374). S. ATHANASIUS, *De incarnatione Verbi*, xli, P.G., xxv, 168 (quoted in ch. iv, p. 377).

that it can also "mix with what is ours", as it does in Christ, to deliver us from death and destroy our miseries (1). (1) Just as fire, by which Tor is treated, removes all dross by imparting to Tor its own brilliance, so the Incarnation infuses into our whole race the - definitive resurrection and eternal life.

How necessary it was that the resurrection of our whole nature should take place. God reached out to us, as it were, and looked upon the corpse which we had become; He approached death to the point of uniting Himself with mortality. Thus, in His own body, He gave to human nature the principle of resurrection; thus He resurrected in Himself the whole man. For the flesh which He had put on was not of our race alone, and it was that flesh which, by the resurrection, was welded to the Godhead. Then, just as in our body what is felt in one of the senses is felt in the whole organism, so, as if our nature were one living being, the resurrection of one of its members spread over the whole, and, because of the continuity and unity of our nature, it passed from one part to the whole.

The exact meaning of the passage is not difficult to discover. Far from being denied, the transcendent individuality of God-Man is given as the sole principle of our divinization. Only, this universal divinization is put in very close relationship with the divinity of Christ. Saint Gregory, who began by contemplating the divinity in the interior action which it exerts in all things, and by seeing, in this action, a first outline of the Incarnation, conceives

(1) *Ovatio catechetica*, 25, P.G., XLV, 65.

(2) *Ibid.* 26, P.G., XLV, 69.

(3) *Ibid.* 32, P.G., XLV, 80; cfr. 16, P.G., 52; cfr *De hominis opificio*, xvn, P.G., XLIV, 185. - St. Gregory of Nyssa has a few other passages where he speaks, but less strongly, of the mystical Christ. One can read, for example: *In Canticum canticorum horn*, xv, P.G., XLIV, 1116-1117 (on I^e verse *Ut sint unum*); *Oratio catechetica*, 28, 37, P.G., XLV, 74, 96; *Contra Apollinarem*, xxi, xxx, LV, P.G., XLV, 1165, 1189, 1260; *Contra Eunomium*, II, ni, iv, P.G., XLV, 545, 609, 637; *Oratio in bapt. Christi*, P.G., XLVI, 597" *Oratio de mortuis*, P.G., XLVI, 532. - The saint likes to say that Christ is the first fruits of our nature (P.G., XLV, 65., 533, 545" 637, 1152, 1156)- See also *VEpistola* ni, P.G., XLVI, 1020-1021.

The Incarnation as a work which also affects the universe. But Christ, in this universal action, remains as personal as God remains transcendent while being present to everything. However, and it is necessary to note this trait which more closely concerns the theory of

the mystical body, the intimate union which allows Christ to purify us all in himself is presented as analogous to the union that all things have with God.

But one would look further in vain; the alleged denial of an individual incarnation is simply in Gregory, as in the Fathers, the affirmation of the incorporation of all of us into the incarnate Word. Platonic philosophy, in him as in others, may have provided patterns and facilitated conceptual expression. It is not seen to influence the teaching itself. All that he says, all that he wants to say, all that he wants to make understood as well as possible, is the ancient wisdom of God in the mystery, of which Paul already speaks, and which Christ came to bring. In the transmission down the centuries of this ancient good news, the intervention of human philosophy is only an external agent and almost an epiphenomenon (1).

As for knowing what gives the Incarnation this contagious power and this universal virtue of divinization, neither of the two Gregories, as far as we know, explains it (2). (2) Further progress is necessary in order to explain the wealth of doctrine contained in revelation and which Scripture had already formulated, but in a manner that was not yet a system.

(1) On the platonism of the saint, on the unity which the human species possesses independently of the Incarnation, see L. MALEVEZ, S. J., *l'Église dans le Christ. Étude de théologie historique et théorique*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, t. xxv, 1935, PP-2 50 and 418, and R. ARNOU, *Platonisme des Pères*, in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. xn, col. 2347.

(2) Except for the explanation, albeit partial, we must add, which consists in appealing to the unity which human nature possesses in itself. Thus Saint Gregory of Nyssa; cf. L. MALEVEZ, *Ibid*.

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CHAPTER VII

SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, DOCTOR OF THE EUCHARIST AND OF THE ALMONY

St. John Chrysostom. He was trained in the reading of St. Paul. Some developments on the themes of ΓApostle.

THE EUCHARIST. The saint shows in it the ardent love of Christ, and the close union he wants with us. He wants to possess us; He wants to give Himself; He wants to be, not near us, not with us, but in us, one with us. "It is therefore the flesh of us all that He has taken." Universal incarnation in its effects.

ALMSGIVING. The doctrine of the mystical body and its practical applications. We can still receive Christ now, and even better than those who received Him in the past. Contrast between Christ living miserably in the poor, and Christians living in luxury. To care for Christ in his members, before honouring him by adorning his churches. The supplication of Christ in the poor. Almsgiving and the Eucharist; religious and solemn meaning of almsgiving.

Many authors should be named here, St. Cyril of Jerusalem (i), for example, and St. Epiphanius of Salamis (2). (2) But, with regard to the mystical body, they do not have anything noteworthy that should be collected.

We should also study the great exegetes of the school

(1) Born in Jerusalem around 313-315, bishop of Jerusalem in 348-350, died in 386. His ideas are very close to those of the Cappadocians and Alexandrians. In his catecheses, he often speaks of our adoption, but has nothing salient on the mystical Christ.

(2) Born at Eleutheropolis in Judea in 315, bishop of Salamis in 367, died in 413. There are some words on the mystical body in his *Ancoratus*, 65 and 66. P.G., XLiii, 133 and 137.

of Antioch: such as Theodore of Mopsuestis (1) and Theodoret of Cyr (2). In these there are many passages to be noted where they comment on the main texts of the holy books concerning our incorporation into Christ. There, something of the energy and realism of Scripture has passed into their explanations. But these quotations would not

(1) Born in 350, died in 428. Highly esteemed in his lifetime. But later condemned with Nestorius, whose precursor he was, and with Pelagius, whose supporter he was, at the 5th^{me} council, called the Council of the Three Chapters. On the mystical body, one must especially consult his *In Epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, ed. H. B. SWETE, Cambridge, 1880-82, for example, vol. 1, pp. 141-142, 139, 169, 170, 277. In the edition of MIGNE, *De incarnatione*, vin, P.G., LXVI, 980; *In epist. ad Rom.* vu, 4; *In I Cor.* vi, 15; *In Col.* 1, 25; *In Gal.* in, 28, P.G., LXVI, 805, 884, 929, 905. Here, by way of example, is the latter passage: "The principle of the present life is, for all men, Adam, so that, considering our nature, we are all but one man, each being in some sense a member of the race. In the same way, Christ is for us the principle of future life, and all of us, communing through him in his resurrection and in the immortality which followed his resurrection, become, as it were, one man with him, as members each having his place in the whole." To the texts of St. Hilary and St. Cyril, which speak of our whole nature being present in Christ, may be joined the following passage, *In Rom.*, vi, 6, P.G., LXVI, 801: "When Christ was crucified, in some way the whole of human nature, which was subject to death, was crucified with him, and all of it rose with him."

(3) Born about 393, died after 457. He was condemned with Theodore of Mopsuestis for his attachment to Nestorius and his opposition to St. Cyril of Alexandria. "His commentaries would make him the prince of exegetes, if they were not, in short, as he himself says, a compilation of the best that the Antiochian school had produced before him." TIXERONT, *Précis de patrologie*, 2^e edition, Paris, 1918, p. 271. He often bases his exegesis on the principle we spoke of in connection with St. Athanasius, that Christ in Scripture applies to himself what is true only of the faithful, in virtue of the unity of the mystical body. "He is the mouth through which our nature speaks, as the firstfruits of our nature." *In I Cor.* P.G., LXXXII, 360. It is as man that He is the head of all mankind. "Therefore He says of Himself what is true of us (τά ἡμέτερα), and He preforms in Himself what is to happen in us." *In Ps.* xxxix, P.G., LXXX, 1156. On the life of Christ, the type and principle of the Christian life, read, for example, *In Ps.* xxi, P.G., LXXX, 1009. - *In Eph.* 11; *In Col.* ni, P.G., LXXXII, 520, 616, etc. On the formula *in Christo*, see *In I Cor.* 1, P.G., LXXXII, 220. Theodoret himself declares that he is inspired in his commentaries by those of Eusebius of Caesarea.

than to repeat what we have already heard by studying the Bible itself.

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We shall not linger with them. Among the representatives of the school of Antioch, only one will keep us for a while, Saint John Chrysostom. Again, the saint is more a doctor of the Church than a representative of the school of Antioch.

Born at Antioch in 344, ordained a priest in 381, and from that time a famous preacher, he was called to the see of Constantinople in 397. He remained there for ten years, ten years of zeal and work.

The tradition does not waver: John Chrysostom is worthy to follow the Ignatians, the Irenaeus, the Athanasios and the Hilars. They fought for doctrine; he fights for morals. But the struggle is the same: in the service of the same ideal, he has the same daring, he encounters the same hostilities and the same persecutions, he undergoes the same banishments, and he ends up dying as a proscriber, while he is taken to Pityontius, in the Caucasus, in 407.

His main formation, as a theologian as well as a preacher, seems to have come from contact with Scripture much more than from human teachers. St. Paul especially shaped his soul (1). (1) In such a school, he was well placed to learn about our incorporation into Christ.

And, in fact, he was struck by the energy with which the Apostle instills this truth. See, he says, how he always seeks the strongest and most decisive expressions (2); he does not shrink from any formula (3), even if it gives the

(1) To quote Paul is to quote Jesus Christ a second time. *Adv. oppugnatores*, ni, P.G., XLVII, 373.

(2) *In I Cor. horn*, xxx, P.G., LXI, 253. - *In Ps. v*, P.G., LV, 199.

(3) *In I Cor. hom. xviii*, P.G., LXI, 147.

(i) and his constant thought is to show them that between the Saviour and them, all is common (2).

John Chrysostom admired this insistence too much not to have imitated it. Here, for example, is how he makes his own the full force of the Pauline passages (3). "You are all children of God by faith," the Apostle writes to the Galatians (111:26).

Great God!" continues the speaker, "what is the power of faith, and how the Apostle reveals it as he writes! He had already shown that faith makes us the children of Abraham, saying: "Know therefore that those who are of faith are the sons of Abraham. (*Gai.*, in, 7). Now he shows that they are also sons of God. "All of you," he says, "are the sons of God through faith in Christ." (*Gai.*, ni, 26). By faith, not by law. Then, as this is a great and admirable thing, he explains the mode of adoption: "For all of you who were baptized into Christ, you have put on Christ." (*Gai.*, ni, 27). Why does he not say: all of you who were baptized into Christ were born of God? This is what was needed to show that they are sons. Because he wanted to affirm this in a much more striking way. For if Christ is the Son of God, and you have put him on, having Christ in you and being like him, you are one race and one way of being with him.

"There is no longer Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female. You are all one in Christ Jesus. (*Gai.*, in, 28). See what an insatiable soul. He has just said, "Ye have become sons of God by faith." But he does not stop there; he wants to say more, to express more exactly the closeness of our union with Christ. And, whereas he said, "Ye have clothed Him," he is not content with this formula; but he explains it, he inculcates the intimacy of Tunion more strongly. He says, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus." You have now only one form, only one type, that of Christ. Can we

(1) *In Gal. comment*, cap. ni, P.G., LXI, 656.

(2) *In Col. hom.* iv, vi, vin, P.G., LXII, 325, 339, 356; ^{In hom.ni} > P.G., LXII, 26. - *In I Cor. hom.* xvm, P.G., LXI, 147.

(3) *In Gal. comment*, cap. in, P.G., LXI, 656. The homilies on St. Paul were delivered, some at Antioch, others at Constantinople (BARDEN- HEWER).

(4) Here is the text: Ὅτι πολὺ φρικωδέστερον (a frequent word in Chrysostom) αὐτὸ τίθησιν. Ἐλ γάρ ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνδέδυσαι, τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφομοιωθεὶς, εἰς μίαν συγγένειαν καὶ μίαν Ἰδέαν ἤχθῃς.

What could be more stirring words? Those who were only Greeks, Jews, slaves, here they come forward, expressing in them, not the form of an angel or an archangel (i), but that of the Master of all things, and in them they show Christ.

The disciple, as we can see, has assimilated the thought and failure of the master. Only, the tumultuous torrent that is the Pauline epistles has become a river; but a river that preserves in the plain the impetuosity it has acquired on the summits. It has its upheavals and its breakers; it returns in successive waves to the same idea, rising and rising to overcome the obstacle. These developments by gradual resumption, by the way, are one of the characteristics of our saint and of all stirring eloquence.

But we cannot quote the numerous passages where he comments on St. Paul with the same force and the same happiness of expression: it would be a repetition at too great a length of ideas already analyzed in connection with the Apostle's epistles (2).

(1) Our elevation to supernatural Tetat is more often represented by St. John Chrysostom as an angelic life (*In Pentec. hom. n*, P.G., L, 464. - *Epist. II*, P.G., LU, 563. - *In Joh. hom. LXXV*, P.G., LIX, 409, etc.), than as a divinization (*In I oh. hom. x*, P.G., LIX, 75; *In Rom. hom. ix* and *x*, P.G., LX, 470, 480, etc.).

(2) They are found throughout all the commentaries and homilies. Let us note especially, in addition to those which we will have occasion to quote again, the following passages: *In Col. hom. NUI*, P.G., LXII, 353, ff: "You have become, all of you, one Christ, since you are His body." Passed a second time from non-being to being (*In Eph. hom. iv*, P.G., LXII, 34 and 40), we are taken up again in Christ, and here we are brought to heaven (*In I Cor. hom. xviii*, P.G., LXI, 147). "You see," says the saint, "how he brings everything back to Christ. ... Let us venerate him who dwells in us. Let us fear him who has mingled with and adjoined us, συμπεπλεγμένον σοι καί κεκολλημένον." - "Paul does not say, the members, though many, yet belong to one body; but the one body is these many members, and these many members are the one body itself. If now the many are the one, and the one is the many, where are the differences between the members, where the superior, where the inferior? Everything, he says, is one, and not of ordinary unity, but according to an admirable order; everything, inasmuch as it is the body, is one." *In I Cor. hom. xxx*, P.G., LXI, 249. Here St. John Chrysostom develops this magnificent thought, that the very subordination of the members, inasmuch as it is the means of their common membership in the body, is the reason of their equality: all, as members, have the same dignity, that

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In order to take only the most unprecedented developments in our saint, we will limit ourselves to those in which he gives his teaching on the Eucharist and on almsgiving.

On our union with Christ in the Eucharist, the holy bishop has passages, cries, whose vehemence will not be exceeded. Other Fathers have better shown the theological significance of the sacrament of unity: St. Hilary, for example, as we have seen, and also St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Augustine. None has expressed the meaning of communion in such deeply human and moving terms.

We must learn, he says, the wonder of this sacrament, the purpose of its institution and the effects it produces. We become one body, says the Scripture, and members of his flesh and bones (*Eph.*, v, 30). Let the initiates follow me.

He wants us to become his body, not through charity alone, but in reality to be mixed with his own flesh. This is what the food he gives us does, as a proof of his love. He has therefore mingled with us, implanting his body in us, so that we may become one, as a body united to his head. For so do those who love ardently...

This is what Christ did, to introduce a greater friendship between himself and us and to show us his love for us. He did not show Himself only to those who sighed for Him; He gave Himself to be touched, to be eaten, to be crushed in His flesh by our teeth (1), in order to commit Himself deeply to us and thus satisfy every desire (2).

of the body. See also *Ibid. hom. xxxi*, P.G., LXI, 262. Cfr S. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto*, P.G., $\chi\chi\pi$, 181. - The unity of the mystical body is immense and wonderful: a He who is in Rome considers the Indians as his members." *In Joh. hom. LXV*, P.G., LIX, 361. - So much unity is a sign more divine than the miracle. "As God is admired, because in Him there is no division, so Christians will become admirable by being one, and this unity will attract men, for peace attracts more than wonders." *In Joh. hom. LXXXII*, P.G., LIX, 444. On the love which reigns between the members of the mystical Christ, we may also read, *In S. Rom. mart. hom. 1*, P.G., L, 606-607.

(1) These are expressions which theology, which has since advanced, must now explain. Christ, in his Eucharistic state, is impassible; it is not he, but the species, which are broken at communion.

(2) *In Joh. hom. XLVI*, P.G., LIX, 260.

The union with us, Christ, insatiable, wants it as close as possible. We must hear St John Chrysostom show the divine love that surrounds us and overturns all separations.

He not only shed his blood, but he makes us all drink it. If you love blood," he says, "do not go to the altars of the devil, which are covered with the blood of animals, but blood my altar with my own blood. What could be more striking, tell me, what could be more lovable?

This is what those who are in love do. When they see those they love preoccupied with other things and forgetting them, they give of their possessions to divert them from the rest. Those who love give money, clothes, and riches, but never their blood. Christ also showed us his tenderness and his ardent love for us by his blood. In the old covenant, which was less perfect, God reserved the blood for Himself, because it was offered to idols and He wanted to turn away from them. This was already an ineffable love. But here, He institutes a more terrible and more magnificent liturgy: the sacrifice is changed, and, instead of the immolation of animals, it is Himself whom He orders to sacrifice.

"Is not the bread which we break a communion of the body of Christ?" (Z *Cor.*, x, 16). Why does he not say a participation [i.e., the reception of a part]? Because he wished to say more, and to show the narrowness of the union. It is not merely by receiving our part, it is by uniting ourselves to Christ that we commune. For as this body is united to Christ, so we, through this bread, are united.

(i) Here, in Greek, are the last lines. Διάτί μή εἶπε, Μετοχή; Ὅτι πλέον τι δηλώσαι ἐβουλήθη, καί πολλήν ἐνδείξασθαι τήν συνάφειαν. Οὐ γάρ τῷ μετέχειν μόνον καί μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλά καί τῷ ἐνοῦσθαι κοινωνοῦμεν. Καθάπερ γάρ τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο ἡγῶται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω καί ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦτου ἐνούμεθα. The word σῶμα, in the last sentence, signifies the consecrated bread, i.e., the real body of Christ, present in the eucharist (cfr. S. JOHN DAMASCENE, *In I Cor.*, cap. x, P.G., xcvi, 648, who reproduces this passage, replacing Χριστῷ by Λόγῳ). Here, then, we are dealing with a prolongation of the incarnation of the Word by means of the Eucharist. As the saint says a little further on, "He not only gave up his body for us, but as our nature and flesh, made of earth, came to be killed and drained of life by sin, he introduced, as it were, a new mass and ferment, his own flesh, identical with us in nature, but sinless and full of life, and he allowed all to partake of it, that they might be nourished by it, eva-

Why does Paul say "that we break", which is done only at the Eucharist, but which does not take place at the cross, since there, on the contrary, "no bone was to be broken"? (*Num.*, ix, 12). It is that, what He did not endure at the cross, He allows to be broken for you in the host, to satisfy us all.

He just said: "communion with the body". But what is communing is distinct from what it is communing to. This imperfection in the union, however small, Paul is going to make it disappear. Having said: "communion with the body", he seeks to say something more intimate; so he continues: "Since the bread is one, we the many are one body." (*I Cor.*, x, 17). What else can we speak of communion? he says: we are this very body. What, indeed, is bread? The body of Christ. What do the communicants become? The body of Christ; not several bodies, one body. Just as bread is made of many grains, so united that they are no longer visible, yet they still exist, but their distinction does not appear to the eye, so closely do they adhere to one another; so are we attached to Christ and to one another. (1) You do not eat of one body and another of another, but we all eat of the same. Therefore Paul adds, "We all partake of the one bread." If, then, by the same food we all become the same thing, why do we not all show the same charity to one another and in this also become one (2)?

This is the love of Christ (3). Let us not, therefore, claim either

cuer death, and to be mixed with unchanging life by the holy table." *In I Cor. hom.* xxiv, P.G., LXI, 200.

(1) Saint Augustine has similar formulas. - We find in Nestorius, who is also from the school of Antioch (born around 380, patriarch of Constantinople in 428, deposed at the Council of Ephesus in 431, died in 450), a similar passage, in the *Book of Heraclides of Damascus*, translated into French by F. NAU, Paris, 1910, 1. 1, 1, n° 40, p. 28-29. Cfr M. JUGIE, *Nestorius et la controverse nestorienne*, Paris, 1912, pp. 299 ff.

(2) *In I Cor. hom.* xxiv, P.G., LXI, 200. St. Paul, says St. John Chrysostom, speaks, in these verses, σφόδρα πιστῶς καὶ φοβερώς (*Ibid.*), in faithful and terrible words.

(3) Let us quote again a passage from this same homily. A few lines further on, St. John Chrysostom exalts (cf. also *In II Cor. hom.* vu, P.G., LXI, 449; *In Mt. hom.* L, P.G., LVIII, 507), as will St. Cyril of Alexandria, the power of the body of Christ. "It is this body," he continues, "which he has given you to hold and to eat. Those whom we love ardently, we often bite. So Job, to show the love of his servants

It is through them that we can relate to the Lord.

See, my brothers," cried the holy bishop, "what honours are being done to us. And there are those who are foolish and thoughtless enough to say: Why are we free and in control of our actions? But all those acts which we have just enumerated, in which we can imitate God, would be impossible for us without freedom.

God says to us, "I command the angels, and you also by the firstfruits [Christ]. I sit on the royal throne, and thou also by the firstfruits. "He hath raised us up with him," it is written, "and seated us with him at the right hand of the Father." (*Eph.*, n, 6). The cherubim and seraphim and all the heavenly host, the principalities, powers, thrones and dominions worship you because of the firstfruits. Do not blame the body that receives

To him he says that they, being very fond of him, often said, "Who shall give us of his flesh, that we may be fed with it?" (*Job*, xxxi, 31). So Christ gives us his flesh to feed us with, that he may draw us to greater charity." (P.G., LXI, 204).

