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ART. IV.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

(Concluded from page 432.)

III. Is there anything in the writings which have come down to us from Christian antiquity tending to the support of the one theory or the other?

We do not indeed think that the argument from Scripture stands in need of support from the writings of uninspired teachers in early times. We believe the evidence from the oracles of God to be quite conclusive. Nevertheless, all will acknowledge that *some* weight belongs to the corroborative witness of those who ought to be able to testify to the faith they had received from the Apostles—the faith once for all delivered unto the saints.

Much—too much, a great deal—has been made of the alleged divergence of views concerning Christ's death to be traced in the writings of the ancient Fathers.

That the atonement of Christ's death was regarded from different points of view by Christians of old time, and that varying aspects of this mystery presented themselves to the thoughts of different minds—this should only have the effect of emphasizing the certain truth that a consensus of Patristic teaching testifies to the assured faith of all the early ages of Christianity in the truth and reality of the Atonement; the objective fact accomplished by Christ's death; the deliverance wrought; the victory won; the debt fully paid; the ransom-price laid down; the condemnation all removed; the sinner's sin quite taken out of the way of the sinner's return to the God of his salvation. And to this we will venture to add, that when attempts have been made to depreciate the value of this Patristic testimony by casting anything like obloquy on the view prevailing among some of the Fathers of the Church—the view of Christ's death as a ransom taken by the devil—it has been too readily assumed that this view is one of unmixed error—the evidence of grievous misconception, of obvious incompetence to deal with such a subject. We must even venture to suggest that, underlying the strong antipathies to this view, there may be a want of due recognition of the real personal agency of Satan in the world—of the certain Scriptural truth than he is the accuser of sinners, and the agent of God's judgments on men; that all evils in the world, physical, moral, and spiritual, are works of the devil; that the power and dominion of death are his.¹ And, while admitting that in some of the

¹ We cannot do more here than refer to a few texts, the study of which will, we believe, enable the reader to substantiate what is stated

writings of the Fathers there may be found adhering to this view unscriptural notions, or notions which go beyond the warrant of Holy Writ, and that in others an unscriptural prominence may sometimes be given to this teaching, we must venture to maintain that the teaching itself rests on a thoroughly Scriptural basis. A great truth may be looked at from different points of view. And the divergence of aspect does but tend to give a certain real stereoscopic solidity to the one truth seen the same, though not alike, through separate glasses.

But the question with which we are now immediately concerned has to do with the testimony of Christian antiquity to that view of the atonement of Christ's death in which it is seen as the vicarious penalty of the sinner's sin. It is freely acknowledged that the teaching of this doctrine does not stand out so conspicuously and prominently in repeated didactic statements of the Fathers as some modern teachers would seem to desire. Is this to be accounted for by saying that such a notion was alien from their thoughts, and excluded from their faith? or may it be accounted for by supposing that it was received without question, and assumed as accepted in the belief of those who were called by Christ's name? We shall be constrained to come to the conclusion that it *did* underlie the teaching of the ancient Church, and was accepted without question in the faith of early Christians, if we can find anything like distinct traces of such a doctrine here and there occasionally, and no rejection or repudiation of such a doctrine anywhere.

The following citations will suffice, we believe, to satisfy every candid mind that there are clear and unmistakable traces of this teaching to be found in the writings of Christian antiquity.

Clemens Romanus writes :

For the love which He had to us, Jesus Christ, our Lord, gave His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives (τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν) (ch. xlix., p. 150, edit. Lightfoot).¹

Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, writes in language which is thus paraphrased by Bishop Lightfoot :

I am a devoted slave of the Cross. It is a scandal to the unbeliever, but salvation and life to us. In it the boast of this world's wisdom comes to nought. Such was God's scheme for our redemption (§ 18, vol. ii., sect. i., p. 74).

above : John xiv. 30, 31 ; xii. 31, 32 ; Luke xxii. 53 (with Col. i. 13) ; John xviii. 8, 9 (with xvii. 11, 12) ; 2 Cor. xii. 7 ; 1 Cor. v. 5 ; Heb. ii. 14 ; Luke xiii. 16 ; xi. 21 ; Wisd. i. 13 ; ii. 24.

¹ Compare Irenæus, as quoted below, p. 476. See Dressel's note and S. Smith's "Pœna Vicaria," p. 49. Wotton says : "Ex sententia utriusque patris Jesus Christus Dominus noster dedit τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν."