(1) This is an idea frequently expressed by our saint: *In Col. hom.* vu; *In Eph. hom.* iv, P.G., LXII, 345, 33 - "If your body is not taken to heaven, it is no reason to think that you still have something in common with the earth. You have your ruler seated in heaven. Therefore the Master, having descended among us with his angels, has gone and carried you up there, that he may teach you that even before you die you may live on earth as in heaven." *In Mt. hom.* xn, P.G., LVII, 206; it., *Horn*, in *Asc.*, P.G., L, 445; *In Eph. hom.* ni, P.G., LXII, 26: "God," says St. Paul, "has exalted him as the head, above all the Church. Great God," John continues, "how high he raises the Church too. Raising her up as if by a machine, he lifts her up to a great height and seats her on this throne. Where the head is, there also is the body; for between the body and the head there is no room for any interval; if there were, it would no longer be the head, it would no longer be the body." - Returning to a process of exposition often used by the Fathers since Origen, St. John declares that the Incarnation helps us understand our divinization. "Lift up your soul and put away every low thought. The height of all is that the Son of God, the true Son, suffered to be called the son of David, that he might make you the son of God; that he suffered to have a slave for a father, that he might give the Lord to you, the slave, for a father. From such a beginning thou mayest conjecture what will be the happy announcement (τά εὐαγγέλια); and if thou wilt hesitate to believe what concerns thee, let what concerns Christ lead thee to faith. It is far more difficult, as far as man can judge, for God to become man, than for man to be crowned the son of God. When, therefore, you hear that the Son of God is the son of David and Abraham, doubt no more than you do,

of such honours, and before which the incorporeal virtues themselves tremble.

But what am I saying? Not only by this do I testify my love, but also by my sufferings. For your sake I was spat upon and beaten, I stripped myself of my glory, I left my Father and came to you, you who hated me, fled from me, and would not even hear my name; I pursued you, I ran in your footsteps, I held you, I embraced you. "Eat me," I said, "and drink me." It is not enough that I possess in heaven your firstfruits [the body of Christ]: this does not satisfy my love. I still come down to earth, not only to mix with you, but to embrace you. I am eaten, I am torn to pieces, so that the mixture, the fusion, the union may be profound. The things that are united remain each one in itself; I insinuate myself in you from all sides. I want nothing more between the two of us: I want the two to become one.

son of Adam, you are a son of God. He did not stoop so low in vain, but to exalt us. He was born according to the flesh, that you might be born according to the spirit; he was born of the woman, that you might no longer be a [mere] son of the woman... He is like one who would stand between two separated ones, and, stretching out his hands and grasping theirs, would bring them together. Thus he did, joining the Old Testament to the New, divine nature to human nature, what is his to what is ours." *In Mt. hom.* n, 2, P.G., LVii, 25.

(2) Here is the text of the last lines: Καί ἄνω σε ἔχω, καί κάτω συμπλέκομαι σοι. Οὐκ ἄρκει σοι ὅτι σουτήν ἀπαρχὴν ἔχω ἄνω; οὐ παραμυθεῖται τοῦτο τὸν πόθον; καί κάτω πάλιν κατέβην, οὐχ ἀπλῶς μίγνυμαί σοι, ἀλλὰ συμπλέκομαι, τρώγομαι, λεπτύνομαι κατὰ μικρόν, ἵνα πολλή ἡ ἀνάκρασις γένηται καὶ ἡ ἐνωσις. Τὰ γὰρ ἐνούμενα ἐν οἰκείois ἐστήκεν δροισι- ἐγὼ δὲ συνυφαίνομαι σοι. Οὐ βούλομαι λοιπὸν εἶναι τι μέσον ἐν εἶναι βούλομαι τὰ ἀμφότερα. *In I Tim. hom.* χν, P.G., LXII, 586. - The idea of this unmediated union is again expressed *In I Cor. hom.* vm, P.G., LXI, 72-73. "Let us build on Christ, then, and let him be our foundation, as the vine is for the branch, and let nothing come between us and him: for if there were the slightest separation, we should perish at once. For the branch lives by its connection, and the building stands by the support it finds: if this were to break away, it would collapse, having no support. And let us not only attach ourselves to Christ, let us cling to him (κολληθῶμεν αὐτῷ); the least interval would cause us to die. For it is written (*Ps.* LXXII, 27), "They that depart from thee shall perish." Let us therefore cling to him, and cling by works. For, He says, "He that keepeth My commandments, he abideth in Me. (*Joh.*, xiv, 21). And indeed He makes our union with Him in many ways. See: he is the head, we the body, can there be any empty space between the head and the body? He is the foundation, we the building; he the vine, we the branches; he the bridegroom, we the bride; he the shepherd, we the

In the background of this text and the preceding one (i), we have often seen the conception of the incarnation which shows, in the union of the Word with the human nature of the Saviour, a grace

destined to divinize the whole of humanity. This conception will appear to us more clearly in a long passage on the Eucharist, which remains for us to quote.

In his eighty-third homily on St. Matthew (2), St. John Chrysostom exhorts us to receive communion with fervor.

How many there are nowadays who say: I would like to see his person and his face, I would like to see his clothes and his sandals? But do you not see them, do you not touch them, do you not eat them? You desire to see his garments; he gives himself, not only to be seen, but to be touched and possessed within. Let no one, therefore, approach without desire and fervour. Let us all be ardent, all fervent, all attentive. For if the Hebrews ate the lamb standing up, with staff in hand and with haste, how much more must we not be ready! They were going from Egypt to Palestine, and because of this they stood as travellers. You are ascending from the earth into heaven.

And the exhortation to fervor becomes all the more urgent as the greatness of the Eucharist becomes more apparent.

Think of the indignation that seizes you against the one who betrayed him and against

He is the way, we are the travellers; he is the temple, we are the inhabitants; he is the firstborn, we are the brothers; he is the heir, we are the joint heirs; he is the life, we are the living; he is the resurrection, we are the resurrected; he is the light, we are the illuminated. All this speaks of union, all this indicates that there can be no interval, even the smallest. Whoever separates, even a little, will see the gap grow and will be pushed aside. Does our body not perish when a sword makes even a small hole in it? Does not a building, through even narrow cracks, go to ruin? Does not a branch, cut from the root, even delicately, wither away? This little thing, you see, is not little, it is almost everything."

(1) Cfr J. SCHWANE, *Histoire des dogmes*, trans. Degert, vol. m, Paris, 1903, pp. 552 ff.

(3) P.G., LVIII, 743, ff.

those who were crucified, and take care that you too become responsible for the body and blood of Christ. They shed the blood of the Most High; you, full of blessings, receive it in a defiled soul.

It was not enough for him to become man, to be scourged and sacrificed; he comes to make himself one mass with us, and this not by faith alone, but in reality he makes us his body.

With what purity, then, must he who participates in this sacrifice not be adorned? What sunbeams can equal in purity the hands that touch this host, the mouth that is filled with spiritual fire, the tongue that is stained with this precious blood? Think well what honour is given to you and what table is offered to you. We are nourished by him whom the angels contemplate with trembling and whom they cannot gaze upon without fear because of his brightness. We become one body with him, one body of Christ and one flesh.

"Who shall tell of the wonders of the Lord, and sing all His praises? What shepherd has ever fed his sheep with his own hands? And what do I mean by shepherds? Do not mothers themselves, after the pains of childbirth, often entrust their children to others to feed? He did not want these replacements. He Himself feeds us (1) with His own blood, and in any case, He mixes with us. See, He has become of our substance! But you will say, this does not concern us all. On the contrary, it concerns us all. If, indeed, it has come to our nature, it has come to all, and, if it has come to all, it has come to each. How, then, do they not all profit by it, you may say? Certainly, it is not because He does not desire it, but because of the fault of those who do not wish to receive it. For it is with each of the faithful that he unites himself through this sacrament; he tenderly nourishes those whom he has given birth to, thus persuading you that it is indeed your own flesh that he has taken.

(1) St. John Chrysostom often repeats that it is Christ himself who administers, through his representatives, all the sacraments. *In Mt. hom.* I and Lxxxii, P.G., Lvm, 507, 744. *In J oh. hom.* 1, P.G., LIX, 29. - "To think that there is less now than at the Lord's Supper, one must be ignorant of the fact that Christ, even now, is present, and, even now, acts." *In II Tim. hom.* 11, P.G., LXii, 612.

(2) Here are the last words of this passage: Ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πιστῶν ἀναμίγνυσιν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων - καὶ οὕς ἐγέννησεν, ἐκτρέφει δι' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῳ ἐκδίδωσιν, καιτοῦτ' σε πείθων πάλιν διτι σάρκα ἐλάβε τὴν σὴν. A few lines later (col. 745) he exhorts the deacon to see that the communicants are well disposed: 'This multitude also is the body of Christ. Take heed, therefore, minister of the holy mysteries, lest you irritate the master, if you do not purify this body.'

"It was your flesh that he took, your own flesh." All, then, is realism in the doctrine of our saint. The flesh of Christ really comes into us, our mouths are reddened with his blood, he even says, with an energy of vocabulary that requires explanation, and our flesh really becomes that of Christ: the Word comes into all of us, to communion, as, at the incarnation, he came into one (i). Everything is linked together in a single perspective, and always from the same centre, the Incarnation.

But still, it remains to be said how the Incarnation, in what it has of unique and individual character, can nevertheless take on a mystical collective extension.

These heights of theology and dogma are not the place where our saint usually preaches. As a moralist above all else, he aims first and foremost to form his listeners in Christian life and virtues. Even when he speaks of the Eucharist, what he emphasizes most is not the mystery that takes place there, but the dispositions required of those who attend or participate in it, dispositions of purity, holiness, and above all of respect.

In the same way, with regard to the doctrine of the mystical body in general, he exposes it especially by developing the practical applications which it allows. Also, to know what he thinks of it, we must examine what he says about these applications; what he says, based on our incorporation in Christ, about concord (3), the

(1) Cfr *In I Cor. hom.* xxiv, P.G., LXI, 200. Cfr A. NAEGLE, *die Eucharistie- lehre des ht. Johannes Chrysostomus (Strassburger Studien*, ni, 4, 5), Freiburg, 1900, pp. 61, 238. The first effect of the Eucharist is "eine reale Vereinigung" with Christ.

(2) Cfr J. JUNGSMANN, *die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet (Liturgie- geschichtliche Forschungen*, vii-vm), Munster en W., 1925, p. 217-223.

(3) See, for example, what he says against envy: *In Rom. hom.* vin.

charity (1), patience (2), chastity (3), and especially almsgiving.

Almsgiving. No preacher has recommended it so vehemently and so often; nor has he linked it so strongly with incorporation in Christ. For this doctor of charity, the great argument always remains the mystical identity of the poor and Christ, and with obstinate virulence he repeats to his hearers the Lord's statement, "Whatever you do to the least of my people, you do to me." (*Mt.*, xxv, 40).

Do you see," he cried, "the courage of the holy women, their love for Christ, their magnanimity which makes them spend their wealth and expose themselves to death? Let us men imitate these women and not abandon Jesus in his adversity. They spent their wealth

P.G., LX, 465; *In I Cor. hom.* xxx, xxxi, P.G., LXI, 253, 263. - *In Col. hom.* xii, P.G., LXII, 380.

(1) *In Rom. hom.* xxvn, P.G., LX, 649: "Do you then despise a faithful man, whom Christ did not despise, when he was unfaithful? What do I say, He did not despise him? He loved him so much that he died for him when he was an enemy and deformed. He loved him to such an extent and in such abjection, and you, now that he has become beautiful and admirable, despise him, yes, when he has become a member of Christ and the body of the Lord? Do you not understand your imprudence? Do you not feel your audacity? He has Christ for his head, and for his table, and for his garment, and for his life, and for his light, and for his bridegroom, and you dare say: ■ I despise him," and not him only, but a thousand others with him." Similarly, *In Joh. hom.* xv and LXXVIII, P.G., LIX, 101 and 425; *In II Tim. hom.* vu, P.G., LXII, 637.

(2) "If you are the body of Christ, bear the cross, as he bore it; bear the spitting, the blows and the nails"... and a little later: "He makes us his body, he gives us his body, and none of this turns us from evil. O darkness, O deep abyss, O folly!" *In Eph. hom.* ni, P.G., LXII, 27.

(3) "See how Paul brings everything back to Christ.... He says... your body is no longer yours, it is Christ's, λ *In I Cor. hom.* xviii, P.G., LXI, 147. Cfr *In Mt. hom.* vu, P.G., LVII, 82 and passim. - The saint has recourse to the same principle to inculcate devotion: *In Eph. hom.* ni, P.G., LXII, 27 - He also has recourse to it to explain that we must be jealous of the honour of Christ, more than the guards of the palace are jealous of the salvation of the emperor, "for we are nearer to him, than the body is to the head". *In Joh. hom.* xix, P.G., LIX, 123 - See also *In II Cor. hom.* 11, P.G., LXI, 527 and *In Col. hom.* x, P.G., LXII, 373.

for his corpse, without counting the cost, and they risked their lives. But we, I want to repeat, refuse to feed him when he is hungry and to clothe him when he is naked; but we, when he begs, pass by. If you had seen him in the past, you would have stripped yourselves of all your possessions for him.

But today it is still him. He himself said, "It is I." Why then do you not strip yourself of everything? For at last, even now, you hear him say, "You do it to me." What difference is there, to give to Christ then or now? You have nothing less than the holy women who fed Him in the past; you have much more. For it is not the same thing to give Him food when He appears as Lord, when His appearance would move a heart of stone, as it is to care for the poor, the crippled and the hunchbacked, just because of His word. Then, indeed, his sight and the majesty of his presence help to make us generous. But now, the price of charity is due only to our will (i). (i) And it is a greater respect for Christ to have, on the basis of his word alone, all the attention for his servants.

And the exhortation becomes more and more urgent:

It is he who is despised in the poor; therefore the crime is great. Paul, in pursuing his own, was pursuing him; therefore he says, "Why do you pursue me?" (*Acts*, ix, 4). Let us be disposed, then, when we give alms, as if we were giving to Christ himself. For His words are more worthy of belief than our own eyes. When, therefore, you see a poor man, remember his words, which tell you that he is the one being fed. If even what you see is not Christ, yet underneath these appearances it is he who receives and begs. You protest when you hear that Christ begs! You protest even more when you do not give to him when he begs. Therein lies the shame, therein lies the pain and torment. If He begs, it is out of goodness, and we should be thankful for it. But not to give is cruelty on our part. If you do not believe, now, that by neglecting a faithful man who is in poverty, you neglect him himself, you will believe it when, bringing you before him, he says, "Whatever you did to the least of mine, you did to me." (*Mt.* xxv, 40) (2).

(1) Like the other representatives of the Antiochian school, St. John Chrysostom insists, sometimes with some exaggeration, on the role of human freedom in the matter of salvation.

(2) *In Mt. hom.* LXXXVIII, P.G., LVIII, 778.

Better, he said, to give to the poor than to the churches.

What is the use of decorating Christ's table with vessels of gold if he is starving? Satisfy him first when he is hungry; then you will see to decorate his table with the superfluous... Tell me, if you saw someone lacking the most necessary food, and if you left him there to decorate the table with golden vessels, would he be grateful to you; would he not be rather indignant? Or if you saw him dressed in rags and freezing, and you did not care for his clothes but erected golden pillars in his honour, would he not think that you were mocking him with the greatest irony?

Think of it well: this is what you do with Christ, when he goes wandering, wandering and without asylum, and you, without receiving him, adorn the pavements, the walls and the capitals of the columns, you tie the lamps with silver chains; while he, you do not have the courage to go to him when he is in chains. I do not say this to reprove these ornaments. I am not saying this to condemn these ornaments, but to deal with both of them, but first with the other (1).

Such direct blows were met, understandably, with virtuous indignation. But the saint does not shake the overly thrifty rich any less:

We are so ungrateful that we cover our servants, our mules and our horses with gold, and neglect our Lord who goes naked from door to door, always standing at the crossroads and extending his hand. What shall I say? Too often we look at him with suspicion. Yet it is for our sake that He submits to these miseries. He willingly suffers hunger to feed you; he willingly walks naked to give you the garment of immortality. But you give nothing of your own. Some of your garments are eaten by worms, and others, locked up in chests, are but useless cares. Meanwhile, he who gave this and the rest goes naked (2)!

This is his usual procedure: the violent opposition between the sumptuous life of the Christians and the misery of Christ. He describes

(1) *In Mt. hom.* L, P.G., LVIIH, 509. ■ Adorn not the churches if it be to neglect thy brother in affliction. This temple is more august than that one."

(2) *In II Joh. hom.* xxvii, P.G., LIX, 161.

The magnificent clothes, the gold and silk lavished even on the shoes; then suddenly: "Do you want me to bring before you the Christ who is hungry, who is naked, who is everywhere a prisoner and in chains (1)?

The discordance sometimes goes so far as to tear the soul apart:

While your dog is full, he dares to say, Christ is devoured by hunger (2).

Even when softened, the antithesis remains painful.

You may be saying to yourself, "If Ton asked me to receive Paul into my

home, I would do it wholeheartedly. Behold, the Lord of Paul can dwell with you, if you will. For he says, "Whosoever shall receive one of these little ones, receives me." (*Mt.*, *xviii*, 5). The more humble that brother is, the more also, through him, Christ is truly received. For whoever receives a great one often does so for the sake of vain glory; but whoever receives a little one does so purely for Christ's sake...

Have a place of refuge for Christ. Say: This is Christ's cell, this is his dwelling place. And though it be vile, he will not despise it; for he goes naked and a stranger, not even having a roof over his head. Do not be cruel and inhuman, and you who show such ardour in caring for the defenders of your temporal wealth, do not be cold to spiritual things. Choose the most faithful of thy servants, and let him bring in the lame, the beggars, and the vagabonds. I say this for our confusion. They should be received upstairs in the best apartments. If you do not want to receive them downstairs, even if they are mules and servants, receive Christ.

Perhaps you are indignant? What if you don't even do that (3)?

It would be easy to multiply the quotations, for the saint is not afraid to repeat himself. The image haunts him, of Christ begging and homeless at the door of palaces where Christians live.

(1) *In Mt. hom.* XLIX, P.G., LVHI, 502.

(2) *In II Cor. horn*, xvii, P.G., LXI, 522. Cfr *In Act. hom.* xxvii, P.G., LX, 208.

(3) *In Act. hom.* XLV, P.G., LX, 318 and 319, *ibid*, 320. "There is a place reserved for chariots and tombs; but, for the wandering Christ, none.- But, you will say, many are deceitful and ungrateful! - Thou shalt be all the more rewarded, receiving them in Christ's name."

He is a man of the people, and he harasses the conscience of his listeners with remorse (1). (1) Let us hear, for example, this long supplication in his fifteenth homily on the epistle to the Romans (2).

The Father," he cried, "has given up his Son; you do not give up

(1) *Epist. II ad Olympiadem*, P.G., LU, 567; *In Genesim horn*, LV, P.G., Liv, 484; *In Mt. hom.* vu, P.G., LVII, 79. Let us quote again, for example, *In Rom. hom.* XVIII, P.G., LX, 582: "Write the Lord among your heirs and leave him a share in your goods. - If you make him co-heir of your children, he will help them when they are orphans, he will remove difficulties, he will thwart snares, he will shut the mouths of those who argue... But some people are unhappy enough, even when they have no children, not to want to hear about this. They would rather leave their possessions to parasites, to flatterers, to anyone, than to Christ who has blessed them so much..."

What I am about to say is horrible, it will give you the shivers, I must say it though: Put away Christ among your slaves. You deliver your slaves. Deliver Christ from hunger, from indigence, from prison, from nakedness. You shudder when you hear this, but you shudder even more if you do not do it. Cf. passages of the same kind: *In Rom. hom.* xi, xv and xxi, P.G., LX, 492, 540, 606, ss. - *In II Cor. hom.* xix, P.G., LXI, 533. - *In Joh. hom.* LXXXIV, P.G., LIX, 407-408. - *In I Cor. hom.* XLIV, P.G., LXI, 379: "Shall we pamper the members of our body and not worry about the members of Christ? Wouldn't it be a horrible thing to see your flesh rotting and not care? If you had a slave or a donkey that was so gangrenous, you would not neglect it. But when thou seest the body of Christ overrun with disease, thou wilt run past it." - "At your children's wedding, before all others, invite Christ. You know in whom to invite him. He has said it, "What you did to the least of mine," you did to me." (*Mt.*, xxv, 40). *In Col. hom.* xn, P.G., LXII, 390 - These energetic accents are not the only ones Chrysostom uses to exhort to almsgiving. He also knows how to reduce to nothing, by marvellous pictures of morals, the objections of the rich. "But nothing is more impudent than the poor, you may say. But why, I ask you? Because they come running and shouting? Do you want me to show you that we are much more impudent, much more brazen? Remember on fast days, how often in the evening, when the table is set and you have called your servant, if he drags a little, you spill everything, you stamp your feet, you get angry, you injure him, for a few moments of delay. Yet you know very well that, if not immediately, at least soon, you will eat your fill." *In Mt. hom.* XXXV, P.G., LVII, 411.

(2) P.G., LX, 547. These comments are considered to be the most beautiful in the whole of Chrysostom's work.

The Father did not spare him for you, even though he was his true Son. The Father did not spare him for you, even though he was his true Son; but you pass by scornfully when he is hungry, even though you live only on his benefits. What could be more unjust? He was given up for you, sacrificed for you, lives in need for you, wants to give for your benefit, and even so you do not give. What stones are so insensitive as the hearts that remain in this diabolical hardness, when so many reasons strike them?

It was not enough for him to endure death and the cross, he wanted to become poor, a traveller, a beggar and naked, to be thrown into prison and to suffer infirmities, so that this at least may touch you, a If you do not give me anything, he says, for my sorrows, have mercy on me because of my poverty. If you do not want to pity me for my poverty, let my illnesses weaken you, let my chains move you. If all this does not move you, at least consent because of the smallness of my request. I am not asking for anything expensive, but for bread, shelter and comforting words. If, with all this, you are still intractable, at least be encouraged by the kingdom of heaven and by the rewards I have promised. But don't all these things count for anything in your eyes? At least let yourself be moved to a natural compassion, seeing me naked, and remembering my nakedness on the cross, when I was naked for you. I was chained for you, and I am still chained for you, so that you may be moved by my past or present bonds and be merciful to me. I have suffered hunger for you, and I suffer it still for you. I was thirsty when I hung on the cross, and I am still thirsty through the poor, so that I may draw you to me and make you good for your salvation. Therefore, after having showered you with a thousand benefits, I ask you for some return, not as if I were demanding a debt, but so that I may crown your generosity and give you the kingdom in return for this little.

"For I do not say to you: I do not say to you, 'Bring me out of poverty,' nor 'Give me wealth,' though I have become poor for your sake. I ask only for bread and clothing and relief from hunger. If I am thrown into prison, I do not ask that you break my chains and set me free, I only beg you to come and see me, even though I am bound for you; this grace will be enough for me, and for this alone I will give you heaven. Yet I have freed thee from heavy bonds. No matter. It is enough for me that you want to visit me in my prison. I could crown you without that, but I want to become your debtor, so that you can wear the crown with confidence. Therefore, when I could feed myself, I go, begging here and there, I stand at your door and stretch out my hand. It is through you that I want to be fed, for I love you ardently. My happiness is to be at your table: is this not the habit of those who love? I glory in it, and before the world

whole, I will proclaim thee, I will show thee in the sight of all, my fosterer!"

We, if another feeds us, are ashamed of it, we hide it. But he, because of his ardent love for us, even though we are silent, proclaims with great praise what we have done, and is not ashamed to say that we clothed him when he was naked and fed him when he was hungry.

Such accents remain one of the glories of the Christian pulpit; they drew applause from the faithful of the time; even today, we are struck by their virulent claim to the eminent dignity of the poor in the Church. The almsgiving of which the saint speaks is no longer mere charity: an act of faith, charity, religion, it brings us into the presence of the Savior.

It must be done with recollection (2): could one put too much piety in holding the cup where Christ is going to drink (3)? (3) It must be done with worship: nothing prolongs the reception of the Eucharist better than the visit made to Christ in his little ones.

The wretched, standing in the public squares, are, in the eyes of the holy doctor, an august spectacle: they evoke the majesty of the altars erected for the sacrifice, and even more venerable.

The altar of which I speak to you," he said, "is made of the very members of Christ, and the body of Christ becomes an altar for you. Worship it: in the flesh you make a sacrifice to the Lord. This altar is more terrible than the one that stands in this church, and even more so than the one of the old law.

Do not recriminate. This altar is august because of the victim who comes to it; the altar of alms is more august because it is made of the same victim. This one is august because it is made of stone and sanctified by the touch of Christ's body.

(1) *In Rom. hom.* xv, P.G., LX, 547-548.

(2) *In II Cor. hom.* xx, P.G., LXI, 539; *In Mt. hom.* LXXI, P.G., LVIII, 666.

(3) *In Mt. hom.* XLV and L, P.G., LVIII, 474 and 508.

(4) *In Mt. hom.* LXXXn, P.G., LVIII, 744. Cfr *In I Cor. hom.* XXVII, P.G., LXI, 229-232, is the very body of Christ. It is therefore more venerable than this one before which, my brother, you are standing.

What then is Aaron, when we think of these things? What are the crown, the bells, and the holy of holies? And why do you speak of this ancient altar, when the altar of alms is so splendid compared to our altar? And you venerate this altar when the body of Christ descends upon it. But the other,

which is the body of Christ, you neglect and remain indifferent when it perishes.

You can see this altar set up everywhere, in the alleys and squares, and you can make the sacrifice there every hour, for that is also the place of sacrifice. And as the priest stands at the altar and calls the Spirit, so you also call the Spirit, like the oil poured out in abundance.

We will conclude our study of St. John Chrysos here. It will be seen that according to the holy bishop, as according to the other Fathers, Christ in Christianity is everything. As he himself says, Christ

He does not have grace by participation, but is the very source and root of all good things; he is the very life, and the very light, and the very truth. He does not withhold the abundance of his gifts from himself, but pours them out into all others, and when he has poured them out, he remains filled with them. He has nothing less after his largesse, but while he gives them unceasingly and communicates to all the goods, he remains in the same fullness... If one takes a drop from the sea, the sea is diminished, however small the loss. But the same cannot be said of this spring; you can draw from it as much as you like, but it remains just as rich.

All things, then, come through him and him alone: it is in him, in his pierced side (3), that men are united to each other and to God, and the whole of the saved is but the "body" of the Savior.

This doctrine of the mystical body, we say in conclusion,

(1) *In II Cor. horn.* xx, P.G., LXI, 540.

(2) *In J oh. horn.* xiv, P.G., LIX, 9.

(3) 'Αλλά πάντες ἐν ἑσμεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλευράς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *In Col. horn.* vi, P.G., LXII, 34² - Cf S. TROMP, S.J. *De corpore Christi mystico et actione catholica ad mentem sancti Johannis Chrysostomi*, in the *Gregorianum*" t. xin, 1932, p. 192.

is undoubtedly less systematic in St. John Chrysostom than in St. Athanasius or St. Hilary. But it is no less energetic. As a preacher rather than a theologian, he bears witness to the mystical Christ in his own way, that is to say, with the developments and insistence appropriate to the pulpit.

And let it not be thought that these are simply oratorical - developments, nor the pleasure that a rhetorician may feel in returning to a subject which lends itself to beautiful antitheses. This

might be the case, and still, if John Chrysostom were alone in speaking in this way. But it is not so; what he says is what all the Fathers say. He lends his manner and the powerful movement of his eloquence; but what speaks in him is pure tradition.

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CHAPTER VIII

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
THE INCARNATION AND THE MYSTICAL BODY

THE DOCTRINAL SYNTHESIS OF THE GREEK CHURCH: the doctrine of the mystical body in relation to the dogma of the incarnation.

THE VERY INCARNATION MAKES THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST THE "HEAD" OF A MYSTICAL BODY. For it makes it life-giving by union with Life; so the Word uses it to raise the dead, to illuminate, to sanctify: our supernatural life is in it. The teaching of Saint Cyril compared to that of Saint Hilary.

THE EUCHARIST IS THE ACT OF THIS UNIVERSALLY VIVIFYING HUMANITY, thus the sacrament of the mystical body. Link with what precedes. The body of Christ does in us what the Word does in him: it transfigures, vivifies, divinizes. Thus, through the Eucharist, Christ unites us in himself to God and to each other. "That they may be one", one of Christ's unity, physical, persistent, spiritual and corporal unity. Union with God.

THE LIFE THAT IS THUS COMMUNICATED TO US IS DIVINE. Mystical and collective extension of the incarnation. "Christ bears us"; "our nature is in him." Christ unites us to God in him; he offers us to God. The Word dwells in us through Christ; we become adopted sons in the only Son. Role of the Holy Spirit, return to the Trinity.

CONCLUSION. The objection of a collective incarnation; the doctrine of St. Cyril: unity, continuity, realism. Its main points, its place in the life of Christian dogma.

IN APPENDIX. Some names: Pseudo-Denys, Saint Maximus the Confessor, Saint Anastasius of Antioch, Saint Anastasius the Sinaitic, Saint John Damascene.

In St. Cyril of Alexandria, the doctrine of the mystical body reaches the highest degree of perfection it has ever reached in the Eastern Church.

It contains all the points of view that we have considered in the course of this study, and it contains them complementing each other.

This synthesis, moreover, is not exclusively the work of Cyril (i). Already, in the preceding pages (2), we have seen it being attempted. But it is from him that it has its right to be cited.

It could not have had a better introducer. Cyril, born in Alexandria at an unknown date, succeeded his uncle Theophilus in the patriarchal see in 412. In 429 his struggles against Nestorius began. On June 4, 444, he died. With Athanasius and Augustine, he is one of the three great lights of the Church. Popes, councils and Fathers have exalted his authority over and over again. Always, therefore, when it is a question of our union with his Son, God instructs us through the first of his doctors.

(1) Thus, one of the first great works of the saint, the *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate*, is a vast compilation in order of what had been written on the orthodox side in the antiarian controversy. It is at the same time an arsenal, where the saint will take weapons against Nestorius. Thus, the reasoning of Athanasius, who declares that Christ had to be true God in order to unite us to God, will serve him to prove that Christ unites in himself, in perfect unity, God and the flesh. These re-editions do not always allow the arguments to be perfectly adapted, but they ensure, even in the controversies, the material continuity of the tradition. See, on the mystical body, n^o8 xxm and xxvn, P.G., LXXV, 384, 385, 388, 420, etc. Cfr BARDENHEWER, vol. iv, p. 31, and J. B. WOLF, *Commentationes in S. Cyvilli Alexandrini de Spiritu Sancto doctrinam*, Würzburg, 1934, pp. 6-38.

(2) The remainder of this chapter will show it well. To be compared also, with the texts we shall quote, this passage of St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium*, v, P.G., XLV, 700); the Christological formulae are still imperfect, but the outline already has a striking resemblance: "We say that God the only-begotten Son has brought back to immortal life by himself human nature, through the man in whom he dwelt. He took into Himself the whole of human nature, and mixed His life-giving virtue with mortal and corruptible nature. Thus, by mixing with Him, He transformed our mortality into grace and virtue of life. In this, we declare, consists the mystery of Christ's flesh: he, the unchangeable one, became changeable, in order to change for the better and to purify from evil our defiled nature, by erasing from our nature, in himself, sin. Our God, indeed, is a consuming fire (*Deut.*, iv, 24)."

We must say even more. The providential destiny of the holy patriarch was to expound and defend the dogma of the incarnation. Now, it is in this very exposition and as an essential element, that his doctrine of the mystical body appears. Thus, this doctrine is always placed at the very heart of the tradition.

Until now, the great progress in the doctrine of the mystical body

had been made, in Athanasius and Hilary, in relation to the dogma of the Trinity, in the form of a doctrine of divinization. Now, it is in relation to the dogma of the incarnation that it develops. With the preceding stages, the continuity remains total: it is always a question of the incarnate Word who communicates his greatness to us by uniting us, in him, to his Father. Only, attention is now focused more exclusively on this incarnate Word, on his internal constitution, so to speak, and we see more clearly in him that which makes him capable of containing us all mystically in order to divinize us.

Athanasius and Hilary showed above all that it was to God himself that we were truly united in Christ; St Cyril, on the other hand, highlights the union itself, which links us to the eternal life.

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For the Christian tradition, Cyril is the doctor of the incarnation. Long before his discussions against Nestorius (1), we see him insisting on the Christological dogma, and, faithful to the conceptions of Alexandria, emphasizing the unity of Christ.

(1) See the text, which we will quote shortly, of the *Commentary on St. John*. J. MAHE, *la Date du Commentaire de saint Cyrille sur l'Évangile de saint Jean*, in *Bulletin de littérat. ecclés.*, 3^e series, g^o year, 1907, pp. 41, ss. and E. WEIGL, *Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius bis zum Ausbruch des nestorianischen Streites*, Kempten, 1925- - On Nestorius one can consult: F. LOOFS, *Nestoriana*, Halle, 1905. - F. NAU, *Nestorius. Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas, translated into French*, Paris, 1910. - F. NAU, *Nestorius d'après les sources orientales*, Paris, 1911. - M. JUGIE, A. A., *Nestorius et la controverse nestorienne*, Paris, 1912.

He cannot repeat often enough that in the Saviour, humanity and divinity, flesh and Word, according to his usual formula, have a real, close, "physical" unity, as he says in **language** that will have to be explained (i). The controversy against Nestorian dualism will further sharpen his preoccupations: ways of saying which until then the Fathers and he himself had been content with will seem to him insufficient. For example, he no longer wanted to speak of the indwelling of the Word in the flesh, nor of contact, nor even of union: what he needed was unity. The Word did not only take flesh: he became flesh, and so perfectly that to want to consider in him the

humanity separated from the divinity, one represents it as it is not (2).

Surely, by this imitation, the divine nature undergoes no change, and human nature does not cease to be perfectly similar to us; it is only improved (3).

(1) "Ἐνωσις φύσικῇ, *Anathematism* 3; μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σε σαρκωμένη, *Epist.* XLVII, P.G., LXXVII, 232, 241; a formula which the saint believed to be from Athanasius, and which is, on the contrary, from Apollinaris of Laodicea, a formula admitted, but with explanation, at the second council of Constantinople, canon 8. Cyril says often enough that Christ constitutes only one nature (φύσις) (*Epist.* XL, P.G., Lxxvii, 192, 193). By this he means that Christ is only a being, only a reality, only a hypostasis as he says elsewhere (*Anathematism* 2). We can guess that such ways of saying will play into the hands of the Monophysites.

{2} *Epist.* xvn, P.G., LXXVII, 112, 120.

(3) "This body, according to us, is no longer [after the resurrection] susceptible to hunger, fatigue, or anything of the kind; it is incorruptible; it is even vivifying. For it is the body of life, that is, of the only-begotten Son; it is clothed with such glory as befits the Godhead and presents itself as the body of God. If anyone should even call it divine, as we call the body of man human, he would not be mistaken." And a little further on, "We say that the body of Christ is divine, because it is the body of God, shining with ineffable glory, incorruptible, holy, life-giving. But, that it was changed into the nature of the Godhead, none of the Fathers ever said, or thought, and we do not wish to hear of it." *Epist.* XLV, P.G., LXXVII, 236. - The holy humanity of Christ is thus transformed (μεταποι- εῖσθαι, μεθιστάναι, ἀναστοιχειούν, ἀνατρέχειν, ἀνακομίζειν), not in such a way as to become the Divine nature, but so as to receive some new qualities, as iron which, united with fire, receives to be fiery, as food which, mixed with honey, becomes like honey, as bread dipped

as we shall say. And here the doctrine of the mystical body takes shape.

The humanity of Christ, insists Saint Cyril, is one with the Word. Now, he continues, the Word is life itself, incorruptible, eternal, subsistent life. The flesh and blood of Christ are therefore the flesh and blood of life: they must therefore be life-giving. Consequently, they contain within themselves the supernatural life of humanity, as a spring contains the water that springs from it. We are contained in Christ and vivified in him, and this vital unity which takes us up in him and incorporates us into him, constitutes the whole mystical body under one head.

Let us listen to the Saint explain the different points of this doctrine and its consequences. It is formed, for the most part, in one of his first works, the *Commentaries on St. John*, which predate the Nestorian controversies, as is shown by the imprecision of some Christological formulas.

If we consider the nature of the flesh in itself and apart from the rest," he writes, "it is evident that it will not appear to be life-giving. None of the creatures has the power to vivify, but each, on the contrary, needs a vivifying principle. But if we carefully consider the mystery of the Incarnation, we will see who it is that dwells (2) in the flesh and, unless we blaspheme the Holy Spirit, we will believe that it is the same one who dwells in the flesh.

in the wine and becomes intoxicating. *Adv. Nest*, iv, P.G., LXXVI, 192 - *In Joh.* H, 6; iv, 2, 3, P.G., LXXIII, 349, 577 and 581, 601 and 604. - *In Joh.* xi, 1, P.G., LXXIV, 549 - *In Mt.* xxiv, 51, P.G., LXXVII, 446 - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1244. - *Schol. de incarnatione Unigeniti*, P.G., LXXV, 1380 - *Hom. pasch.* xvii, P.G., LXXVII, 581 - *Thesaurus*, xxiv, P.G., LXXV, 397, 400, etc. - Already St. Gregory of Nyssa teaches that by the incarnation the Saviour's humanity received divine predicates (μεταπεποιήσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τε καὶ ἀκήρατον), *Contra Eunomium*, v, P.G., XLV, 693 " cfr §97" 7^o 5" 708. These formulae do not merely express a communication of idioms exclusively logical, but an elevation of humanity to a divinizing role, in a way yet undefined, *tamquam instrumentum conjunctum et ideo idoneum*, theology may say, but later.

(1) MAHE, article cited.

(2) This is one of those formulas that the saint would later reprove. It is repeated several times in the rest of the piece.

From the moment that it is united to the vivifying Word, it has become entirely vivifying, elevated as it is to the virtue of the Word, and without it being the one to lower to its level that which cannot be diminished. By itself, it is too weak to be able to vivify; it does so only by having in it the vivifying Word, and by putting into action all its power. It is the body of life itself, and not of an ordinary man, of whom it might be said, "The flesh is of no use" (*Joh.*, vi, 64). It is not, indeed, the flesh of Paul or Peter that would accomplish this in us, but, alone and par excellence, the flesh of our Saviour, Christ "in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" (*Col.*, 11:9). It would be absurd, in fact, for honey to pour its perfection into bodies which, in themselves, are not sweet, and for it to change into it what is mixed with it, and for the life-giving nature of the Word of God not to bring to its virtue the body in which it dwells. Of all the others, therefore, it could be said: "The flesh is of no use"; of Christ alone it could not be said, because in his flesh dwells life, that is to say, the only Son.

On this principle the holy patriarch returns without tiring (2):

The Word, by himself, makes his body life-giving, for he carries it in his own energy. The how of such a mystery is beyond our conception and language. Our duty is to revere it in silence, in the faith that is above the mind (3).

(1) *In Joh.* iv, P.G., LXXIII, 601, apud PUSBY, vol. 1, p. 551. The saint even goes so far in this connection as to declare that Christ, in asserting that His words are spirit and life (*Joh.*, vi, 64), speaks of His flesh; for, He says, He filled His own body with the life-giving energy of the Spirit; in the sequel, He even calls His flesh spirit. It is not that he denies its camel-like nature; but it is that, because of its close union with himself, it is clothed wholly with life-giving virtue, and thus deserves to be called spirit. *Ibid*, P.G., 604.

(2) And the saint considers this truth to be so incontestable that he uses it to prove the divinity of Christ. It is in this form that the soteriological argument is usually presented with him: Christ, the Word, vivifies, therefore he is God. *Thesaurus*, xiv, P.G., LXXV, 237. - *In Joh.* 1, P.G., LXXIII, 88, 89, 92, 96. - "If the Son is but a creature," he declares emphatically, "our regeneration is but a farce and a deception." *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, iv, P.G., LXXV, 904. - Our adoption proves the existence of the true Son, *Ibid*, U and ni, P.G., LXXV, 749, 801. - Our divinization proves His divinity. *Thesaurus*, xv, xxxn, P.G., LXXV, 281, 492.

(3) *Joh.* iv, P.G., LXXIII, 604. Cfr *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti*, v, P.G., LXXV, 1380: "We can see," he says, "in the image of the burning coal,

The humanity of Christ is thereby made capable of producing miracles, and God, to convince us, does not remit sin or raise the dead without her intervention.

Thus, the saint explains, we see that, even in order to raise the dead, the Savior does not content himself with acting in God, by a simple word, by a command. He takes as his co-worker, so to speak, for this magnificent work, his own flesh, in order to show in it the power to vivify and to show that it is one with him. It is, in fact, his flesh and not a foreign body. And so it was when he raised the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, saying to her, "Arise, my child" (*Mk. v. 41*), he took her by the hand, as it is written. And he quickened her, as God did, by an almighty commandment, and he also quickened her by the touch of his holy flesh, thus testifying that on both sides there was one and the same energy. (1) In the same way, when he came to a town called Nain and the widow's only son was being buried, he touched the coffin and said, "Young man, I tell you, get up" (*Le., vu, 13-17*). Thus, not only does he confer on his orders the virtue of raising the dead; but also, to show that his body is life-giving, as we

that the Word of God united himself to humanity without losing anything of what he was, but rather by changing it, which was united to him, into his glory and his operation. For just as fire, in uniting itself with wood and penetrating it, takes possession of it, without doubt, but without causing it to cease to be wood, and instead imparts to it its own appearance and energy, putting into it what is proper to it and becoming one with it, so must we think of Christ. God, in uniting Himself ineffably with humanity, preserves it as it was and remains unchanged Himself, but, once united, He is considered as becoming one with it and appropriates what is its own, infusing it with His own way of operating." - On this doctrine the saint insists. *In Joh.*, iv, P.G., LXXIII, 601: it is a question, he says, of "believing that his body is life-giving." *In Joh.*, in, iv, vi, P.G., LXXIII, 522, 577, 581, 964. - *Adv. Nest.*, iv, P.G., LXXVI, 192 - *De recta fide ad Theod.*, xxxvii, P.G., LXXVI, 1188. - *Apologeticus contra Orientales*, P.G., LXXVI, 373" 376. - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1269. - *In Le.*, iv, P.G., Lxxii, 552.

(1) This is another of those dangerous formulas that the progress of theology will eliminate. It comes from an imprecision of vocabulary. In all rigour of term it would be monothelitism. Our Lord has two "energies", two operations, just as he has two natures, two principles of operation, while being - this is what Cyril wants to express here - only one "operative".

As we have already said, he touches the dead, and by his flesh he infuses life into the dead (i).

Just as it is life-giving, the Savior's humanity is illuminating:

As we believe that the body of Christ is life-giving, because it is the temple of the Word of the living God," writes St Cyril about the blind man, "so too we affirm that it is light-giving. For he is the body of him who is light by nature and in truth... Therefore he anoints [the blind man's eyes] with saliva, showing that his body is the generator of light, even by a light touch; for he is the body of the true light, as we have said.

The events of Christ's life also have the same sanctifying virtue:

He was scourged unjustly, in order to deliver us from well-deserved punishment; He was beaten and slapped, so that we might resist Satan and avoid the sin incurred by prevarication. We say, in fact, and this is a very orthodox sentiment, that all the things which Christ suffered happened for our sake and for us, and that they have the virtue of averting and destroying the evils which come to us, quite rightly, from sin. For just as by exposing His flesh for our life, He who was not to know death (for He alone died for all), did enough to abolish the death of all, so it must be said that it is sufficient to remove all blows and ignominy that Our Lord endures them.

(2) *In Joh.* iv, P.G., LXXIII, 577. Cfr *Thesaurus*, xxm, P.G., LXXV, 388. - *In Le*, P.G., LXXII, 908-911. - *De recta fide ad Reginas*, P.G., LXXVI, 1288. - *Schol. de incarnatione Unigeniti*, P.G., LXXV, 1377.

(3) *In Joh.* vi, P.G., LXXIII, 964. See also *In Joh.* ix, P.G., LXXIV, 269, 280, ff. in *In Joh.* x, P.G., LXXIV, 340.

(4) *In Joh.* xii, P.G., LXXIV, 628. Cfr *Thesaurus*, xxiv, P.G., LXXV, 397. - *In Joh.* vn-vin, P.G., LXXIV, 89. - *In Le.*, xxn, P.G., LXXII, 921. See also *In Le.*, iv, P.G., LXXII, 552: "Let us also [like Simon Peter] receive Jesus; when he enters us, when we have him in our mind and in our heart, he will quench the fever of vain pleasures, he will make us strong in the spirit, so that we may serve him, that is, do what pleases him." Cfr notes, pp. 515, ff.

It is a general principle, already ancient in tradition, but which St. Cyril, thanks to the synthesis which he brings about in the dogma, can express with new force (i): the humanity of Christ takes on our miseries and our death, so that in it, which is united to life, we may receive eternal life (2). (2) All that is in her must pass into us (3); the events of her existence are the common heritage of humanity (4). (4) The Scripture, between her and us, often erases even the distinctions (5), to show that the work of Christ will only be

(1) *In Joh.*, XII, P.G., LXXIV, 700.