Barnabas (if the epistle is his which has passed in his name) speaks of Christ enduring to give His flesh to destruction, that we might be purified in the forgiveness of our sins, which is in the blood of His sprinkling. Again he says that the Son of God could not have suffered but on our account—His suffering being the offering of sacrifice for our sins (§ 5, p. 20, edit. Cunningham; also § 7, p. 34).

Polycarp speaks of Christ's enduring unto death for our sins (which is the strong root of our faith), and of His bearing our sins on the tree (He is the earnest of our justification), and enduring all things that we might live in Him ("Ad Phil." I., pp. 906, 907. Vol. ii., sect. 2, of Lightfoot's "Apos. Fathers," 1885; also § 8, p. 920).

Justin Martyr speaks quite clearly of the Father's will that His own Christ should take upon Himself the curses of the whole human race¹ ("Dial. cum Tryph.," § 94, 95, 96).

Again he speaks of Christians as purified, not by the blood of goats or sheep; or the ashes of an heifer, or the offerings of fine flour, but by the blood of Christ and His death, who died for this (see Bp. Kaye's "Account of the Writings of Justin M.," p. 78).

In the well-known Epistle to Diognetus it is said:

Himself took on Himself the burden of our sins, Himself delivered over His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy One for the wicked, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal: for what else could expiate our sins but His righteousness? In whom could we wicked and impious men be justified save in the Son of God alone? O sweet exchange! (*ὁ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς*).¹ O unsearchable operation! O unexpected blessing! that the wickedness of many should be covered by the One righteous, and the righteousness of the One should justify many unrighteous ("M. Op. Just. Mart.," p. 238. Hag. Com., 1742).

Melito of Sardis says:

There came a ram for the slaughter instead of Isaac, the just man, that Isaac might be loosed from his bonds. This ram, being put to death, ransomed Isaac. In like manner the Lord, being slain, saved us; and being bound, set us free; and being sacrificed, became our ransom.² (in Routh's "Rel. Sacr.," vol. i., pp. 123, 124, 2nd edit.).

¹ We believe that few who read this extract without prepossession will fail to agree with Dr. Saumarez Smith in regarding it as surprising that anyone can deliberately shut out the idea of "substitution" from such a passage as this. See "Pœna Vicaria," p. 51.

Bähr refers to a remark of Münscher, in which the epithet "strong" is applied to this passage, from its appearing so expressly to indicate the ideas of substitution and judicial suffering; but he adds that it is not a whit stronger than certain passages in the New Testament. We readily admit the truth of his assertion, but cannot allow it to deduct from the natural and obvious sense either of this epistle or of the Sacred Scriptures. See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1861, p. 43.

² Professor Blunt well observes ("Early Fathers," p. 419) that here "Christ's sacrifice is clearly designated as *vicarious*: Christ substituted in our stead, as the ram was in Isaac's."

Clemens of Alexandria, like Melito, sees a figure of Christ's sacrifice in the offering on Mount Moriah, "redeemed as we are from destruction by the Lord's blood" ("Pæd.," i., c. v. ; Op. Tom. i., p. 111, edit. Potter). And, again, he speaks of Christ's willing to suffer "in order that by His passion we might live" ("Stromat.," iv., § vii., Tom. i., p. 583). And, again, he represents the Saviour Himself as saying, "I paid thy death which thou owedst for thy sins" ("Quis dives salvetur," § xxiii., Tom. ii., p. 948).

Irenæus speaks of Christ's blotting out the handwriting of our debt, and nailing it to His cross, "that even as by a tree we were made debtors to God, so also by a tree we might receive remission of our debt" ("Contra Hæreses," Lib. v., cap. xvii., c. 1170, edit. Migne. See also cap. xvi., c. 1168). And, again, in very similar language to that of Clemens Romanus, which is probably borrowed from him, he speaks of the Lord having ransomed us by His own blood, and given His life for our lives, and His own flesh *instead* of the flesh which is ours—*τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν* ("Contra Hæreses," Lib. v., cap. i., c. 1121, edit. Migne). See above, p. 474.

Tertullian calls the death of Christ "the single hope of the whole world," and elsewhere he speaks of it as "the whole weight and benefit of the Christian profession, which the Apostle makes the foundation of the Gospel, of our salvation, and of his preaching" ("Adversus Marcionem," Lib. iii., § 8, Op. p. 401, edit. Rigaltius, and "De Carne Christi," § 5, p. 310).

He declares that God spared not His own Son that He might become a curse for us, and, after quoting Isaiah liii., says of Christ that He was delivered up unto death, even the death of the cross, and all that He might make us His own by purchase—delivering us from sins—*ut nos a peccatis lucraretur* ("De fugâ in persecutione," § 12, p. 541).

Origen speaks of God's justice as manifested in the redemption of Christ. He affirms that God's justice forbade His justifying the unjust. But the intervention of a propitiator comes in by God's appointment, that those who could not be justified by their own works might be justified by the faith of Him ("Com. in Ep. ad Rom.," Lib. iii., Op. Tom. iv., c. 946, edit. Migne ; p. 513 of edit. Ben.).

Again, Origen speaks of Christ as alone able to take upon Himself (on the cross which He endured for all apart from God) the burden of the sin of all, and (explaining Isaiah liii.) speaks of the punishment due to us (*ἡ ὀφειλομένη ἡμῶν κόλασις*) being laid upon Him, that we might have peace (Com. Tom. ii., "In Joh.," p. 364, edit. Huet. Colon., 1785).

Again he declares there is only One who has been able to give a ransom in exchange (*ἀντάλλαγμα*) for our soul already lost, even He who hath bought us with His own precious blood

("Exhortatio ad Martyrium," § 12, Op. Tom. i., c. 580, edit. Migne; p. 282 of edit. Ben.).

Cyprian declares that all the hope of the Christian lies in the tree. He adds: "The servant of Christ hails the symbol of his salvation. Redeemed by the tree to life eternal, by the tree he is advanced to his crown" ("Ep. lxxvii," Op. c. 328, edit. Baluzius).

He says Christ gives His saving grace by undergoing the death of the cross, by redeeming the believer at the price of His blood, by reconciling man to God the Father, by quickening the mortal in heavenly regeneration ("Ad Demetrium," c. 442).

He speaks of Christ as wounded that he might heal our wounds, as in bondage that He might bring bond-slaves to liberty, enduring death that He might give immortality to mortals ("De opere et elemosynis," c. 475).

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, who deposed Arius, regards the Incarnation of Christ as for this purpose: "In the cause of redemption to give life for life, blood for blood, to undergo death for death" ("On the soul and body" in Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xiv., p. 362). "Christ," he says, "by dying, hath discharged the debt of death to which man was obnoxious" (p. 362). Again: "He hath given Himself up as the price of our salvation" (p. 356). "One submitted to the judgment, and many thousands were absolved" (p. 362).

Still more distinct is the language of Eusebius. He speaks of God as putting down to His account (or assigning to Him) all our sins (*ἐπιγράψας τὰς πάντων ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας*),¹ and laying on Him the curse which in the law of Moses is adjudged . . . and putting upon Him for our sakes all the punishments which were due to us (*πάσας αὐτῷ δι' ἡμᾶς τὰς ἡμῶν ἐπηρητημένας τιμωρίας ἐπιθεῖς*) ("Demon. Evang.," Lib. i., p. 38, edit. Paris, 1628). He calls Him the *τίμιον λύτρον* of Jews and Gentiles, the *ἀντίψυχον* of all men (p. 37), the *τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀντίψυχον*. He speaks of His passion as all *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς* (p. 37). Again, He speaks of His enduring for our sakes punishment (*τιμωρίαν*)

¹ There need be no contradiction seen between the teaching of Eusebius here and his speaking elsewhere of our Lord's sufferings "as inflicted not by His Father, but by His human and spiritual enemies." See Acts ii. 23; iv. 28; and 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8; and Isa. liii. 6-10; and Luke xxiv. 26. The fact that Christ's blood was shed "not by a priest's sacrificial knife, but by the blade of a soldier's *pilum*," does not in any way detract from the significance which we are taught to assign to it when we throw the light of God's counsel upon that strange scene on Calvary. (See Dr. S. Smith, "Pœna Vicaria," p. 12.)

So the language of Justin Martyr and of Tertullian concerning Christ, as made "a curse for us" by human malice (see "Rudiments of Theology," p. 270, 271), will be found to present no contrast with the natural interpretation of Gal. iii. 13.