(2) "By His own death, the Savior has done away with death. As, then, death would not have been done away with if He had not died, so must all the miseries of the flesh be said. If He had not been afraid, nature would not have been delivered from fear; if He had not felt sadness, it would never have been freed from sadness; if He had not been troubled, it would never have been freed from trouble. Thus in succession may it be said of the human things that happened to him: it will be found that the human passions were moved in Christ, but not to dominate him, as they dominate us, but to be tamed there by the power of the Word who dwells in the flesh and transforms nature to a better state. ■ *Thesaurus*, xxiv, P. G., LXXV, 397, passage transcribed in *In Joh.*, vin, P. G., LXXIV, 92. Cfr *Adv. Nest*, v, P.G., LXXVI, 216. See also: *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1268. - *Thesaurus*, xxxn, P.G., LXXV, 561. - *Hom. pasch.* x, xxn, xxvm, P.G., LXXVII, 628, 868, 952. -- *Glaphyra in Genesim*, 1, P.G., LXIX, 48 - *In Mt.* XXIV, 36, P.G., Lxxii, 444. - *De recta fide ad Reginas*, 1, P.G., LXXVI, 1284.

(3) Ὅσα γάρ ἐν Χριστῷ, ταῦτα καί εἰς ἡμᾶς, *Thesaurus*, χχ, P.G., LXXV, 333- In the same place we read, "He is sanctified for our sake, so that through him grace may be poured out to all, so that it is as if it were bestowed upon our nature and secured to the whole human race.... Sanctification is not conferred on him - he sanctifies - but so that he may bring it about by himself to nature, and so become the way and principle of the good things that come to us. Therefore he says: I am the way (*Joh.*, xiv, 6) by which divine grace descends into us, and exalts, and sanctifies, and glorifies, and divinizes nature, in Christ the first." Cfr *In Joh.* iv, P.G., LXXIII, 572.

(4) It is about the resurrection and the session at the right hand of the Father... Ὁ Παῦλος ὁ τόν Χριστόν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα διατεινόμενος, κοινά τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ τὰ εἰς αὐτάν ἰδικῶς γεγονότα διδάσκων φησίν. *In Joh.*, ιχ, P.G., LXXIV, 184. Cfr *Thesaurus*, xxvm, P.G., LXXV, 428: the Word willed that his humanity should progress, because progress is required of all men.

(5) It speaks of both at once, παραδόξως, ἀμα καί κεκραμένως, *In Joh.*, ix, xi, 8 and ii, 6, P.G., LXXIV, 256, 512 and LXXIII, 349. - This exegesis is rarer, however, in St. Cyril than in other Fathers, than in

not finished until he has transfigured us into what is his own (i).

We remember that Saint Hilaire had already expounded similar ideas and he too insisted on the excellence of the Saviour's humanity through his union with the Word. But he was still at the stage of trial and error. In his time, the revealed deposit had not yet been sufficiently scrutinized to be able to give rigorous and exact formulas for the most subtle points, and the Holy Spirit, who assists the work of tradition, is not there to exempt the Fathers from all work or to spare them all difficulties, but to

In Joh. iv, P.G., LXXIII, 529. - THE SAINT, HOWEVER, LAYS DOWN THE PRINCIPLE IN A VERY CLEAR MANNER: IN PS. XV, XVI, P.G., LXIX, 1018. In Joh. iv, P.G., LXXIII, 529 - The saint, however, lays down the principle in a very clear manner: In Ps. xv, xvi, P.G., LXIX, 805, 816. - *Thesaurus*, xxm, xxiv, P.G., LXXV, 385, 400 - In Joh. iv, P.G., LXXIII, 529 - Some examples of this are found in: In Joh. xi, 12, P.G., lxxiv, 565, *Thesaurus*, xiv, xx, XXIII, P.G., LXXV, 273, 276, 280, 284, 329, ss" 385. In Le., xxii, P.G., LXXII, 921. In Ps. LXXI, P.G., LXIX, 1184. - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1325. In this last passage, commenting on the text "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me" (*Mt.*, xxvn, 46), the saint writes: "Consider that the monogenes, having become a man and one of us, speaks these words in the name of all nature. It is as if he said: 'The first man sinned... But I "have planted myself as a second seed for the inhabitants of the earth," and I am called the second Adam. You see in me the purified human nature, restored to the first rectitude, holy and pure..." This, in my opinion, is the meaning of the Savior's words. It is not on Him, but rather on us that He implores the Father's mercy. For as from the first root wrath had spread over all nature..., so from the second principle, which is Christ, that which belongs to him is poured out in us."

(1) *Thesaurus*, xxiv, P.G., LXXV, 400: a Because of his great and immense love for mankind, he mixed with us. Not to change himself into us... but to change us into what is his own. Therefore, receiving him, who dwelt in the flesh, do we henceforth possess all his goods: for we are called sons and gods, not by nature, as he was, but by grace." - It. in *Rom.* vi, 6, P.G. LXXIV, 796. - In *I Cor.* vi, 15, P.G. LXXIV, 869 - In *Le.* xxn, P.G. LXXH, 924. - In *II Cor.* LXXIV, 936. - *Adv. Nest.*, in, P.G., LXXVI, 129. - He elevates human nature in him to a divine beauty: *Thesaurus*, χχπ, P.G., LXXV, 469. - *Horn, pasch.* xxvi, P.G., LXXVII, 916. - *Glaphyrain Genesim*, ni, P.G., Lxix,i4i, etc.

direct their efforts and ensure that they never lead to an alteration in faith.

St. Hilary, therefore, represented the excellencies of the Saviour as an elevation of his human nature, which is really human, he was sure; which is even human in a specially excellent way, he glimpsed, but less clearly, and he explained it in a less happy way. The humanity of Jesus, according to him, would have had a natural power to work miracles and to escape death, that is to say, and here lies the defect, that it would not have been perfectly similar to our humanity.

For St. Cyril, the time of trial and error is over. It is not yet perfection; is perfection where God deigns to admit our human cooperation? Later on, we will have the opportunity to say in what way scholastic theology renders, even more accurately than his, the revealed fact. But it is a summit nevertheless: the formula of the Christological dogma is ready-made in his writings. In particular, in his theology, the privileges of the holy humanity of Jesus, even though they are very marked, are not attributes added to our nature and like a complication arising from the Incarnation. They are the simple effect, in the humanity of Jesus, of the union with the Word of life. Thus, more and more, doctrinal formulas and theological explanations are applied exactly to the revealed fact.

What Christ's humanity did in a visible way during his mortal existence, it now does in an invisible but equally real way in the Eucharist (i).

(i) On the vivifying action of the Eucharist, there is a closely related article by E. MICHAUD, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Eucharist*, in the *Revue internationale de théologie*, vol. x, 1902, pp. 599 and 675, see especially the reasoning on page 676. A severe and just clarification can be found in J. MAHE, *L'Eucharistie d'après saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. vm, 1907" PP.⁶⁷⁷ss -

The Eucharistic doctrine of Saint Cyril is, in the opinion of theologians, one of the most complete that exists. It is also - always the same coincidence - one of the most closely linked to the truth of

the mystical body.

If the simple contact of the holy flesh [of Jesus] vivifies what is corrupt, he declares, how can we not experience even more splendid effects when we receive the holy eulogy? Certainly it will completely transform into its own greatness, that is, into immortality, those who participate in it. Do not be surprised at this; do not ask yourself how it is possible. Rather, think that water is cold by nature, but that when it is put on a fire, it forgets its nature and receives the victorious energy of fire. In the same way it happens in us. As corruptible as we are in our flesh, by the mixture [with the eulogy] we put down our own weakness and are transformed into that which is proper to it, that is, into life.

What happened at the Incarnation is reproduced at communion. Just as, by uniting himself to flesh, the Word raised it to his likeness and made it life-giving, so, although obviously to a lesser degree, (3) the flesh of Christ, by descending into us, changes us into his image and makes us alive. The two operations are similar, or rather, it is the same operation that continues and the same life that spreads. Also, on both sides, the saint uses the same terms (4) and the same comparisons.

(1) The word εὐλογία means blessing, blessed gift, eucharist, especially when it was carried to the absent, blessed bread. In the passages we are about to read, it denotes the eucharist in general.

(2) *In Joh. iv, 2*, P.G., LXXIII, 577. He had said, a few lines earlier: "They will remain totally empty and devoid of life, holiness and beatitude, those who do not receive the Son through the mystical eulogy. The Son is life itself, inasmuch as he is begotten by the Father who lives. And his body too is life-giving, because it is in a certain way attached and ineffably united to the Word who begets all things to life." Cfr *Epist. xvn* (a kind of creed), P.G., LXXVII, 113. - *Adv. Nest, iv*, P.G., LXXVI, 193.

(3) *In Le, P.G., Lxxii, 909*. - *In Joh. 1, 10; 11, 4*, P.G., LXXIII, 180, 348 and *passim*.

(4) Compare, for example, the Christological expressions quoted on p. 492, n. 3, with those of *YAdv. Nest, ni*, P.G., LXXVI, 129 and *In Joh. iv, 2*,

The Eucharist, like the Incarnation, is like a fire that invades a cold matter and makes it burn (1). (1) It is, he says elsewhere, like a spark that is buried in the straw to preserve the fire, and which consumes everything (2): it is like a ferment that is buried in the dough, to transform it all:

(5) A little leaven, it is written in St. Paul (*I Cor*, v, 6), lifts the whole lump." Thus does a very little eulogy ferment our whole body within itself, and fill it with its own energy. Thus does Christ come into us, and we, on our part, into him. And may it not be said, indeed, that the leaven is in the whole mass, and that, likewise, the whole mass is absorbed by the leaven (3)?

P.G., LXXIII, 577-586. "Cyrill von Alexandrien hat immer wieder vom Abendmahl für die Incarnation und umgekehrt argumentiert, und eigentlich ist erst durch ihm der Zusammenhang zwischen beiden der Kirche klar geworden, und nun nicht mehr verloren gegangen." A. HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4^e, Tübingen, 1909, t. n, p. 463. In reality, as the reader of this book can see, Cyril only added more clarity to a truth already well known before him, and only brought together affirmations already formulated but scattered. Moreover, it is not so much the doctrine of the Eucharist as that of our incorporation into Christ which the saint links to the dogma of the Incarnation.

(1) Incarnation: *Schol. de incarnatione Unigeniti*, ix, P.G., LXXV, 1380 - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXVI, 1361. - *Horn, pasch.* xvii, P.G., LXXVII, 788 - *In Joh.* 1, 9, P.G., LXXIII, 160 - *Adv. Nest.* iv, 5, P.G., LXXVI, 189. - *In Le*, P.G., LXXII, 909. - Eucharist: *In Joh.* iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 580.

(2) It is impossible that he who is life by nature should not completely overcome corruption and conquer death. Therefore, even though the death which has overtaken us because of sin has the power to reduce us to corruption, nevertheless, because Christ comes in us through his flesh, we shall truly rise. It would be incredible, or rather impossible, if life did not quicken those into whom it comes. Just as a spark is covered with much straw to preserve the seed of the fire; so in us our Lord Jesus Christ, by His flesh, hides life in the depths of our being; He deposits it as a germ of immortality which must consume all the corruption that is in us." *In Joh.* iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 581. See also *In Joh.* x, 2, P.G. LXXIV, 342. - *In Joh.* iv, 3, P.G., LXXIII, 601.

(3) *Joh.* iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 584. Cfr *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, IX, P.G., LXVIII, 626.

This virtue of the Eucharist is so certain that our saint uses it to refute Nestorius. The heresiarch, he says, by declaring that the flesh of Christ is not the flesh of the Word, forbids himself to confess that the Eucharist is life-giving: he destroys the whole economy of salvation (i):

If anyone," he writes in the eleventh of the *Anathematizations*, "does not confess that the flesh of the Lord is life-giving, and that it is the own flesh of the Word proceeding from God the Father; If he says that it is like the flesh of another, and that it is united to him in honour only, because it served as God's dwelling place, but that it is not rather life-giving, as we have said, because it has become the own flesh of the Word who is able to give life to everything, let him be anathema.

The explanations which the holy doctor has given on three occasions of this condemnation all comment on it in the same sense: it is a question of the Eucharist (3).

We eat," he writes elsewhere, still refuting Nestorius, "the Word's own flesh, which has become life-giving by becoming the flesh of him who lives by the Father...

And just as the body of the Word, which he made his own by an inconceivable and ineffable union, is life-giving, so we who enter into the participation of his holy flesh and blood are completely vivified, for the Word thus dwells in us, both in a divine way, through the Holy Spirit, and in a human way, through his holy flesh and precious blood...

By becoming partakers of the Spirit, we are united to the Saviour of all and to one another. We also become concorporeal in this, that "the bread being one, we all become one body; for we all partake of the one bread" (*I Cor.*, x, 17). The body of Christ which is in us binds us in unity, since it is in no way divided.

(1) *Adv. Nest.*, in, P.G., LXXVI, 125-129.

(2) *Epist. œcumenica* 11 (*Epist.* xvn), P.G., LXXVII, 121. - Cfr A. DENEFFE, S.J., *der Dogmatische Wert der Anathematismen Cyrills*, in *Scholastik*, t. vin, p. 203.

(3) Cfr *YExplicatio duodecim capitum*, xi, P.G., LXXVI, 31 i; it., *Apologeticus contra Orientales*, xi, P.G., LXXVI, 373; cfr *Apologeticus contra Theodoretum*, xi, P.G., LXXVI, 448.

(4) *Adv. Nest.*, iv, P.G., LXXVI, 193 (cfr ni, P.G., LXXVI, 125-129). The

And the presentation closes with a kind of symbol:

We believe that the Word of God, having united himself by an ineffable

and mysterious union with the body born of the Virgin and animated by a reasonable soul (i), made this body vivifying, he who is life itself. His purpose was to make us participate in Him, both spiritually and corporeally, and thus to raise us above corruption and to extinguish by Himself the law of sin which rages in our members.

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To describe this unity communicated to us by the Eucharist, the Holy Doctor has pages whose force of thought will not be surpassed. It is about the text of Saint John, where Christ asks that his disciples be one as he is one with the Father. This text, as we have already said several times, had been monopolized by the Arians, and the Fathers, Athanasius and Hilary especially, in explaining it, had given important teachings on the unity of Christians in Christ. Cyril does the same. His exegesis, whether he wished it or not, follows on from those of Athanasius and Hilary. It completes both of them by the mention it makes of the role filled by the Holy Spirit in our union with Christ, and by the insistence it puts in repeating that it is the very unity of Christ, the unity of his body of flesh, which makes the unity of the mystical body. This passage, to our knowledge, is the most complete thing that the Eastern Church has produced concerning our incorporation into the Savior.

The heretics," explains St. Cyril, "want the Son and the Father to have only a union with each other similar to that of the

The saint says a little further on in the same passage, "It is not the manna, the figure of eulogy, that is the bread of heaven, says Christ, but rather I who come down from heaven, who quicken all men, and who insert myself in those who eat me, through the flesh I have joined to myself."

(1) The saint expresses himself in this way to explicitly dismiss the Apollinarian heresy, into which his enemies accused him of falling.

(2) *Adv. Nest*, iv, P.G., LXXVI, 197: cfr *Ibid*, 200; it, *Epist.* xvn, P.G., Lxxvii, 113.

That which we ourselves have with one another, that is, a union of likeness and concord, in short, a moral union. But," continues the saint, "and here the doctrine of the mystical body appears, is it true that we have only a moral union with one another? Does not the sacred text itself speak of a real, "physical" union? And Cyril develops this thought in long passages, somewhat laden with the repetitions of which he is accustomed, but so rich in doctrine that they must be quoted at length. Let us listen to him.

Thus, he says, the only-begotten Son of God, who appears to our eyes in the very substance of the Father, and who holds in His nature His whole Father, became flesh, according to the Scripture; He became as it were mixed with our nature, by an ineffable union with a body of this earth. Thus this true God became, in all truth, a heavenly man, not a God-bearing man, as some say who do not exactly understand the depth of the mystery; but He was, in one and the same being, God and man. He thus united in Himself two natures which were in themselves very distant, and He made man commune and participate in the divine nature. For the communion of the Holy Spirit has come down to us; the Spirit has dwelt in us also. This began in Christ and was realized in Christ the first. For when he became like us, that is, man, he was anointed and consecrated, though in his divine nature, as he came from the Father, he himself sanctified by his own Spirit the temple of his flesh, and the whole universe which he created, inasmuch as all things must be sanctified. The mystery which took place in Christ is therefore the beginning and the means of our participation in the Spirit and of our union with God.

There you have the continuity of the incarnation of the Word and our incorporation into Christ. Here now is the role of the Eucharist with regard to both.

(1) *In Joh*" XI, II, P.G., LXXIV, 557, PUSEY, t. n, p. 734. Here is the text of the penultimate sentence, which is rather circumvented and the translation fails to - convey its force: Δια βέ βήκε γάρ καί εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος κοινωνία καὶ διαμονή τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν πρώτῳ Χριστῷ, δτε καθ' ἡμᾶς νοεῖται, τούτ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, χριόμενός τε καὶ ἀγιαζόμενος, εἰ ἐστὶ φύσει θεός, καθότι ἐφῆρκεν ἐκ πατρός, αὐτός τῳ Ἰδίῳ Πνεύματι τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγιαζών ναόν, καὶ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένην κτίσιν, ἥπερ ἀνὰ πρόπαι τὸ ἀγιάζεσθαι.

Now, in order to unite us also, to merge in unity with God and with each other, even though we are each, by our souls and bodies, separated into distinct personalities, the only-begotten Son invented a means found in his wisdom, according to the advice of the Father.

Through one body, his own body, he blesses (1) his faithful in mystical communion, making them concorporeal with him and with each other.

Who now could separate, who could deprive of their physical union (φυσικής ενώσεως) those who have been bound together by unity in Christ, by means of His one holy body? For if we all eat of the one bread, we all form one body (I *Cor.*, x, 17). There can be no division in Christ. That is why the Church is called the body of Christ and we his members, each one of us for our part, according to the doctrine of St. Paul (*Eph.*, v, 23, ss.). (*Eph.*, v. 23ff.) Being all united to the one Christ through His holy body, and receiving Him in our own bodies, one and indivisible, we must consider our members as belonging to Him more than to us.

(1) εὐλογών, cfr εὐλογία.

(2) "Ἴνα τοίνυν εἰς ἐνότητα τὴν ὡς πρὸς θεόν καὶ ἀλλήλους συνιώμεν τε καὶ συναναμίσγωμεθα ἡμεῖς αὐτοί, καίτοιτε καθ' ἕκαστον νοουμένη διαφορὰ δι-
εστηκότες εἰς ἰδιότητα καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασι, ἐμνηχίνισατότινατρόπον -
ὁΜονογενὴς διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πρεπούσης ἐξηυρημένον σοφίας καὶ βουλῆς τοῦ πατρός
Ἐνὶ γὰρ σώματι, τῇ ἰδίᾳ δηλαδὴ, τοὺς εἰς αὐτόν πιστεύοντας εὐλογών, διὰ τῆς
μυστικῆς μεταλήψεως, ἑαυτὸν τε συσσωμόμενος καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀποτελεῖ. Τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ
διέλοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους φυσικῆς ἐνώσεως ἐξοικιεῖ τοὺς δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ ἁγίου
σώματος πρὸς ἐνότητα τὴν εἰς Χριστόν ἀναδεσμουμένους ; Εἰ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ
ἐνός ἄρτου μετέχομεν, ἐν οἷς πάντες ἀποτελούμεθα σῶμα. Μεριζέσθαι γὰρ οὐκ
ἐνδέχεται τὸν Χριστόν. The saint here brings together two texts of St. Paul, in order
to illuminate them by each other. Christ cannot be divided (cf. I *Cor.*, 1:13), and :
Those who receive Him in "the bread" are one body (I *Cor.*, x, 17); therefore this
body is indivisible. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ κεκηρμάτικεν ἡ Ἐκκλησία, μέλη
δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνά μέρος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου σύνεσιν. Ἐνὶ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐνούμενοι
τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος, ἅτε δὴ τὸν ἐναλαβόντες καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἐν ἰδίῳ
σώμασιν, αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ οὗν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἴδια χρεωστοῦμεν μέλη. And that Christ
is the head and the Church the body composed of his members, St. Paul affirms."
This is followed by two texts of the Apostle, *Eph.* iv, 14-16, and *1 Cor.* 12, 5, 6, on the
building up of the body of Christ, and on the call made to the nations to become co-
heirs and *sharers* of the promise in Christ. Then the saint continues: "And if we are
all concorporeal with one another in Christ, and not only with one another, but also
with him who comes into us through his flesh, how can we not be one, all of us, both
in one another and in Christ? For Christ is the bond of unity, because he is one and
the same, God and man." In *Joh.*, xi, 11, P.G., LXXIV, 560, PUSEY, t. II, p. 735~736 -

Here, then, the unity of the mystical body is the very unity of the Savior, communicated to Christians (i). It is therefore real, "physical", indestructible and made by God, as the unity of the God-Man is real, "physical", indestructible and made by God. Never does the saint seem, in his developments, to limit to the rapid passage of the species in us the union that the Eucharist gives us with Christ (2). (2) It would even seem, on reading him, that the words "union", "contact", "inhabitation", here as in the mystery of the Incarnation, are too weak, and that we should speak of a unity, not hypostatic, no doubt, but real nevertheless.

So this unity, like the unity of the two natures in Christ, is a divine work, which can only come from the Holy Spirit and the Trinity. This is what our Saint explains, immediately after the passage we have just quoted:

(1) See also *Dial. de sancta Trinitate* i, P.G., LXXV, 697 (cfr. 693): "Divided as we are into separate individualities, one being Peter, the other Paul, and Thomas, and Matthew, we have become concorporeal in Christ, nourished by the one flesh and marked with the seal of unity by the one Holy Spirit, and, Christ being indivisible - indeed, he cannot be divided in any way whatsoever - we are all one in him. Therefore He said to His Father, "Let them be one, as we are one." (*Joh.* xvii, 22). Consider how much, in (MIGNE has here an obvious typo: gv, while Aubert whom he copies has év) Christ and in the Holy Ghost we are one, and according to the body, and according to the spirit. We must therefore blame those [Arians] who think differently and do not properly understand what has been written about us." - Likewise in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* xv, P.G., LXVIII, 972: "Christ is in no way divided, but remains one and whole in all. He is our peace; for he unites us to one another in concord, and through himself unites us to God in the Spirit." It. *de adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, xvi, P.G., LXVIII, 1068. - *Adv. Nest.* iv, P.G., LXXVI, 193. - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1273. - Cfr *In I Cor.* P.G., LXXIV, 858, 888. - *In Joh.*, vii-viii et xii, P.G., LXXIV, 80, 660.

(2) "Aus den Wirkungen der Eucharistie geht klar hervor, dass im Kommunizierenden die real-mystische Einwohnung, die Inexistenz Christi fort- dauere wie denn überhaupt in dieser Frage keine Rücksicht auf die Dauer der sakramentalen Gestalten genommen wird. Wir haben somit auch hier eine dauernde Einwohnung entsprechend der in der Kommunion mitgeteilten somatischen Lebensgemeinschaft." E. WEIGL, *die Heilslehre des heiligen Cyrill von Alexandrien*, Mainz, 1905, p. 215, cfr pp. 317, 53, 323.

Receiving all in ourselves the same one Spirit, that is, the Holy Spirit, we are thereby blended all together and with God. Though we are distinct from one another, and in each one dwells the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, yet this Spirit is one and indivisible; he therefore, by himself, brings together in unity the many and distinct spirits, making them, as it were, one spirit in himself. Just as the virtue of the holy flesh makes those who receive it concorporeal among themselves, in the same way, in my opinion, the one Spirit, who comes to dwell in all, leads them all to spiritual unity. Therefore, Saint Paul declares: "Supporting one another in love, keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Be of one body and one mind, just as you were called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all." (*Eph.* iv, 3-6). And truly, if the one Spirit of God dwells in all of us, only the Father of all will be God in us, and he will bring those who partake of the Spirit into unity with each other and with him through his Son.

(1) In *Joh.*, xi, II, P.G., LXXIV, 561. Compare with this development *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, 1, P.G., LXXV, 693-697, the essentials of which have been quoted in note 1, previous page, and *In Joh.* x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 341-344, of which the following are the principal passages. "That we are spiritually attached to Christ by feelings of perfect charity, by an upright and unshakable faith, by our love of virtue and the sincerity of our convictions, our doctrine does not object: we ourselves declare that all this is very right. But if it is said that we have no connection with him according to the flesh, we shall show that we are in opposition to the Holy Scriptures... Let us be told, in fact, what is the reason for being and the virtue of the mystical eulogy? Why does it come to us? Is it not to introduce Christ into us corporeally, through the participation and communion of his holy flesh? We become concorporeal with Him through the reception of the mystical eulogy and we become one body with Him, as the holy apostles were. Did not Christ say that their members, or rather, the members of all of us, were his? For it is written, "Know ye not that your members are the members of Christ?" (*I Cor.*, vi, 15). And the Saviour says, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him." (*Joh.*, vi, 56). It is to be well noticed here that Christ does not speak of being in us by a relation of affection, but by physical participation (κατά μέθεξιν φυσικὴν). Just as, if someone were to shape together two pieces of wax and melt them in the fire, he would reduce them to be one, so, by the reception of the body of Christ and his precious blood, he is in us, and we are united in him. That which was born corruptible could not otherwise be vivified, than by being mixed bodily with the body of life itself, that is, with the monogenes. If you do not want to be persuaded

This role of the Spirit in our incorporation into Christ is very important, and our Saint insists on it. To explain it further, to show its relation to the effect produced by the Eucharist, would require theological considerations that would take us away from the presentation we are making here. We will therefore not enter into them: all we want to retain from the passage is the transcendent, supernatural aspect that it shows in our union with the Savior. Here is how the saint concludes:

We are all one, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. We are one, I say, by the identity of nature (it is good, indeed, to repeat what has been said), by the formation given by piety, and by the communion of the holy flesh of Christ, and by the communion of the one Holy Spirit, as we have already said.

These statements are clear, and the saint insisted on them. Not enough, however, for his liking. In the following chapter, he returns to the same subject, from a different point of view, it is true; but this will allow him to repeat everything. Christ, he says, does not only unite us to each other through the Eucharist; he also unites us to God.

Christ comes into us first of all bodily, as man, by mixing and uniting himself to us through the mystical eulogy; spiritually also, as God, by the virtue and charity of his

by my words, believe at least in Christ, who cries, "He that eateth me hath "eternal life..." (*Joh.*, vi, 54"55)-Eternal life is, in truth, the flesh of life, that is, of the only begotten Son." - See also, on union with Christ through the Eucharist: *In Joh.* in, 6; iv, 2; vu-vin; xi, 6; xn, P.G., LXXIII, 520, 561, 584 and LXXIV, 20, 488, 660. - *Adv. Nest.* rv, P.G., LXXVI, 197 - *Glaphyra in Genesim*, 1, P.G., LXIX, 29 - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1360 - For the commentary on the Johannine verse: "That they may be one as we are" (*Joh.*, xvn, 22), see *Adv. Nest.* v, P.G., LXXVI, 213-216. It is a page of the *Thesaurus* inspired by St. Athanasius, *assertio* xn, P.G., LXXV, 204. - *Glaphyra in Numeros*, P.G., LXIX, 624 - *Glaphyra in Genesim*, iv, P.G., LXIX, 201. - *In I Cor.* (xn, 12), P.G., LXXIV, 889. - *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, xvn, P.G., LXVIII, 1089, 1117.

It is the Spirit who comes to infuse us with a new life and to make us participants in his divine nature. We see, then, that the bond of our unity with God our Father is Christ: he unites us to him as a man, and to God as God, by truly dwelling in his Father. We could not otherwise attain to incorruption, we whose nature had fallen into corruption, unless the nature which is above all corruption and change descended into us, raising us in some way to its own excellence, we who had fallen, detaching us, as it were, from the condition of things created by communion and mixture with it, and fashioning us in its image, we who by nature are not such. (1) We are consummated in union with God the Father, through the mediator, Jesus Christ. For by receiving in us, bodily and spiritually, the true Son, substantially united to the Father, as I have just said, we receive the glory of participating and communing with the supreme nature.

The doctrine of the Eucharist, like that of the Incarnation of which it is an aspect, thus closes in a doctrine of the divinization of men. This is what we must now consider more at leisure.

The Incarnation, St. Cyril has told us up to now, goes, of its own accord, to vivify the human race. Also, he continues, the life which it communicates is the divine life itself, so that its final effect - *agens agit sibi*

(1) This is the conception of physical and mystical redemption, by Tunion of our nature with God in Christ. This conception, neither in itself nor in St. Cyril, excludes that of redemption by vicarious satisfaction. The latter is expressed in *In Joh. xi, 12*, P.G. LXXIV, 585, 604. - *In Joh. xi, 12*, P.G., lxxiv, 585, 604, *In Joh. xi*, pref, P.G., LXXIII, 192 and especially in the *Paschal Homilies*. Often the two are united: *Adv. Nest.* v, P.G., LXXVI, 213. But generally he insists on the life-giving qualities produced in humanity by the presence of life itself: "As wherever light comes, darkness vanishes, so, immortality having come, all corruption disappears." *Schol. de incarnatione Onigeniti*, xn, P.G., LXXV, 1383*

(2) *In Joh. xi, 12*, P.G. LXXIV, 564, 565.
simile - is to operate, in every soul, a participation and an analogy, however remote, of what it is itself.

Thus, in Saint Cyril, as in other Fathers, there is the idea, often encountered already, of a mystical and collective prolongation of the

Incarnation. Also, the accusation has not spared him any more than these other Fathers, of losing sight of what is unique about the hypostatic union, in order to speak of a union of the Word with all men. The time has come to put an end to this old grievance, now that the doctrine of the incarnation has been fully explained.

The saint has attracted this grievance through a number of passages which we shall examine. They are generally centered around two formulas, which we have already noted in St. Hilary: "Christ carries us all in himself" (1), and "the whole of human nature is in Christ". The two expressions - as in Hilary - have the same meaning (2). The term nature (3), as it appears in the second, designates, not so much the constituent elements of each

(1) *Thesaurus*, γπ, P.G., LXXV, 204. "I will," says Christ to His Father, "that, joined in a kind of unity, they may be blended together, that they may all become as one body in Me, that they may all be in Me, since I bear them through the temple which I have assumed. In this way they will be perfected" in unity: it, *In Le.*, P.G., r.xxn, 681 - *In Joh.*, x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 432 - The expression is also found in this other form. "We were all in Christ": *In Joh.*, 1, 9; 11, 1; iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 164, 208, 568. - *In Joh.* vu-vin; x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 85, 432 - *Thesaurus*, xn, xxm, P.G., LXXV, 204, 384 - *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, HNTL, P.G., LXVIII, 1089, 1117. - *Adv. Nest.* v, P.G., LXXXVI, 216, and 1, P.G., LXXVI, 17: Τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀνακεφαλαιώσεται γένος...

(2) They will even be found used as synonyms; *In Joh.* 11, 1, P.G., LXXIII, 208.

(3) The word nature, φύσις, is one of the most confusing in the saint, whether it speaks, either of the "natural" unity, φυσική, of Christ, or of our "physical" union with him, in the eucharist, or of the "physical" presence in him, of all men. The closeness of these three unions, indicated by the very vocabulary, is to be noted. In all three cases the word which would best translate φύσις is "reality," as is the case with the word *natura* in St. Hilary.

(1) than the whole human race. (1) The saint explains this quite clearly, saying that, by this assumption of "our nature" in Christ, we are all restored,

(1) We rarely find in St. Cyril the affirmation, frequent in other Fathers, that Christ had to assume a complete nature in order to save the whole man. He says it, however, to refute Apollinarianism (cfr. auth. *De incarnatione Unigeniti*, P.G., LXXV, 1213). Thus he does, in the passage which we shall quote and where we shall see how little the distinction is marked, even in the decisive place, between the

individual humanity of Christ and humanity in general. The saint explains that the passions were stirred up in Christ as a proof of the reality of His human nature and as a remedy for our weaknesses. "They were, once stirred, to be extirpated by the virtue of the Word, so that nature, in Christ the first, was transformed into a better and more divine state (μεταστοιχειουμένης της φύσεως ἐν πρώτῳ Χριστῷ). Thus, indeed, and thus only, could healing reach us. In Christ, therefore, who was our firstfruits, the nature of man was raised to newness of life; in him, indeed, we have acquired supernatural privileges (τά ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐκερδάναμεν). Therefore he is called the second Adam by Scripture." Then after some development, Cyril goes on to refute those who attribute to Christ only an apparent humanity: "The Word of God has, in truth, united the whole nature of men, in order to save the whole man. What is not assumed is not saved." *In Joh.* vu-vin, P.G., LXXIV, 89. Cfr *Thesaurus*, xxvni, P.G., LXXV, 425. Here again is a series of passages where it is a question of the integrity of holy humanity and the totality of the human race. *In Joh.* 11:1, P.G., LXXIII, 205. - *In Joh.* xn, P.G., LXXIV, 629 - *In II Cor.* iv, 8, P.G., LXXIV, 936. - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 273, 1325. - *Adv. Nest.* ni, P.G., LXXVI, 164. - *De recta fide ad Reginas*, 11, P.G., LXXVI, 1365. - *Horn. pasch.* x, P.G., LXXVII, 627.

(2) *In Joh.* v., P.G., LXXIII, 753. - *In Joh.* vii-viii, P.G., LXXIV, 89. - *Adv. Nest.* ni, P.G., LXXVI, 164. - *Hom. pasch.* ix, xxvii, xxvni, P.G., LXXVII, 581, 940, 956. Here are the last three passages. Christ is our spiritual springtime. "In the day when he loved us, that is, when he became man, he transformed in himself all nature to new life." - "Christ rose again... reforming at the same time, in himself first (ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρώτῳ), the nature of man to immortality and blessed life. As it had fallen in Adam, when the condemnation incurred by him spread to the whole human race which descended from him, so have we received life in Christ. As the second seed of humanity, the second Adam, he sends his own life into all men. And as in Adam was the nature to incur curse and death, so again is the nature of man in Christ, to be blessed by God the Father and to be declared victorious over death through him. - a He became the way to immortality for our nature. This has been renewed

all crucified (1), all conquerors of death (2), all raised, all adopted by the Father (3).

in him, and we are made alive again... For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all are quickened."

(1) *In Romans* (vi, 6), P.G., LXXIV, 796: "We were crucified with Christ, when His flesh was crucified, which contained in it, as it were, the whole nature. As in Adam, when he incurred the curse, the whole nature was infected; so, according to Scripture, do we rise in Christ." Cfr 797.

(2) *In I Cor.* xv, 3, P.G., LXXIV, 896: "It is not a foreign body which [in the resurrection] the Word of the Father quickens, nor the body of the firstborn, but rather His own body, by which He died for us, according to the Scripture, in order to show that the grace to rise was given for us. For the whole nature of man was in him, that he might trample death under foot. In the same way again it is said that we are buried and raised with him." It. *in Joh.* xi, 12, P.G. LXXIV, 565.

(3) It is generally in connection with the resurrection that the expression is used, as we have already seen in the preceding texts. *In Zachariam*, P.G., LXXII, 268; *In Joh.* 11, pref. iv, 2; v, 2; vi, P.G., LXXIII, 192, 565, 756, 1048; *In Joh.* ix, xi, 2, 12, P.G., LXXIV, 154, 473, 565. Here is *In Joh.* iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 565: "Christ," he writes, "gave his own body for the life of all, and through it he introduces life into us again. How is this? I will say it as best I can. After the life-giving Word of God had dwelt in the flesh, he transformed it into his own excellence, that is, into life, and, having come wholly into it by an ineffable union, he made it life-giving, even as he is life by nature. Therefore the body of Christ quickens those who partake of it: by descending into mortal bodies, it drives out death from them. He also removes corruption from them, because he communicates to them in himself the Word which prevents all corruption." Here, according to PUSEY (vol. 1, p. 520), the Greek text of this passage, which is somewhat difficult: Ἐξελαύνει γάρ τὸν θάνατον ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι γένηται, καὶ ἐξίστησι φθοράν, τὸν τὴν φθοράν ἀφανίζοντα Λόγον τελείως ὀδίνον καὶ ἀνηταν ἑαυτῷ. AUBERT, who has read λόγον instead of Λόγον (vol. iv, 354, reprinted in P.G., LXXIII, 566), translates more painfully: *rationem in seipso pariens quae corruptionem perfecte delet* (it., *In Joh.*, iv, P.G., LXXIII, 601. Cfr *Gal.*, iv, 19). Then the saint continues: "But someone, having thought well about the resurrection, will perhaps say to me: 'Will not those who have not believed in Christ, and have not received Him, live again on the day of the resurrection? What? Will not all creatures who have fallen into death come to life? Yes, without doubt, all flesh will rise: the resurrection of the dead is announced by the prophets. In our opinion, in fact, the mystery of Christ's resurrection extends to all humanity. It is in him, the first, that, according to faith, our whole nature is freed from corruption. All shall rise again, after the likeness of him who rose for us, and who contained us all in himself, inasmuch as he was man. For just as we were included in

As we can already see, and as the texts that follow will show, these formulas do not speak so much of the Incarnation as of our justification; or rather, they show the Incarnation insofar as it continues in our justification, and they speak more of the Savior's relations with men than of his relations with the Father.

What interests us especially is that they express, in a single system, two different ways of explaining our justification, both of which are also ways of conceiving the mystical body. The first is the doctrine of the two Adams: Christ, according to this conception, contains us all in himself as our first father contained us, and in him we are holy in the sight of God, if, however, on our part we act in accordance with this union. The second is the doctrine of vivification: evil has deprived us of life and incorruption; but the Word is life, and superabundant and perfect life; by possessing Him in us, we are all regenerated.

We have often seen these two ways of expressing things separate, but we have also often seen them come together and unite (1). But it is not

In the same way, in Him who became the firstborn for us, all will rise from the dead. Only those who have done good will rise to life, as it is written (*Mt.*, xxv, 46), and those who have done evil will rise to judgment." - On the subject of our adoption in the Son, see: *In J oh.*, 11, 21, P.G., LXXIII, 208. "How the Word implanted grace in us, and rooted the Spirit in us anew" (col. 205)..., behold: Christ, the second Adam, "and who was life itself, died according to the flesh for us, that he might conquer death for us, and raise up with him all nature: for we were all in him, inasmuch as he became man (καθό γέγονεν άνθρωπος). Again, he receives the Spirit for us, that he may sanctify all nature. - *In J oh.*, v, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 753, 756. - *Quod unus sit Christus*, P.G., LXXV, 1273, 1325. - *Horn. pasch.* xvn, P.G., LXXVII, 773. - Cfr *De recta fide ad Reginas*, 11, 22, P.G., LXXVI, 1364. - *In J oh.*, ix, P.G., LXXIV, 164.

(1) Thus in the theory of the recapitulation of St. Irenaeus, which is moreover frequently stated by St. Cyril: *Glaphyra in Genesim*, 1, P.G., LXIX, 16 - *In Joh*, ix, xi, xn, P.G., LXXIV, 273, 580, 656. - *In Sophoniam*, P.G., LXXI, 1017. - *Adv. Nest*, 1, P.G., LXXVI, 17.

that in St. Cyril, we believe, the synthesis is accomplished. The saint shows that Christ is the second Adam (i), the second stock in which our whole race is included, which is the first way of saying, and he shows this by making it clear that Christ is life and life in such fullness that he contains as in one source the life of all mankind, and that he therefore has, with regard to every soul, the power to vivify, which is the second way of saying (2).

Let us read, for example, the following passage:

He, the Word who was God and begotten of God before the ages, the Scripture says that he is begotten today (*Ps.* n, 7). What does this mean, if not that He wanted to give us adoption? For in Christ (3), humanity was complete inasmuch as He was man. In the same way, although He possessed the Spirit, it is said that He was given to the Son, so that in Him we all might receive the Spirit. For this purpose he assumes the seed of Abraham, as it is written, and becomes in all things like his brothers. He, the monogenes, does not receive the Holy Spirit for his own sake, for the Spirit is his, he is in him, he is through him, as we have said. But [he receives it] inasmuch as, having become man, he had in himself the whole of nature to repair it and restore it...

Let us see, in fact, why, in the holy letters, he is called

(2) *In Hebraeos*, P.G., LXXIV, 985. - *In Joh.* ix, x; xi, 4, P.G., LXXIV, 184, 432, 433, 481. The saint also says: "because he is the firstfruits". *In Joh.* x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 432; it - we abbreviate the references - 169, 184, 545, 548, 549" 565 I LXXIII, 569 - Christ is the stump (LXXVII, 968; LXXVI, 209). Grace flows (διαβαίνει) from Christ into us (saepe): "Sin was slain in Christ first, and from him and through him grace flowed into us." *In Rom.* (vi, 6), P.G., LXXIV, 797.

(3) *In Joh.* i, 9; ii, 1; iv, 2; v, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 161, 208 (quoted on previous page), 565, 581, 752. - *In Rom.* P.G., LXXIV, 796. - *In Joh.* xi, 1, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 549, 552, 553, 565 - For the other expression, "Christ bore us in himself", the connection is better marked: *Adv. Nest.* 1 and v, P.G., LXXVI, 17 and 216. - *Thesaurus*, xn, P.G., LXXV, 204. - *In Joh.* x, P.G., LXXIV, 432.

(4) According to PUSEY, vol. 1, p. 603: Ὅτι ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ καταδέχεται πρὸς υἱοθεσίαν, ὅλη γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἐν Χριστῷ, καθόπερ ἦν ἄνθρωπος. AUBERT (Paris, 1638, t. iv, 472" reprinted in P.G., LXXIII, 753) reads: ὅλη γὰρ ἐνανθρώπησε Χριστῷ, which he translates, supposing φύσις implied: *tota quippe natura in Christo reperitur*.

the second Adam. The reason for this is that in the first Adam the human race was created and then, through disobedience, corrupted, and in the second Adam, that is, in Christ, it receives as it were a second beginning, raised to a new life and immortality, "In Christ indeed is a new creation," as St. Paul says (*II Cor.*, v. 17). The Spirit of renewal, the Holy Spirit, the principle of eternal life, was given to us when Christ was glorified, that is to say, after the resurrection, when, after having broken the bonds of death, He appeared superior to all corruption, and lived again, having in Himself all nature, inasmuch as He was man and one of us (1)

It is therefore in his human nature that Christ understands all our nature, that is, all the regenerated among men, and even, in law, all men. Our saint repeats this over and over again: it is inasmuch as he became man, inasmuch as he is the first fruits of our species, that Christ carries us in himself, in his body. (2) He alone is like the sheaf that was once offered to God, the sheaf of the firstfruits, which represented the whole harvest.

(1) *In Joh.* v, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 753-756.

(2) Καθό γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος. Here are some abbreviated references: P.G., LXXIII, 208, 568, 753, 756; LXXIV, 20, 85, 432, 473; LXXV, 384; LXXVI, 216; Lxxvn, 576; LXVIII, 2, 73, 208, 1089, 1117, etc.

(3) * Jesus Christ is one. Yet He is represented as a great sheaf, and He is, because He contains in Himself all the faithful by a spiritual union. How else could Paul write, "As we have been raised with Him, so we are seated with Him in heaven" (*Eph.* 2:6)? Since he became like us, we have become like him and "have been joined to him in the body" (*Eph.* 2:6). That is why we say that we are all in him. Did not He Himself say to His Father, "I will that as thou and I are one, so they may be in us"? (*Joh.*, xvn, 11, 21). For finally, he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit (*I Cor.*, iv, 17). Well, the Lord is a sheaf, because He has all of us in Him, and He extends Himself over all of us, and is the first fruits of humanity consummated in faith and destined for the heavenly treasures... Therefore, when the Lord came back to life and with one gesture offered himself to God his Father as the firstfruits of humanity, then, yes, then we are transformed to a new life." *Glaphyra in Numeros*, P.G., LXIX, 624, 625. Cfr *In Joh.* iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 569-572. See also, on Christ who, in Him, offers us to God, *In Joh.* ix; x, 2, and xi, 4, P.G., LXXIV, 184,

The only Son became man. He, who is life itself, has, in a certain way, deposited himself in our nature. Thus the power of death is overcome and the ferment of corruption that had invaded us is destroyed, because the divine nature is free from all propensity to evil, and He carried us in Himself through His own flesh. For we were all in Him, inasmuch as He became man, in order that the members which were on earth, that is to say, the

passions of the flesh, might be mortified, and that the law of sin, which tyrannized our members, might be repressed; and, moreover, that our nature might be sanctified, and that a model and teacher might be given us in the way of godliness, and that a pure knowledge might be imparted to us, both of the truth to be known, and of the good to be done. All these goods, by becoming a man, Christ provided for us. It was necessary, in fact, that human nature be raised to the summit of all good.

Thus, it is always a question, not of the Incarnation itself, but of the consequences of it. Let us listen to the Holy Doctor (2) in his commentary on the verse of St. John (*Joh.*, 1, 14): "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us"; in us rather, ἐν ἡμῖν, as the Greek says.