ὑποσχών) which did not belong to Him, but to us, because of the multitude of our transgressions, and so procuring the remission of our sins, as receiving for our sakes death, and transferring to Himself (εἰς αὐτὸν μεταθείς) the shame due to us, and drawing upon Himself the curse which was our due; as so uniting Himself to us, and us to Himself, as to make our sufferings His own (τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη ἰδιοποιούμενος), Lib. x., p. 467; and, again, as taking upon Him our transgressions (τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνειληφώς), p. 495.

Still more valuable and important is the evidence of St. Athanasius. Brief extracts can very imperfectly represent the cogency of his witness. It can only be apprehended by a study of his treatises as a whole. He says of Christ:

‘Ὅθεν ὡς ἱερεῖον καὶ θύμα παντὸς ἐλεύθερον σπλιν, ὁ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔλαβε σῶμα προσάγων εἰς θάνατον, ἀπὸ πάντων εὐθὺς τῶν ὁμοίων ἠφάνιζε τὸν θάνατον τῆ προσφορᾷ τοῦ καταλλήλου ὑπὲρ πάντας γὰρ ὧν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκότως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ναὸν καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ὄργανον προσάγων ἀντίψυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ (“De Incarnatione,” ch. 9, Op. Tom. i., Part I., p. 44. Patav., 1777).¹

Again he speaks of two marvellous results of the Incarnation,

To wit, that the death of all should be accomplished (ἐκρηλοῦτο) the Lord’s body, and that death and corruption should be brought to naught by the conjunction of the Word (διὰ τὸν συνίοντα λόγον ἐξηφανίζετο). For (he adds) death was a necessity, and there must be a death on behalf of all, that the debt due from all might be paid² (ὡὰ τὸ παρὰ πάντων

¹ Archdeacon Norris translates, “fulfilled all that the law of holiness required in His death,” and appends a note to this translation, “The idea is that of a vicarious satisfaction of the law of holiness—‘vicarious’ by virtue of the Incarnation, i.e., by virtue of His incorporation of manhood with Himself.” But it must be observed that “the law of holiness” is not in the text of the original at all. It might better be translated, “God the Father.” Compare the words προσῆγε τῷ Πατρὶ (as quoted by Archdeacon Norris in p. 288), and see note below, p. 480). And the vicarious character of the transaction is clearly connected with the death of Christ. The vicarious satisfaction, in the teaching of St. Athanasius, is certainly not in the Incarnation of Christ, but in His death. And the vicarious satisfaction of His death was the very purpose of His Incarnation. τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἀπάθεια ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν ἀθανασία ἐστὶ (“De Incarn. et Contra Arianos,” § 5, Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 698, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777. The treatise is Athanasian, if not Athanasii. See “Library of Fathers,” later treatises, pp. 143-145). Elsewhere Athanasius calls “the death of our Redeemer” “the day of salvation” (“Festal Epistles,” p. 47, Oxford, 1854). Mark the words, ἀντὶ πάντων θανάτῳ παραδιδός (quoted by Norris, p. 288); and again, ἀντὶ πάντων ἱκανὸν τῷ θανάτῳ (p. 290); and again, προσάγων ἀντίψυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ.

If death is acknowledged as the *pena* of sin, how is it possible to eliminate from this teaching the doctrine of *pena vicaria*?

² It is quite a mistake to suppose that in the view of Athanasius sin is *only* “a corruption of nature requiring to be cured,” as distinguished from Anselm’s view, in which it is “a debt to God’s honour requiring to be paid” (Norris, p. 309). Elsewhere, teaching of the purpose of the

ὄφειλόμενον γένηται). Wherefore the Word, seeing He could not die, being immortal, took to Himself a body capable of death, in order that He might offer it as His own instead of all (*ἀντὶ πάντων αὐτὸ προσενέγκη*), and that, by His own suffering for all, He might by that which came upon His body (*διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιβασιν*) destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil (*ibid.*, ch. 20, p. 52).