< He dwelt in us." This reveals to us the very deep mystery. We were all in Christ, and the common person of humanity is reformed in him (3). (3) He is therefore called the second Adam, because

432, 481 - *In Hebraeos*, P.G., LXXIV, 985. - *In Le.*, xxn, P.G., LXXII, 905, 908. - *Horn, pasch.* v, P.G., LXXVII, 481. - *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, xi, P.G., LXVIII, 757.

(1) *In Joh.* x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 432. A few lines further on (432), the saint continues: "What I have already said, I will repeat: By dwelling in heaven, he places us in the presence of the Father, for he is the first fruits of humanity. For as he is life itself, yet according to the Scriptures he died and rose again for us: so, though he always sees the Father and is always seen by the Father, yet according to the holy letters, behold, he appears before God. This is when He became man, not for Himself, but for us, inasmuch as He was man, and inasmuch as the work of our salvation still lacked that we ourselves should ascend into the heavens, which is what happened in Christ, the first." Cfr *In Joh.*, ix, P.G., LXXIV, 184.

(2) *In Joh.* i, 9, P.G., Lxxiii, 161-164, PUSEY, t. n, pp. 141-142.

(3) Καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀναβαίνει πρόσωπον, reads PUSEY. AUBERT, in MIGNE, reads: καὶ ... εἰς αὐτόν ἀναβιοὶ πρόσωπον. that he communicates to the whole of nature all the goods of happiness and glory, even as the first Adam had brought upon us the curses of corruption and ignominy.

The Word therefore dwelt in all through one: one having been constituted Son of God in power, according to the spirit of holiness, his dignity is communicated to the whole human race, so that, through one of us, this word reaches us also: "I have said, you are all gods and sons of the Most High." (*Ps.* LXXXI, 6).

In Christ, then, the slave is truly delivered; he is raised to mystical unity

with Him who took the form of a slave. Thus are we elevated, in imitation of this unique exemplar, by the kinship which we have with him according to the flesh. For what reason, then, did He not descend among the angels, but into the race of Abraham, thereby becoming completely like His brethren and truly becoming man? Does not everyone see that He descended into slavery, not to gain anything, but to give Himself to us? He wanted to enrich us by his poverty, to lead us by his likeness to us to the ineffable greatness that is his, and to make us gods and children of God through faith. He therefore dwelt in us, who by nature is the Son of God, so that by his Spirit we might cry out, "Abba, Father" (*Rom.*, Vin. 15). And indeed, the Word dwells in all, in the one temple which He took for us and from us, so that, having us all in Himself, He might reconcile us all in one body to God His Father, as Saint Paul says (*Eph.*, n, 16).

Union with the Word is thus, at the same time, what places Christ at an infinite distance from us, by making him life, and what unites him to us, by making him our life. Enabled by his divinity to carry us all in himself, he communicates his greatness to us all in himself. This is the universal consequence of the unique Incarnation. Cyril insists:

Remember well, he recommends, this profound and great mystery, and keep in your heart the consecrated formula of divine dogmas. You hear it: the Word, the only Son of God, became like us, so that we might become like him, as far as our nature allows, and as far as the plan of our - supernatural renewal requires. He humbled Himself, that He might exalt to His own height that which is low by nature; He took the form of a slave, who is by nature Lord and Son, that He might bring him who is by nature a slave to the glory of adoption, according to His likeness and according to what He is. He became as we are, that is, man, so that we might

564 P. I, CH. IX. - S. JOHN. II. JESUS, OUR LIFE

518 P. II, CH. VIII. - SAINT CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA let us become as he is, I mean, gods and sons; and he receives in himself, as his own, our miseries, to give us in exchange his greatness (i).

The same teachings are found in the following passage. We will also see there how much Saint Cyril, faithful to the tradition of the great Doctors, insists little on the distinction between Christ and us, in order to better show the continuity which links the members to the head:

Christ is both the only Son and the firstborn son. He is the only Son, as God; he is the firstborn son, through the saving union which he placed between us and himself, by becoming man. Therefore we, in him and through him, are made sons of God, both by nature and by grace. We are by nature, in him, and in him alone; we are by participation and by grace, through him, in the Spirit. Just as it became proper to humanity in Christ to be the only Son, because it is united to the Word according to the economy of salvation, so it became proper to the Word to be among many brothers and sisters and to be the firstborn, because of his union with the flesh.

The role of Christ, therefore, through the incarnation, is that of mediator, mediator of the divine life. From him derives all adoptive filiation, just as from the Father derives all fatherhood (3).

The Son," explains our holy patriarch, "gives us the ability to become this

(1) *In Joh.* xii, i, P.G. LXXIV, 700.

(2) *De vecta fide ad Theodosium*, P.G., LXXVI, 1177, transcribed in the *De incarnatione Unigeniti*, P.G., LXXV, 1229, which is not by Cyril.

(3) *Thesaurus*, xin, P.G., LXXV, 217, and xxm, P.G., 388: "We became partakers of the divine nature when the Word bore our lowliness in order to lead us to his greatness, and not to dwell in lowliness like ourselves. Therefore, although we are by nature only men, we are called gods, since we are in Christ, for Christ is God." See also *Ibid.* xxiv, P.G., LXXV, 395, 400. - *In Joh.*, i, 9, P.G., Lxxiii, 156, 157: ■ So is the slave raised to the dignity of an adopted son, by participation in the true Son, so is he called and exalted to the greatness which befits him by nature." It. *in Joh.* n, 1 and ix, P.G., Lxxiii, 213; LXXIV, 184, - On our union with the Father, see *Horn, pasch.* x, P.G., LXXVII, 625.

IN CHRIST, UNITED WITH THE TRINITY 519 which he himself is in truth and by nature: he puts this in communion with us, to show his love for men and his charity for the world... Becoming partakers of him through the Spirit, we receive in us, like a seal, his likeness and that

of the Father (1).

Like the Incarnation itself, the mystical extension that it takes on in us must therefore be attributed to the Holy Spirit (2).

The Spirit makes us perfectly conformed to Christ by his sanctifying power. For he is, as it were, the form [that is, the perfect likeness] of Christ our Savior, and he imparts to us, by himself, the divine likeness.

On this presence and operation of the Holy Spirit in the souls of the just, the saint has energetic formulas, the exact meaning of which is still the subject of discussion today. We, for our part, do not have to enter into the debate. That, according to St. Cyril, the action of the Holy Spirit in the just

(1) *In Joh.* i, 9, P.G. LXXIII, 153.

(2) On the role of the Holy Spirit in our sanctification, one will find a number of references and a very good presentation in an article by J. MAHE: *La Sanctification d'après Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. x, 1909, pp. 30-40, 469-492. We only regret that the author does not make more use of the idea of our vivification in the Word made flesh, an idea which is nevertheless of capital importance in Saint Cyril. We borrow from him the following quotation (p. 485) which makes clear the opinion of the saint, not only on created and uncreated grace, but also on justification in general (*In Is.*, iv, 2, P.G., LXX, 936-937). It is about the words (*Is.*, XLIV, 21): 'I have formed thee, thou art my servant. "There is for man, he says, a simple formation, as when our first father Adam was formed from the earth. After this formation, there is the formation which is proper to each one of us: each one is formed in his mother's womb; it is by this way that we come into existence. Then there is that formation by which we become children of God, intellectually elevated by the knowledge of the divine laws to a supernatural beauty, that which the adornment of the virtues gives to our souls; this beauty is spiritual beauty. At the same time, there is formation in Christ, in the image of Christ, through the participation of the Holy Spirit... Christ is formed in us through the Holy Spirit who introduces into our souls a certain divine form through sanctification and justice. In this way the character of the hypostasis of God the Father is imprinted in us, thanks to the Holy Spirit who assimilates us to Him through sanctification."

(3) *Horn, pasch.* x, P.G., LXXVII, 617.

Whether this operation is proper and personal to the third person, or whether it is not, it is certain, in any case, that, according to our saint, this operation really divinizes us (i) and links us to the whole Trinity in Christ. "In Christ" is all we wish to consider in these pages,

In Christ one is justified and one obtains unity with him through the participation of the Holy Spirit in the good pleasure of the Father.

As everything comes from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit, everything is also brought back in the Spirit, through the Son, to the Father.

The Spirit is the perfect image of the substance of the Son, as Paul wrote: "Those whom he has discerned he has predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son." (*Rom.*, vin., 29). He therefore makes those in whom he comes like the image of the Father, that is, like the Son. In this way, everything is brought back by the Son to the one from whom he is, that is, to the Father, through the Spirit (3).

The whole tenth chapter of the eleventh book on St. John, from which this passage is taken, develops the same idea.

Our return to God, which takes place through Christ, our Saviour, is only possible through the communion and sanctification of the Spirit. What raises us up to the Son and thus unites us to God is the Spirit. By taking him into us, we become participants and communicants in the divine nature. Now, we receive him through the Son, and, in the Son, we receive the Father.

(1) *In Mich.* P.G., LXXI, 668. - *In Joh.* x and xi, 12, P.G., LXXIV, 301, 564 - *In Joh.* v, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 757, 760 - "By the Spirit and in the Spirit we are transformed to an ideal beauty, regenerated to a new life, and fashioned to the divine adoption." *In Joh.*, 11, 1, P.G., LXXIII, 244. - It, *In Joh.* vn-vni and x, P.G., LXXIV, 80, 433 - *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, iv, v, P.G., LXXV, 904, 961 - *Horn. pach.* x, P.G., LXXVII, 624.

(2) *Glaphyra in Genesim*, ni, P.G., LXIX, 148; *In Joh.* x, P.G., LXXIV, 296; *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, v, P.G., LXXV, 976.

(3) *In Joh.* xi, 10, P.G. LXXIV, 541.

(4) *In Joh.* xi, 10, P.G., LXXIV, 545, it. 541. All works *ad extra* are common to the three persons, our saint often repeats; but yet all things are from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit, πάντα παρὰ Πατρός δι* Τίου ἐν Πνεύματι: *In Joh.*, ιχ; ζ, 2, P.G., LXXIV 280, 336, et saepe. Cfr

Such is the doctrine of St. Cyril of Alexandria on the divinization of all men in the incarnate Word. Now that he has explained it in its entirety, we can judge if he loses sight, even for a moment, of the unique hypostatic union. On the contrary: he sees only it. Only, he sees it taking on its full mystical extension.

There is, yes, a collective aspect to the Incarnation. But it is only the result, natural in a way, of what the Incarnation has, in the first place, that is unique and incommunicable. The human nature of the Savior must be perfectly united to Life, in order to influence in all men a divine life which makes them participants in the God-Man. In order to speak of a union of God with all men, of a collective incarnation, if one can use this formula, it is no more necessary to deny the true, unique and individual Incarnation than it is to demolish the foundation in order to construct the building.

Christian doctrine is not reduced to sacrificing one dogma for another, and nothing is so simple as the development of truth which takes its fullness under the action of him who is truth in fullness.

The doctrinal synthesis of St. Cyril is a fine example. Perhaps, now that we have quoted the principal passages in which the saint expresses it, it will be useful to draw out the lines and show their cohesion. In the explanations which follow, we do not believe that we are adding anything, but only systematizing, from the point of view of the question which we are examining, the teaching of the saint.

Dial, de sancta Trinitate, iv, P.G., LXXV, 905. - *Glaphyra in Genesim*, in, P.G., Lxix, 148. - *Glaphyra in Leviticum*, P.G., LXIX, 549- - *Le.*
(v, 19), P.G., Lxxii, 908. - *In Joh.* 1, P.G., LXXIII, 101. - *In Rom*, P.G., LXXIV, 820.

In this synthesis, therefore, everything is uninterrupted and of one coming; everything comes back to the Incarnation; but the Incarnation goes to the end of itself and to the end of the human race.

In the beginning, there was only one principle: the Christological dogma; the humanity of Christ is one with the Word of life.

Next, a single consequence, but one which has two aspects; this humanity, being the body and blood of Life itself, is life-giving: it therefore has both an unparalleled excellence, and a universal function.

All that remains is to let these truths unfold, and we will have the saint's doctrine on the Eucharist, his doctrine on the divinization of men, and on the mystical aspect of Christ, in short, in all its realism and in all its richness, his doctrine of the mystical body.

Realism then. As truly as the Word of life became flesh, and as truly as his humanity thereby became the life of men, so truly are we quickened by incorporation into him.

The Incarnation itself is at stake, and our saint has no words harsh enough to rebuke those who would reduce our unity in Christ to a set of moral relationships.

Nor does he have expressions energetic enough to exalt this unity. Physical union, he frequently says, ἐνωσις φυσική (2), union according to the flesh, mysterious union

(1) Already St. Hilary considered such an opinion to be insane; *De Trinitate*, viii, 6, P.L., x, 241: *Nescit plane sapere, qui Deum nescit*. Cyril is no more tender: "There is no idea so absurd," he says on this subject, "that does not creep into light minds. *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, 1, P.G., LXXV, 696; cfr *In Joh.*, x, P.G., LXXIV, 341.

(2) *Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, 1, P.G., LXXV, 693-697. - *In Joh.* vii-viii and x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 20, 341-344. - *In Joh.* 1, 9; in, 2; iv, 2, P.G., LXXIII, 5² 561, 584. See, besides the passages just read: *Glaphyra in Genesim*, 1, P.G., LXIX, 20 - *Glaphyra in Numeros*, P.G., LXIX, 624 - *In Rom.* LXXIV, 820. - *Adv. Nest.* iv and v, P.G., LXXVI, 193-197, 213-216.

Cfr *In I Cor.* P.G., LXXIV, 869 - *In Le.*, xxii, P.G., LXXII, 909. certainly (1), but real, real as must be the attachment to the vine (2), real as must be the insertion in the body.

The Eucharist is the means par excellence of this insertion: in this sacrament, Christ comes to take us, to change us, to vivify us, uniting us all, in him, among ourselves and to God.

Once again, the Incarnation is at stake, and it is necessary to admit, in all its extent, the theology of the holy sacrament, in order to understand what the Word has done to the humanity he has taken. The life that he is, he made it life-giving, absolutely, universally life-giving, and we see it as it is, only by seeing it in the act of its universal vivification.

For, it must be recalled once again, it is in his humanity that Christ is the life of men, mediator and head of the Mystical Body, and the doctrine of Saint Cyril is very clear on this point. This is still only one aspect of the Incarnation: his humanity was precisely assumed to be the salvation of the human race.

In itself, and wherever it is, humanity has something universal (3). (3) In Christ, this universality is transcendently present because of the divinity. The principle of all life is the eternal life, and the hypostatic union is the only reason for the existence of all the supernatural life which is in Christ, of his grace, the School will say.

And it is this same hypostatic union which causes to flow into our humanity the life which it puts into the humanity of Christ. As soon as the three persons of the Holy Trinity have operated the incarnation, it is enough: without any other divine intervention,

(1) *In Joh.* vu-vin; xi, 12, P.G., LXXIV, 20, 568. -*Dial. de sancta Trinitate*, iv, P.G., LXXV, 905.

(2) *In Joh.* x, 2, P.G., LXXIV, 333, 344.

(3) Cfr L. MALEVEZ, S.J., *V Église dans le Christ. Étude de théologie historique et théorique*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, vol. xxv, 1935" pp. 280 ff.

the vital reserves are accumulated, so superabundant, so fully human, that they are made to vivify the whole human race.

Let the obstacles fall, let the death of Christ overcome sin, and they will spread throughout the universe. And this not by our own doing, nor even merely by virtue of our community of nature with Christ, but because of the incarnate Word, because of the union which in him our nature has with God, because of the union which, by the immensity of his supernatural life, his humanity possesses with us and puts between us.

It is thus by the very personality that makes up his subsistence that the humanity of Christ is "mystical"; his union with the Word of life is the reason for his union with us; his quality of leader, far from being an added privilege, is part of his essential greatness.

Thus, in order to be "mystical", Christ is neither less individual, nor less concrete, nor less alive. On the contrary, it is the very intensity of his personal life that constitutes him the universal principle of supernatural life.

And the faithful, on their part, by reason of their assumption into a higher life, suffer no diminution of individuality. Grace, as Cyril (i) showed before the Council of Trent, sanctifies each one of them personally; their life is therefore only more abundant, more perfect, and consequently more personal and more immanent, being divinized in Christ.

It is not, therefore, a matter of St. Cyril - nor anywhere else in the doctrine of the mystical body - of a vague theory which would erase all contours and take away from Christ his supreme greatness and from men their individuality, in order to merge everything into a sort of floating and indeterminate life. Nor is it a question of lending the Saviour a nature which would be a middle ground between divinity and humanity

(i) *Dial, de sancta Trinitate*, i, PG, LXXV, 698. *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, xvii, P.G., LXVIII, 1068. In *Joh. κ χι*, n, P.G., LXXIV, 557, 561, and which would thus possess an immensity of its own, intermediate between the divine omnipresence and the human exiguity. That the Monophysites speak in this way is true: they have lost sight of the strict consubstantiality of Christ with men. But Cyril, in spite of some unfortunate expressions, has nothing of a monophysite. His Christ is only truly God and truly man and truly one.

However, just as Christ is "mystical", according to Saint Cyril, by that very fact which makes him Christ, the Incarnation itself is also "mystical", simply by being the Incarnation.

We mean that, according to our saint, the pure and simple union with the Word, by placing the Savior's humanity in a separate order, fills it at the same time with such an abundance of supernatural life that the divinization of the entire human race is necessary to manifest its fullness. Finished in itself, and totally, from the indivisible moment when the God-Man is conceived, it is nevertheless not finished in every respect. Or more exactly, it is, and at the moment, so perfectly completed that the religious history of humanity will only unfold its splendors.

In order to say what Christ is and what the Incarnation is, we must therefore speak of Christians. Thus the same theological movement that led the Christological dogma to its definitive formula led the doctrine of the mystical body to its perfection. The teaching of St. Cyril is not a sudden individual discovery, but the culmination of a long work in which many Fathers cooperated, or rather the blossoming of a seed over which God had been watching from the beginning.

For just as our ideas in our souls are not inert, being alive with the life of our souls, so Christian truths are not a dead letter in the Church, being impregnated with the life of Christ, who is both life and truth.

In the course of this study, we will have noted the stages of this development. Already in Saint Ignatius of Antioch, several elements of the doctrine of the mystical body are formed, and we see them seeking their unity around the doctrine of the Church.

Later, a synthesis of the same kind is outlined by St. Irenaeus, according to the theory of the two Adams and the system of recapitulation.

The decisive orientation is affirmed in St Athanasius. The idea of life comes to the fore and gradually the other points of doctrine are organized around it. When St. Cyril comes to teach that the life of the Church is only the flowing out, in the Christian, of that life which the hypostatic union had deposited, and in superabundant fullness, in Christ, the second Adam, he is only completing an already ancient work.

This work, moreover, is more the work of God than the work of men. Often, it may be thought, those who have cooperated in it have not known what their place was in it. Often, too, we cannot see, at present, what the connections and influences have been. Who knows if what we think is the discovery of a Father is not the simple repetition of what many had already said before him, in the anonymity of Christian preaching?

But what does it matter if the work of men is less clearly seen, if the work is the work of God? In the progress of Christian truth, what acts, what ferments, what lives, is Christian truth itself. He who is the truth and who has deigned to dwell in us is also he who is the life and who lives in his doctrine. It is under his inner pressure, under his guidance, sometimes unnoticed, in his light, which makes us see more than we see, that Christians have grown in the truth.

Basically, and we are only repeating what is the summary of this part of our study, basically there is only Christ, there is only the Incarnation. All the life of the Church, all the splendid concordance of our dogmas, all that comes only from the life and unity of the Savior. It is enough to take him in his entirety to have all of Christianity, just as it is enough to say the Incarnation in its entirety to express all of Christian doctrine.

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Besides this theology, what the authors who have

It is not very important to mention the names of those who followed St. Cyril in the Greek Church. We can therefore be satisfied with recalling a few names and quoting a few texts.

There are, first of all, Pseudo-Denys (1) and St. Maximus the Confessor (2); they have quite strong pages on the divinization which is given to us in Christ.

There is also Saint Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch (3). He

(1) Here are the references of some passages referring to the mystical body: *De hierarchiis ecclesiastica*, ni, i; n, i; ni, 9, 1, 12; v, 4; *De coelesti hierarchia*, ni, 2, P.G., ni, 424, 394, 437, 428, 444, 504, 166. - Let us quote, as an example, the following passage, where PS.-DENYS shows how Christ, because he is God, unites the whole Church in him: "The cause of everything, which fills everything, is the divinity of Jesus. It makes the agreement of the whole and the parts. It is neither the whole nor the parts, and it is the whole and the part, for it includes in itself the whole and the part and the whole, and it surpasses everything in every way. It is perfect in the imperfect, as the principle of perfection; it is imperfect in the perfect, as more perfect than them in every respect. It is form-informing in things without form, as the principle of form; it is formless, in forms, as being overformed." *De divinis nominibus*, 11, 10, P.G., in, 648, cfr xi, 2.

(2) Maximus was born around 580 and died in 662. The center of his doctrine is our divinization in Christ. "The incarnation," he says, "makes man a God, inasmuch as God became man." (*Diversa capita*, *centuria* 1, P.G., xc, 1204. Cfr *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, $\chi\chi\iota$, XLVIII, P.G., xc, 321, 444). It is a transformation (*Quaest. ad Thal.*, vi, P.G., xc, 280, 281; *Ad Marinum*, P.G., xci, 33), a kind of identification of our being with Christ (*Quaest. ad Thal.*, xxv, xxn, P.G., xc, 340, 324). The Eucharist, in particular, gives us this new life, it transforms us into our God and Lord Jesus Christ (*Mystagogia*, xxiv, P.G., xci, 705); it gives us, through likeness to our God, communion with him ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and even identity ($\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$): so that man receives to become god, from man he was (*Ibid.*, 704). This is not, of course, a substantial change in our being (*Quaest. ad Thal.*, xxxm, P.G., xc, 376); but yet a real transformation, wrought by grace (*Quaest. ad Thal.*, xxv, HIM, P.G., xc, 336, 505; *Capita de charitate*, n, P.G., xc, 1001; *Diversa capita*, π , P.G., xc, 1224) and an extension in us of the life of Christ (*Diversa capita*, 1, P.G., xc, 1180). - The central mystery is Christ who unites everything in himself (*Quaest. ad Thal.*, LX, P.G., xc, 620). Just as the world is like one man (*Mystagogia*, vii, P.G., xci, 685), the Church is like one man and one man is like the Church (*Mystagogia*, iv, P.G., xci, 672. Cfr *Ibid.*, n, xxiv, P.G., xci, 668 and 705).

(3) Patriarch of Antioch from 559 to 599; but remains in exile from 570 to 593-Works in MIGNE, P.G., LXXXIX.

lived in the middle of the sixth century, half a century after Pseudo-Denysius, and was a friend of Pope St Gregory. He was the defender of the faith against Justinian. A very interesting passage is preserved from him (i), which gives new force to the soteriological argument:

God bore in Himself all that we are. He assumed our whole race in one individual, and thus became the first fruits of our nature.

He wanted to make the fallen whole right. Now, our whole race was fallen. So He mixed Himself with the whole of Adam, He poured Himself, the life, into the dead, to save him. He penetrated the whole of the one He had joined, as the soul of a great body would do, enlivening it all and imparting life to it in a sensible way everywhere. Hence the human race is called "the body of Christ, and his members each for his part" (*I Cor.*, xn, 27); because Christ extends equally into all, and yet dwells in each in a particular way.

About a century after Anastasius of Antioch, another Anastasius, this one a monk and abbot of a convent in Sinai, hence his nickname Sinaiticus (2), deserves mention. This is because we find in him not only the mode of exegesis based on our incorporation into Christ (3), of which we have often spoken, but even some historical words

(1) From *De nostris rectis dogmatibus veritatis orationes quinque*, P.G., LXXXIX. We only have a Latin translation of this, by FR. TURRIANUS, and this is not always easy to make out. Here is the text of the passage which we allege (*Oratio* in, 10, 11, P.G., LXXXIX, 1340): *Non ferebat aliquid externum et alienum praeter id quod nos sumus, sed totam nostram massam in uno nobis relicto semine assumpsit, factus primitiae naturae nostrae. Hac ratione dicitur primitiae. Etenim, quia totum quod ceciderat, excitare propositum erat ei, ceciderat autem totum genus; se totum toti Adae immiscuit, vita mortuo, ut eum servaret, in eum totum penetrans cui unitus erat, sicut anima magni corporis, totum animans, et toti vitam impertiens sensibiliter. Sic dicitur genus humanum corpus Christi et membra ex parte, tamquam per omnes communiter permeantis et tamquam in unoquoque habitantis separatim, secundum mensuram fidei.*

(2) Born around 630, died after 700.

(3) In *hexaameron*, P.G., LXXXIX, 854, 903, 993, 1072, 1172.

on this exegesis. Anastasius connects it with St. Paul, and among its first defenders he cites Papias, Pantenes, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Cyril of Alexandria, Ammonius, the two Gregorians of Cappadocia, and also Philo.

The theory of this mode of exegesis is found a few years later in Saint John Damascene.

John, born at Damascus towards the end of the seventh century and dying in 749, is the author of a general exposition of the Christian faith (2), which soon became and has remained the classic expression of Christianity for the Greek Church. His theological importance is therefore considerable, and we would have liked to extract from his work long passages on the mystical body.

. Unfortunately, we have hardly found any: what he explains above all are the points treated explicitly and for themselves by the earlier Fathers, and also the points which were disputed by the heterodox of his time. Now, the truth of our incorporation in Christ is not one of these: it is in connection with something else that it was exposed or attacked. John, therefore, says very little about it; all we have found in him are indications, scattered throughout his work, which we shall group together here.

In the first place, the Damascene doctor carefully notes that the human nature of the Savior, in spite of its universal role, is not the universal nature (3). (3) This had to be said, and strongly, to prevent the absurdities that the Platonic concept of nature could have introduced into the Christian tradition, if God did not watch over the deposit of faith.

However, to be very individual, very concrete,

(1) *In hexaemeron*, pref. and 1, seen, P.G., LXXXIX, 856, 860, 962. - See also, in the *Interrogationes et quaestiones* (work which is not authentic in its entirety), n^M LXXV and LXXVI, P.G., LXXXIX, 704. The author gives there, with a rather singular realism, the signs which teach the soul the presence of Christ in it.

(2) Written after 742.

(3) *De fide orthodoxa*, third part of the Πηγή Γνώσεως, m, 6, P.G., xciv, 1008. - MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR already spoke in the same way: *Epist.* xm, P.G., xci, 529.

530 P. II, CH. VIII. - SAINT CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA what, moreover, Christian teaching had never lost sight of, we have sufficiently noted, the human nature of the Saviour has not the less its universal action and, as it were, scope. It is in it that the whole of humanity has been raised up and exalted, just as it is in it that our race is taken up, with all its miseries, to be purified and delivered.

Therefore, the saint notes, Scripture can affirm lowly and humble things about Christ which are true only of us: does it not contain us in Him? Of this way of speaking, the holy doctor even gives the theory, and this on two occasions. First, in commenting on the words of Christ (*Mt.*, xxvii, 46), "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"[2]; and secondly, in a long passage in which he explains the various ways in which theology permits Christ to be spoken of. In this connection, he declares, a distinction must be made between what suited the Saviour before the incarnation, what suited him in the - incarnation, what suited him after the incarnation, and then what suited him after the resurrection, and in this, he continues, we must set apart what suited him according to one of his two natures, and what suited him according to the other. The way of speaking which we have in mind applies to the humanity of Christ considered after the hypostatic union and also considered after the resurrection. Christ himself, explains John, speaks at these moments by making our person his own and by placing himself in the midst of us. For it is we who were under sin and the curse because of our indecency and disobedience, and for this reason were abandoned by God (3), and yet it is he who speaks of the chastisements he receives.

This is how the saint expresses himself in the first of these passages (4).

(1) *De fide orthodoxa*, iv, 8, P.G., xciv, 1116. - *Oratio apologetica adversus eos qui sacras imagines abjiciunt*, *Oratio* i, 21, P.G., xciv, 1253.

(2) *De fide orthodoxa*, ni, 25, P.G., xciv, 1093.

(3) *De fide orthodoxa*, iv, 18, P.G., xciv, 1181-1193. The passages of interest to us are in columns 1188 and 1189."

(4) *De fide orthodoxa*, in, 25, P.G., xciv, 1093.

It must be known, he declares, that there are two kinds of appropriation (οἰκειώσις). One is physical and essential, and the other is personal and according to dispositions (1). The first, the physical and essential, is that which led the Lord, in His love for us, to take our nature and all the elements of that nature, becoming man by nature and in truth, and experiencing all that is proper to our nature. The other, the personal and according to dispositions, is that which takes place when someone takes on the person of another by his dispositions, that is to say, because of his mercy or love, and in his stead holds speeches which do not correspond to what he himself is. It was the latter that Christ used, in appropriating (οἰκειοῦσθαι) our curse and dereliction and other things which were not natural to him. These things were not in him, but he clothed himself with our person and placed himself among us. In this sense it is written that he became a curse for us (*Gal.* ι, 13).

What is true of misery and weakness (2), is also true of the prayers that Ton makes when one is weak and miserable. When Christ prayed, it was not that he needed to raise his spirit to God or to ask God for suitable things: he is God himself. But, once again, he took on our person and expressed in himself what should be done in us, so that he might be our example in everything.

He has, moreover, made Himself so much like us through the incarnation that we can judge what He is by considering what we are.

This way of reasoning we have often found in the Fathers. The Damascene saint also borrows it from the Fathers: when he uses it, he usually quotes St Gregory the Theologian and the famous axiom: "What would not have been assumed would not have been saved.

(1) Μία φυσική καὶ οὐσιώδης, καὶ μία προσωπική καὶ σχετική. The following explains all these words: προσωπικός means: according to the same character, playing the same part; σχετικός: according to the dispositions, the manner of conduct which one takes towards someone.

(2) *De fide orthodoxa*, ιι, 20, 21, 24, P.G., xcvi, 1081, 1082, 1093.

(3) *De fide orthodoxa*, ιι, 24, P.G., xciv, 1089. - Cfr M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*, t. n, Paris, 1933, p. 674.

(4) The quote from St. Gregory comes up every time the idea is presented

St Gregory of Nazianzus used it against Apollinaris. After him, the argument was adapted to the struggle against the Aphthartodocetes (i) and against the Monothelians (2). The Aphthartodocetes, as is well known, claimed that before the resurrection the humanity of Christ was, because of the hypostatic union, absolutely incorruptible

and impassible; it was affected by these weaknesses only in appearance. The Monothelians, on the other hand, claimed that the humanity of Christ had no will of its own, nor even an operation of its own, that it was moved by the divinity, and that, in Christ, there was therefore only one will. These various points, moreover, may be understood in several ways, but we need not specify them further here.

Against the Aphthartodoctetes, Leo of Byzantium (485-543) had already used the soteriological argument several times (3). Against the Monothelians, Saint Sophronius of Jerusalem (about 560-638) had already resorted to it (4); then, the Lateran Council,

with some development: *De fide orthodoxa*, ni, 6, 18, 20, P.G., xciv, 1005, 1071, 1082. - *De duabus voluntatibus*, xxviii, XLIV, P.G., xcv, 161, 184. - *Hom. in sabb. sanctum*, xn, P.G., xcvi, 612.

(1) On these heretics one may consult R. DRAGUET, *Julian of Halicarnassus and his Controversy with Severus of Antioch on the Incorruptibility of the Body of Christ*, Louvain, 1924. - J. C. L. GIESELER, *Commentatio qua mono-phy sitarum... errores... illustrantur*, t. π, Gottingen, 1838.

(2) On their subject, one can consult OWSEPIAN, *die Entstehungsgeschichte des Monothelismus*, Leipzig, 1897. - J. PARGOIRE, A. A., *VÉglise byzantine de 527 à 847*, Paris, 1905, p. 157. - A. CHILLET, *le Monothélisme, exposé et critique*, Brignais, 1911. - V. GRUMEL, *Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme*, in *Echoes of the East*, vol. xxvn, 1928, pp. 6 and 257.

(3) *Contra nestorianos et eutychanos*, edition of A. MAI, reproduced in MIGNE, P.G., LXXXVI, 1268, ff. See book 11, P.G., 1324-25, 1348, 1352.

(4) St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem from 634 to 638 probably. The passage referred to is in Γ*Epistola synodica ad Sergium*, P.G., LXXXVII, III, 3162, alleged at the Council of Constantinople of 680 (6^e ecumenical), MANSI, t. xi, col. 743. The argument is, moreover, presented rather palely: "He wished to become man in order to heal like with like and to save a thing of the same race with a thing of the same race and to illuminate a thing of the same race with a thing of the same race." It is only in the following (MANSI, 480) that the duality of operations is mentioned. From the same St. Sophronius there is a passage in which he shows at length how all

held in 649, under Pope St. Martin (1), and then Pope St. Agathon, in his famous dogmatic epistle (2), had also made use of it. But these uses had been few and far between; the argument was maintained, no doubt, but it still remained in the background. The refutation of the heresy consisted above all in saying that Christ, since he has two natures, as defined at Chalcedon, must also have two modes of operation and two wills.

St. John Damascene, while maintaining this last consideration, puts forward, much more than others, the soteriological argument. Here is how he reasons, not

What happened to Christ divinizes us: *Ovatio* i, P.G., LXXXVII, ni, 3203- 3204; cfr. 3208, and *Ovatio* 11, 10, 15, 49, *Ibid.*, 3227, 3234, 3288. In *Ovatio* vu, 19, *Ibid.* 3352, a few words on the mystical body.

(1) MANSI, vol. x, col. 1148. The saint, too, quotes Gregory of Nazianzus. In the same council of Rome a synodal letter of the bishops of Africa was read, written to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople (641-652), to exhort him to leave his heretical ideas. It quotes some patristic authorities for dyothelism, among others, a passage of Saint Ambrose (MANSI, t. x, col. 933-937) which we shall reproduce. This passage is taken up by Pope St. Martin (MANSI, vol. x, col. 1072,5f.). Later, Pope St. Agathon still quotes it in his dogmatic letter (MANSI, vol. xi, col. 245), and the third Council of Constantinople examines the passage and collates it on a very old manuscript of the patriarchal library of Constantinople (MANSI, vol. xi, col. 369 and 393-396). We give it here (*De fide ad Gvatiannv*, 11, 7, ss., P.L., xvi, 570, edition of the Maurists Du FRISCHE and LE NOURRY) according to the text so carefully revised by the Council (MANSI, t. xi, col. 802): "He has therefore taken my will, he has taken my sadness. And I speak without hesitation of sadness, since it is a question of the cross. Mine is the will which he said was his, for as a man he took my sorrow, as a man he spoke. Therefore He said, "Not as I will, but as 'thou wilt'" (*Mt.*, xxvi, 39). Mine is the sorrow which he took, for he took it feeling the same feelings as I do. No one, in fact, rejoices at the moment of death. He suffers with me, he is sad with me, he grieves with me, and so he grieves for me and in me, who had nothing in himself to grieve about. Thou, then, Lord Jesus, afflictest not for thy wounds, but for mine (MANSI, 802, reads the contrary erroneously; but, in column 394, another recension, he reads as we read; likewise MIGNE); not for thy death, but for my weakness, as the prophet said, 'He suffers for us' (*Is.*, HE, 4)."

(2) P.L., LXXXVII, 1179, MANSI, t. xi, col. 252. He also refers to St. Gregory of Nazianzus.

534^p - CH. ^{viii} - SAINT CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

not in his great work, the Πηγή Γνώσεως, but in a little treatise which

he composed against the Monothelites (i). We take our quotation there, because the passage is the most developed, and, besides, the resemblances, even verbal, with the Πηγή Γνώσεως, are numerous.

He took the whole of that which was sick to heal it in its entirety; for that which is not assumed is not healed, but that which is assumed, even if it falls, is saved.

And what then was it that had fallen and was sick, but the mind (νοῦς) and its rational appetite, which is the will? It was this, then, that needed healing, for sin is precisely a disease of the will. If, therefore, he had not taken a reasonable and spiritual soul and the will which belongs to it, he would not have cured the evil of human nature.

That is why He took on a human will. But He did not take on sin, for sin is not His work. Therefore, in order to drive sin out of our soul, where the enemy had sown it, He assumed a soul, and with it the will that is proper to it. But the sin he did not do [he did not assume]. Likewise, to deliver the body from the corruption and bondage of sin, he assumed a body.

He even assumed the penalties due for the first iniquity, so that He might pay for our debt and deliver us from condemnation.

In this passage we have an adaptation of the soteriological argument to the controversy against the monothelians. We also have here, although timidly expressed, an idea which we will find again later, among the scholastics: that Christ assumed the consequences of sin in order to make them, in himself, remedies for sin.

The power of Christ, who consumes our misery in himself and deposits his greatness in us, is effected above all, as St. John Damascene teaches, by two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. With regard to the first, he says, and this again without putting much emphasis on it, that when the Savior was baptized,

(1) *De duabus in Christo voluntatibus*, XLIV, P.G., xcv, 184. Cfr, quite similar, *Ibid.*, xxvm, P.G., xcv, 161.

1 He says that the ancient Adam was buried in water, and that when we are baptized we die with Christ, that we may rise with him to a new life. Therefore, he continues, as much as the death of Christ is necessary, so much so is baptism indispensable to every man.

The Eucharist consummates this same union with Christ. It makes us his body, and since all receive the same incorporation, it makes us commune with one another and unites us all together. (2) For this very reason, he declares, one must avoid with all one's might participation in the mysteries celebrated by heretics, for to do so would be to expose oneself to the same reprobation as they.

For if the sacrament is a union with Christ and with one another, it gives us, in any case, unity with those who receive it with us (3).

An energetic expression, no doubt, but one which St. John Damascene neither comments on nor explains, and which adds nothing to what the Fathers of the Church, whom we have already considered, had said.

Thus it is, in general, with our saint: he collects the doctrine expounded in previous generations, he makes it clearer by making an overall statement. But he hardly brings any new explanation to it.

On the summary of Greek theology which he composed, we stop. We could certainly make many more discoveries in the authors who followed him, as well as in those who lived in the periods we have considered (4). Our studies do not claim to be exhaustive.

(1) *De fide orthodoxa*, iv, 9, P.G., xciv, 1117, 1124.

(2) *Ibid*, iv, 13, P.G., xciv, 1154.

(3) *Ibid*. Cfr, on the divinization produced by the Eucharist, *Oratio apologetica adversus eos qui sacras imagines abjiciunt*, *Oratio* ni, 26, P.G., xciv.¹ 348.

(4) For example in NICHOLAS CABASILAS, who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century^e. According to him Christ is the soul and heart of the mystical body (*De vita in Christo*,

582 P. I, CH. IX. - S. JOHN. II. JESUS, OUR LIFE
fives. However, we have the impression, perhaps wrongly, that we
have reported the main features.

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ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM VOLUME I

| | |
|---|--------------|
| FOREWORD TO THE THIRD EDITION | vu-vin |
| PREFACE BY Fr LEBRETON ix-xvm | |
| INTRODUCTION | XIX-XXXVIII |
| The object of work, xix. - What the mystical body is, xx. | |
| - Kind of reality of this body, XXIII. - Mysterious and necessarily vague aspect of the doctrine, xxvn. | |
| - Progress in its doctrinal exposition, xxix. - Limits and characteristics of our work, xxx. | |
| FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION | xxxviii |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | XXXIX-XLVIII |

PART ONE

| | |
|---|-------|
| DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE | 1-283 |
| CHAPTER I. - <i>First sketch, in VAncien Testament</i> | 3-21 |
| § 1 - Introduction, 3. THE VIEWPOINT TO BE TAKEN FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, <i>ibid</i> | 3-4 |
| The testimony of the epistle to the Ephesians on creation, 4: - union begun between God and men, <i>ibid</i> . - orientation of Scripture and God's work, 6. - Christ, second and true Adam, 6 | |
| | 4-7 |
| The testimony of the epistle to the Galatians on Holy History, 7 - The true descent of Abraham, 8 - The mystical body in the Old Testament, 9 | |
| | 7-12 |

- § 2 OLD TESTAMENT AND UNION OF THE FAITHFUL WITH ONE ANOTHER, 12 - One whole, 12 - One living, *ibid* - One bride of Jehovah, 13 - One man, 15 - and whom God loves with a great love, 1612-17
- § 3 - UNION OF THE FAITHFUL WITH GOD, 17 - God dwells in Israel, 18 - He appears in Israel, *ibid* - His cause is that of Israel, *ibid* - His holiness is reflected in Israel, 20 - Figurative value of the Old Testament, *ibid* -
Its relationship to the New, *ibid* - Bibliography, 21 ... 17-21

CHAPTER II. -- *The Kingdom and the Mystical Body in the Synoptic Gospels* 22-70

- § 1 INTRODUCTION. The message of the New Testament and that of the Old, 22 - The great phases of his message, 23 - Even in this message doctrinal progress is not impossible, *ibid* - Progress which may be expressly attested or suggested by hints, 2422-26
- § 2 THE SYNOPTICS, TRANSITION BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, 26 - What they are, *ibid*. - How they speak of the mystical body as a result, 2726-27
- § 3 I. - THE NARRATIVE OF THE FACTS, ESPECIALLY IN ST. MARK, 28 - Everything is directed towards the death of Christ, 30 - This death explains the narrative, *ibid*. - It explains Christ's way of acting, 33: - He prepares the Church which will continue him, 34 - He prepares the Church which will continue him, 35 - He prepares the Church which will continue him, 36 - He prepares the Church which will continue him, 37
nude, 40 28-45
- § 4 II. - THE PREACHING OF THE KINGDOM, ESPECIALLY AMONG MATTHEW, 45 - The expected kingdom, 46 - The
The kingdom in the teaching of Jesus, 47 - The history of his preaching, parallel to the history of his public life, 48 - THE KINGDOM AND UNION AMONG CHRISTIANS, 49 - In itself, the kingdom is one thing, *ibid*, - THE KINGDOM AND UNION WITH CHRIST, 51 - Parables in this sense, *ibid*. 52 - Long passage from St. Matthew, 54 - Christ present in Christian prayer, 56 - present in the magisterium, 57 - present in all Christians and making their dignity, 58 - Christ is in his own, as the Father is in Christ, 59 - Capital text: sentence of the Last Judgment, 60.

- The end in the synoptics and in John, 63. -- The end in the Synoptics and in St. John, 63. conclusion, 6445-65

§ 5 III. - ST. LUKE, 65 - His Gospel continued in
The Acts, 66 - Studying it there, 69. - Bibliography, 69. 65-70

CHAPTER III. - *The Acts of the Apostles, the Coming of the Kingdom and the Church, the Body of Christ*71-86

§ i. - THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM. The kingdom in Acts, 71. - In this kingdom Christ returns, 72 71-73

§ 2 - THE CHURCH, THE MYSTICAL BODY. Her birth, announced as that of Christ, 73. - Her birth, similar to that of Christ, 74. - She lives, as Christ lived, directed by the Spirit, 7673-78

§ 3 - DEATH OF STEPHEN: Christ present in his own, 78 - Death similar to that of Jesus, *ibid* - He dies a member of Christ, 8078-80

§ 4 - CONVERSION OF PAUL, 80. Paul and Stephen, 80 - Jesus present in the trials of his people, 81. - Objective vision, informed by subjective vision? 82. - The Church teaches in the name of Christ, 85. - "Saul, Σαούλ, why do you persecute me?", 86. - Bibliography, *ibid*.... 80-86

CHAPTER IV. - *St. Paul. I. - Christ in the*

Paul's preaching 87-123

§ i. - THE PREACHING OF PAUL. Its importance for the truth of the mystical Christ, 88. - Its dependence on the Damascus vision, 8987-89

§ 2 - CHRIST IN THIS PREACHING: Christ alive, concrete, as in the Gospels, 90, - ardently loved, 91--89-93

§ 3 - THE MYSTICAL CHRIST IN THIS PREACHING, 93.
- It is the centre of it, 94. - Paul's doctrinal and moral teaching is based on this truth, 95. - What Paul himself calls his gospel, or, as he more often says, the "mystery," is summed up in this truth, 96 93'96

- §4, - THE MYSTERY: What it is, 97. - Paul learned it at his conversion, *ibid.*
 - He expressed it better and better, *ibid.* - Progress possible, even in
 inspired authors, 99 - It is guessed from clues, also inspired, 100
- §5, - EXPRESSION OF THE MYSTERY BY SUCCESSIVE APPROACHES. First,
 Epistle to the Thessalonians, quick mention, *Law.* - Then 96-101
 mention in a whole series of ideas in the epistle to the
 Corinthians, 102. - Finally, several sketches, and even a
 separate exposition, in the epistle to the Romans, 107 -
 Finally, complete exposition in the Christological epistles,
 109
- § 6 - DOCTRINAL PROGRESS made by Paul, 114, - and which is
 explained, not by profane influences, *ibid.* but, according to 101-114
 the Apostle's testimony, by connection with the Old
 Testament and by visions, 118. - Doctrinal progress in the
 life of Paul? 119. - It is probable, but we have only a few
 indications. The best plan is to group the ideas in logical
 order, *ibid.*.....

CHAPTER V - *St. Paul, II - Christ in us, we in Christ*

- § 1 - CHRIST IN US, 125. - He is in Paul, 127. - He is in 114-123
 Christians, 129.
- § 2 - WE IN CHRIST, 131. - We in Christ, 131 - Frequent
 expression, *ibid.* used in various contexts, 132 125-142
- § 3 - MEANING OF THE FORMULA "IN CHRIST," 134- - Less
 strong meaning, *ibid.* - Strong and technical meaning, 136 "
 corroborated by the doctrine of baptism, 138, - by the 125-131
 expression: "putting on Christ," 139
- § 4 - FURTHER REMARKS. "In Christ" compared with "in the 131-134
 Spirit," 139. - "We in Christ," "Christ in us," two synonymous
 expressions, 141, - both meaning inclusion in an organism, 142.
 - Bibliography, *ibid.*.....

CHAPTER VI. - *St. Paul, III, - The "Body" of Christ*..... 134"1 39

- § 1 - THE IMAGE OF THE BODY IN THE GREAT EPISTLES.
 Different ways in which Paul speaks of our unity,^T 43- - The
 image of the body, 144. - In the great epistles, only
 occasional mentions, 145. - In the first Epistle to the 139-142
 Corinthians, three mentions, *ibid.* one about purity, *ibid.* one
 about the Eucharist, 146, - the third, which is even double,
 about charity, 148. - The epistle to the Romans takes up the
 last double mention by unifying it, 151. - What is said about 143-170
 the body in the great epistles, 153 143-154
- § 2 THE IMAGE OF THE BODY IN THE CAPTIVITY EPISTLES,

154. - Recapitulation in Christ, 155. - Christ is the head, *ibid.* through him the "body" builds itself up, *ibid.* the Church is the flesh of Christ, 158. - The Church is the flesh of Christ, 158 - She is his complement and fullness, 160 - which comes all from him, 161 154-162

3 . - COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO AND SYNTHESIS. The

In the first, Christ seems to be the soul, the self of the whole body; in the second, he is the head. 162. - In the first, Christ seems the soul, the self of the whole body; in the second, He is the head, *ibid.* - But at bottom, the two are identified, 163. - The first says like the second, but otherwise, that Christ is superior to the Church, and the second, like the first, that he is within it, *ibid.* - Paul makes the images say what he means, 164. - The peculiarities of each correspond to different circumstances, *ibid.* 162-165

4 4. RATIONALE FOR LEADERSHIP. Death and

It comes, in the humanity of Christ, from his divinity, 168. - Bibliography, 170, 165-170.

CHAPTER VII. - *Saint Paul. IV. - Other formulas expressing the mystery. The Mystical Christ. Divinization of Christians* .. 171-208

§ 1 - COMPOUND VERBS IN *συν*. Their meaning, 172. - How Paul forges them, *ibid.* - Paul applies them only to the suffering and glorious life, 173. - He employs them in groups, 174

ASCETICISM AND INCORPORATION INTO CHRIST, 175. Virtues suitable for members of Christ, 175. - The sufferings of Christ in them, *ibid.*

- Christ's sufferings in them, *ibid.* - Christ's being, - he makes our way of thinking, *ibid.* - He is our life, 178. - Life always young, *ibid.* 175-178
- § 3 - NEW CREATION. New universe beginning, 178. - New creature, 180 - Created in Christ, 182 175-178
- § 4 - ONE NEW MAN. Christians are one, 183. - We are one new man, 184. - Collective and individual reality, 185. - One perfect man, 186. 178-182
- § 5 - THE MYSTICAL CHRIST. Christians are Christ: "Is Christ divided?" 188. - The Church is Christ, 189. - The Church is Christ, 189 - Christ is all in all, 191 - Reminder, in Paul's style, of the vision of Damascus, 192..... 182-187
- § 6 - MYSTERY AND DIVINIZATION. The head as head is God, 193. - The members are divinized, 194. - The members are light, 195, - life, *ibid.* - glory, 196. - Union with the Father, *ibid.* - Adoption, 197. - Possession of the Spirit, 199, - his action in the faithful, *ibid.* - in the Church, 201. - U is their Spirit, 202, - yet otherwise than Christ is their Head, *ibid.* - through Christ, union with the whole Trinity, 203..... 187-192
- § 7 - CONCLUSION. This doctrine of Paul includes many points, 206. - The formula in which it is summed up, 207. - It only transmits to the Church the message of Christ, *ibid.* - Bibliography, 208..... 192-205

CHAPTER VIII. - *Saint John. I. - Origins. U Apocalypse ..*

- § 1 - INTRODUCTION, 209. - The Gospel of St. John. U 205-208
completes the others, especially for the doctrine of the mystical body, 210 209-208
- § 2 - THE APOCALYPSE, 21 I. - Source, for John, of the 209-
knowledge of the mystical body, *ibid.* - We study it from 229
this point of view alone. It announces "a return," *ibid.*-In
each of its parts, especially in the last, it shows this return,
213. - Christ unites with his own, 214. - Vision comparable
to that of the road to Damascus, 216. - It influenced the 209-2 II
Gospel of John, *ibid.* resemblance between the two, *ibid.*
- § 3 Other source: INNER CONTEMPLATION. Hint;

John is a meditative temperament and interested in interior things, 218. - Signs of the inner work by which God makes him understand that the Christ who lived in Judea is the same who lives in us, *ibid.*

- § 1 - IT IS to show that Christ is God, and that in Him we are quickened; that the incarnation, therefore, has by itself an effect on us, 228. Conclusion, 228 - Bibliography, 229 ..

CHAPTER IX. - *Saint John. II. - Jesus, Our Life... -*

- § i. - CHRIST IN ST. JOHN. He is very much alive, 230 - with an intense interior life, 231. - At the same time He is the life of His own, 232. - This is shown by the way the narratives are conducted, *ibid.* - This is also the way of the Synoptics and of St. Paul, 234..... 230-
- § 2 - THE LIFE OF CHRIST. The order of John's statements, 236 - The life received at baptism, 238. - The Samaritan woman and the paralytic, 240. - The life which the Eucharist sustains, *ibid.* - The Incarnation and the Eucharist, 242 - *Semen Dei*, *ibid.* 252
- § 3 - CHRIST LIFE AND LIGHT, 243. - Faith and life in Christ. Christ is light, 244. - The light that announces itself, *ibid.*, -230-236 and asserts: ■ I, light," 245. - What a light he is, 246. - Light that gives life, *ibid.* - The good shepherd, 247.
- § 4 - CHRIST UNITED TO HIS OWN. THE Eucharist and this - interiority, 249. - The Eucharist and this interiority, 249 - Reciprocal interiority, 250 - Like the branches in the vineyard. The vine, *ibid.* 236-243

CHAPTER X. - *Saint John. III. - Our Divine Life.*

"Let them be one as we are.".....

243-248

- J L - Discourse after the Lord's Supper, teaching of unity, 253. - Unity giving us power to become children of God, 234. - Union with the Father, in the Son, *ibid.*

Mystical body, t. L - 38

248-252

253-271

252-255

- §2 - "THAT THEY MAY BE ONE AS WE ARE." Christ first asks, for himself, the glory of being the life of men, 256, - then, for the apostles, unity, *ibid.*; - then, for all, the same unity, 258
- § WHAT IS THIS UNITY? Difficulties of interpretation, 260 - The divine unity transforming our humanity in Christ, 261. - Unity living, but mysterious, 263. - Unity as a collective, *ibid.* 265 - Unity bringing the Father's love to us, 265
- § THE MYSTERY OF CHARITY, 265. - Charity in the Gospel, 266. - Charity in the discourse after the Lord's Supper, 267. - God loves us in Christ, 268. - The end and fulfilment of all things, 269. - History in the Gospels, 270.

CHAPTER XI. - *Conclusion on I Scripture*.....

- § i. - ST. JOHN AND ST. PAUL. BOTH have similar doctrines in substance, 272, - in many details, 274. - But they have their peculiarities, *ibid.*, - in their initial view, 275, - in their way of proposing, *ibid.*, - John indicates more the definitive and theandric character of the Church, 276.....²⁶⁵⁻²⁷¹
- § 2 DOCTRINE IN SACRED SCRIPTURE, 277. - It is one, but it is always made explicit. Its different stages, *ibid.* - The different ways of expressing union with Christ in the New Testament: kingdom, mystery, life, 278. - But all this comes back to Christ, 280. - The end of the message was involved in the beginning, *ibid.* - It is God who speaks in the Word, *ibid.*.....²⁷²⁻²⁸³
- §3- - AND SCRIPTURE IS NOT SUFFICIENT. Its last word, in many books, is to say that Christ is coming in the Church, 281. - So Christians wait, 282. - And indeed, Jesus is coming and will always come, 283. - To understand Scripture and the Incarnation properly, it is necessary to consider tradition, *ibid.* - Bibliography, *ibid.*.....²⁷⁷⁻²⁸⁰

PART TWO

DOCTRINE OF TRADITION IN THE GREEK FATHERS

| | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|
| § 1 | INTRODUCTION..... | 285-538 |
| | Transition and plan, 287. - Inevitable gaps, <i>ibid</i> , - Progress of the doctrine, 288. | 287-291 |
| | CHAPTER I. - <i>The First Witnesses, Ignatius of Antioch and Vunity of Γ Church in Christ.</i> | |
| § 2 | - APOSTOLIC FATHERS in general, 292. - St. Clement, 293. - St. Polycarp, 294. - Hermas, <i>ibid</i> , - <i>Didache</i> and the Eucharist, 295. - Doctrines of Ecclesiastical Unity, 296 .. | 292-316 |
| §2, | - IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, 296. - The man of unity, 297. - Unity with Christ, <i>ibid</i> , - Unity of Christians among themselves, 298. - Unity, like Christ, is both visible and spiritual, 299 - Visible ecclesiastical unity, 300 - The bishop, necessary communion with the hierarchy, incipient canon law, 301. - Spiritual unity, effect of visible unity, <i>ibid</i> . - Unity of Christ, 302. - Unity of Christ, 302. Unity of God, from the Holy Trinity, 303. - That they may be one, 304. - Conclusion: Pauline complement to Johannine doctrines, 304. Tradition, <i>ibid</i> . | |
| § 3 | - The Epistle of Bamabé, 307. - The <i>II Clementis</i> , 309. - Exegesis and the Mystical Body, 310 | |
| § 4 | - THE APOLOGIA, 31 I. - The epistle to Diognetus, 312. - St. Justin, a few words, 313. - Bibliography, 314 | 296-306 306-311 |
| | CHAPTER II. - <i>Saint Irenaeus and the Recapitulation</i> | |
| § 1 | - IRENAEUS and Ignatius of Antioch, 318. - Irenaeus and Gnosticism, <i>ibid</i> | 311-316 |
| § 2 | - THE RECAPITULATION, 320 - What it means, in general, in Irenaeus, <i>ibid</i> . - Its place in the teaching of Irenaeus, 321, - in his polemic, <i>ibid</i> . in his conception of Christianity, <i>ibid</i> . - What it says about the mystical body, 323. - Christ, second | 317-350 317-320 |

Adam, 324. - God, through him, taking up his own creature, *ibid.*, - taking up the whole of the Old Testament, 325. - The Old Testament and the mystical body, 326. - Christ recapitulating in Him all ages, 327, - all things, 328, - renewing all in Him, 329.

§ 1 - RECAPITULATION, ECCLESIOLOGY AND MYSTICAL BODY, 320-330
330 - The Church: visible aspect and invisible life, *ibid.*
Divinization and mystical body, 331 - The Holy Spirit in the Church, *ibid.* Recapitulation and divinization, 332. - Recapitulation gives the incarnation its fullness, 333. - It unites us to the Trinity, 335.

§ 4 - CONCLUSION, 338. - Synthesis already very rich, *ibid.*, - 330-338
Doctrinal progress, *ibid.*, - Main parts of the synthesis, 339
- Gaps remaining, 341

§ 5 - IN APPENDIX. Meliton of Sardis and the recapitulation, 338-342
342. - Saint Methodius of Olympus and the doctrine of the two Adams, 343. - The way in which the theological circles of Asia Minor apparently conceived the mystical body, 346.
- Bibliography, 348.....

CHAPTER III. - *The Didascale of Alexandria* 342-350

§ 1 - THE FIRST SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA, 351. - The first school 351-375
of Alexandria, 351 - Clement and Origen, *ibid.*, - They have little to say about the mystical body, 352 - Plan to be followed, 353.....

§ 2 - RECONSTRUCTION OF WHAT THEIR SYSTEMATIC TEACHING 351-353
WOULD HAVE BEEN, 354. - Their Gnosticism, *ibid.*-What conception of the mystical body it suggests, *ibid.*-Christ the ideal teacher, 355.-To be in truth, wisdom, gnosis, is to be in him, and he in us, *ibid.*-For he is really identified with his doctrine, 356.-Reflections on the greatness and shortcomings of this conception, 360. - Its relation to the weak points of their theology, *ibid.*, -to their subordinatianism, *ibid.*, -to their teaching on grace, 361, -to their allegorical exegesis, 362. - With their teaching on grace, 361, - with their allegorical exegesis, 362, - with their theology, 363

§ 3 - WE ARE raised in Christ, 366. - We become sons of God in 354-364
Him, 367 - and sons of Mary, 368 - Christ, in us, weeps for our sins, submits to the Father, 370 - He is the soul of the mystical body, 371 - Exegesis based on communication, 372 - We have to be aware of the fact that we are not the only ones who are in Christ.

He is the soul of the mystical body, 371 - Exegesis based on the communication of particularities between the head and the members, 372 - This union of Christ with men helps to understand the - incarnation, 373 - Bibliography, 375

CHAPTER IV. - *Saint Athanasius. Divinity of the Word and divinization of the mystical body. U Arianism* 364-375

- § 1 - BEFORE ARIANISM. Athanasius, 376. - The Logos in the World, *ibid.* - The Logos in the world, *ibid.* - Mystical body and totality of the material universe, 378..... 376-411
- § 2 - CHRIST, LIFE OF THE CHURCH, 380, - life stronger than any other, 381, - life showing, in the Church, that Christ is risen, *ibid.*..... 376-379
- § 3 - STRUGGLE AGAINST ARIANISM. I. DOCTRINAL EXPOSITION. Arianism, 383. - Athanasius, from our point of view, reproaches it with its conception of divinization, 385 - In Christ, indeed, we are divinized by the divinity of Christ, *ibid.* - There is a divinization, 386, - because Christ has taken our flesh, 387. - The Incarnation perfects the unity of the world, which in turn spreads its effects, 390. Our union with the Word in Christ, 391. The greatness of Christians, 394. 379-383
- § 4 - STRUGGLE AGAINST ARIANISM. II. EXEGESIS OF THE CONTROVERSIAL TEXTS. "May they be one, 395. - Importance of this text for the doctrine of the mystical body, *ibid.*-Method of exegesis, 306. - Christ exalted in us, 399, - sanctified in us, 400, - created in us, 401 383-395
- § 5 - THE TREATISE *on Γ incarnation and against the Arians*, 402. - Authenticity, 403. - Repeats the same exegeses, 404. - Christ sanctifies himself in us, 405. - Incarnation mystically prolonging itself in us, *ibid.*-Divinization, 406. 395-402
- § 6 - CONCLUSION. Doctrine of the mystical body in Athanasius. Importance, 407. - Is one with the rest of his doctrine, 408. - Its peculiarities, 408 - Its incompleteness, 409. - Its richness, *ibid.* - Bibliography, 410 402-407

CHAPTER V. - *Saint Hilary. Divinization by mystical inclusion in the incarnate Word. The Incarnation continued by Eucharistia. Collective Incarnation or Unique Incarnation?* 4¹² '439

- § I. - ST. HILARY. Why cite St. Hilary among the Greek Fathers, 413 - Conversion and first contact with the doctrine of the mystical body, 414. - Baptism, 415. - Vision and teaching on the mystical body, 416 - Exile in Asia and other probable contact with this doctrine, 417 412-418
- §2 . - DOCTRINE OF THE SAINT. ALL men are one, 418. - There was, in Jesus Christ, every man, *ibid.* - Hilary accused of teaching an incarnation, not individual, but collective, 419 418-420
- §3 3. - THE "SACREMENT" OF MEN IN CHRIST, 420 - The whole "nature" is in Christ, 421 - St. Cyril of Alexandria, 422 - Christ coming into us at baptism, 423. - Christ, the place where we dwell, 424. - The mystery is our "assump- tion" in Christ, 427; - for we are, in him, filled with divinity, 428 420-429
- §4 . - JOHN'S TEXT "THAT THEY MAY BE ONE AS WE ARE," 429. - Unity "natural," 430, - not purely moral, 431, - which divinizes us, *ibid.* - The Eucharist produces this unity, 432, - unity ■ physical" and - profound, *ibid.* 429-436
- §5 . - CONCLUSION. Realism of this doctrine, 436 - Doctrine of divinization, *ibid.* - Perfections and imperfections, 437. - Bibliography, 439 436-439

CHAPTER VI. - *The Cappadocians: St Gregory of Nazianzus and St Gregory of Nyssa. Personal aspect of Vincorporation in Christ. Soterio-logical argument and Apollinarianism. Exegesis through the mystical body.* 440-465

- § i. - THE CAPPADOCIANS, 441 - St. Basil: nothing noteworthy, *ibid.* - ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, 441 - His manner, 442 - Two aspects in his doctrine of the mystical body, *ibid.* - THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL BODY, *ibid.*

OF THE MYSTICAL BODY AND THE INNER LIFE, 442, - "What a mystery in me!", 443. - Compound verbs in $\sigma\upsilon\nu$, *ibid.* - The life of Christ endures to this day, 444 - It begins again in the Christian festivals, 446. - Christ divinizes us, 447. - He "makes me" God by carrying me in him, *ibid.*

§2 THE SOTERIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT in Gregory of Nazianzus, 440-449
449, against apoHinarism. - Apollinaris of Laodicea, 449. -
"What is not assumed is not healed," 450 - He bears us
whole, 451.

§ 3- ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA, 452. - Same argument, *ibid.* - Christ
carries in himself the lost sheep, 453 - Same argument in St. 449-452
Damasus and others, 454 - It is based on the reality of the
mystical body, 455.....

§ 4 - EXEGESIS BASED ON THE REALITY OF THE MYSTICAL BODY,
456. - "The Son shall be subject to the Father" (*I Cor.*, xv, 452-456
28), *ibid.* - He shall be subject in us, His members, 457. - All
creation is in Him, 458. - Whatever good we do, He does in
us, 459. - In us he obeys the Father, *ibid* - Traditional
exegesis, 460....

§ 5 - INCARNATION AND MYSTICAL BODY, 461. - Incarnation -
makes the greatness of all in the one Christ, 463. - 456-460
Conclusions, 464. - Bibliography, 465.

CHAPTER VII. - *St. John Chrysostom, Doctor of Veucharist* 461-466
and of Faumonia.....

§ 1 - THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH, 466. - Theodore of Mop- sueste 466-
and Theodore of Cyr, 467..... 488

§ 2 - ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, 468; Commentary on the doctrine
of the mystical body in St. Paul, *ibid*; "You are one in
Christ," 469..... 466-468

§ 3 - CHRIST LOVES US IN IT AND UNITES US TO HIMSELF, 472. -
Christ loves us in it and unites us to himself, 472 - He wants
to be in us, one with us, 473 - Universal incarnation in its 468-470
effects, 475 - Christ takes our flesh from us, 477

§ 4 - ALMSGIVING. Practical applications of the doctrine of the
mystical body, 478 - "Whatever you do to the least of my
people, you do to me," 479. - The Christ

Christ begs, 480 - Rather give to the poor than to the churches, 481 - Christ in misery, and we in luxury, 482. - Christ's supplication in the poor, 483. - Alms and communion, 485. - The solemn aspect of almsgiving, *ibid.* - Bibliography, 487

CHAPTER VIII. - *Saint Cyril of Alexandria. The Incarnation and the Mystical Body* 478-488

- §1i. - THE IMPORTANCE OF ST. CYRIL'S THEOLOGY OF THE MYSTICAL BODY, 489. - St. Cyril, 490 - His doctrine, 491 489-538
- §2 . - THE INCARNATION ITSELF MAKES THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST THE "HEAD" OF A MYSTICAL BODY. The unity of this humanity with the Word of life, 492 - It is made vivifying, 489-491 493 - It resurrects, 495. - It illuminates, 496. - Comparison with the theology of St. Hilary, 498
- §3 . - THE EUCHARIST IS THE ACT OF THIS UNIVERSALLY DIVINIZING HUMANITY. Christ vivifies in it, as he did in the past, 500 - The incarnation continues in it, *ibid.* - Whoever fails to recognize the incarnation must fail to recognize this, 502 491-499
- §4 . - THAT THEY MAY BE ONE, 503. - Eucharist, sacrament of unity: the unity of Christ, physical unity, 504. - Divine work, 506, - in which the incarnation is mystically prolonged, 508, - in which we are united to God, 509.
- §55. - THE INCARNATION AND THE HUMAN RACE, 510. - "Christ bears us all," *ibid.*-"Our whole nature is in him," *ibid.*- Doctrines of the two Adams and of vivification synthesized, 513.-As man, Christ understands us all, 514. - H offers us to God in him, 515. - He dwells in all through one, 517.- Thus, in his one incarnation, are we all divinized, *ibid.*-In the Spirit, 519,-through the Son, we are brought back to the Father, 520..... 499-503 503-509
- §66. - CONCLUSION. Overall picture of the doctrine of the saint, 521. - One principle: the incarnation, 522. - Double consequence, the unique greatness of Christ and his union with us all, *ibid.*-Realism, *ibid.*-Christ and Γ incarnation have a mystical extension because they are Christ and the incarnation, 523. - Crowning of doctrinal progress in the Eastern Church, 525 520-526
- §7 . - IN APPENDIX. Pseudo-Denys, 527 - Maximus the Confessor and Anastasius of Antioch, *ibid.* - Anastasius the Sinaitic, 528 - ST. JOHN DAMASCENE, 529 - Exegesis by the mystical body, 530. -

THE REAL VINEYARD

553

Soteriological argument, 531. - This argument in other Fathers, 532, -
in John Damascene, against the Monothelians,
533. - The Eucharist, 535. - Bibliography, 536 526-538

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.....

539

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(a) Ταῦτα γέγραπται

(b) ἵνα πιστεύητε... καὶ ...πιστεύ-οντες

(c) ζωὴν ἔχητε

(d) ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ (*i.e.*, Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ), as the same verse carries.