Again, he gives as the first reason why Christ's death should have been the death of the cross, that He had to bear away the curse which was ours, and that to be the curse He must receive the death of the curse (*εἰ γὰρ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην κατάραν ἦλθεν αὐτὸς βαστάσαι, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως ἐγένετο κατάρα εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐπὶ κατάρα γενομένον θάνατον ἐδέξατο* ;). *Ibid.*, ch. 25, p. 55.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in a very noteworthy passage, says that on account of the enmity caused by sin, and God's appointment of death for the sinner (*ὥρτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα ἀποθνήσκειν*), one of two things must, apparently, follow—either that God must be true to His word, and all men perish (*ἢ ἀληθεύοντα Θεὸν πάντας ἀνελεῖν*), or else that out of His love to man He should make void His sentence (*ἢ φιλανθρωποῦμενον παραλύσαι τὴν ἀπόφασιν*). Then he bids us behold the wisdom of God, in that He has both held inviolate the truth of His sentence, and at the same time given free exercise to His philanthropy. And how? The answer is: "Christ bore our sins in His body on the tree, that we by His death, dying to sins, should live unto righteousness." And all this is put before us in explanation of the truth that Christ "made peace by the blood of His cross" ("Cat. xiii.," § 33, Op. p. 199, edit. Toutée).

And in another scarcely less memorable passage he speaks of Phineas putting an end to the wrath of God by slaying the evildoer, and then asks, "Shall not Jesus bring to naught God's wrath against men, by—not slaying another, but—delivering up Himself as a ransom in exchange (*ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον παραδούς*)?" ("Cat. xiii.," § 2, p. 183).

Ephraem Syrus, quoting the words "Cursed of God is he who is hanged on a tree," says :

This curse, then, Christ took upon Him when He willed to die for us upon the cross . . . That which the Jews meant for evil, Christ turned to good, and by enduring the curse which was undeserved (indebitā maledictione) He abolished the curse which by reason, of the transgression

Incarnation, he speaks of Christ, *ἀνθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὀφειλήν ἀποδιδούς* ("Orat. contra Arianos," ii. 66, Op. Tom. i., par. i., p. 423). So St. Augustin, "Pergit ad passionem, ut pro debitoribus nobis quod Ipse non debet exsolveret" (quoted by Norris, p. 301). We may not think that God's appointment concerning sin may be adequately stated in the formula "by an inviolable law, *what is corrupt must die*" (Norris, p. 293). The sentence of God's law is, rather, "that which sinneth shall die." And so "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. v. 12). And this is fully recognised by Anathasius. See Tom. i., par. i., p. 424, 52, 45.

of the law, was our desert (nobis debitam) ("In Josh.," cap. viii., Op. Tom. ii., p. 125, edit. Venet.).

Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as paying the debt of Adam (Adami debitum solvit), and enduring the cross that by the tree He might deliver him who by the tree had fallen (*Ibid.*, p. 732, sermo ii.).

There is a notable passage in the commentary of St. Basil the Great on Psalm xlviii. In the LXX. parts of verses 7 and 8 read thus: οὐ δώσει τῷ Θεῷ ἐξίλασμα ἑαυτοῦ, Καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ.

After dwelling on the universal bondage to the common enemy of all through sin, and the need, therefore, of a ransom (λυτρῶν χρεία), which cannot come from man, he quotes from Rom. iii. 23: "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Then he goes on to warn against looking for redemption to any mere man, to anyone but the God-man, who alone can give to God a propitiation for us all (μόνος δύναται δοῦναι ἐξίλασμα τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν), "because," he adds, "God hath set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood" (Rom. iii. 25). Then, after referring to the history of Moses, who could not give a propitiation for his own soul, he says that one thing has been found of sufficient value for all men (πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀντάξιον), which has been given for the ransom-price of our soul (εἰς τιμὴν λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν), even the sacred and most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He shed for us all. Then, after turning to the Divine nature of Christ, he leads us to mark the impossibility of redemption save by the advent of One who could turn the captivity of the people, not with ransoms nor with gifts, as it is written in Isaiah, but by His own blood (referring to Isa. lii. 3). Then he adds, showing how the payment of that redemption price acts upon our condition as a propitiatory with God for His enemies:

Οὗτος δὲ οὐχὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς γενομένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, οὔτε ἀνθρώπος ψιλὸς ὢν ἀλλὰ Θεός, μετὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἦν χαρίζεται ἡμῖν καὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύει. ἀπαγελλῶ γὰρ, φησὶ, τὸ ὄνομα σοῦ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου. ὁ οὖν λυτρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν μὲν τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ σκοπῆς, οὔτε ἀδελφός οὔτε ἀνθρώπος· ἐὰν δὲ τὴν ἐκ χάριτος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγκατάβασιν, καὶ ἀδελφούς ἡμᾶς ὀνομάζει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καταβαίνει, ὃς οὐ δώσει τῷ Θεῷ ἐξίλασμα ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντός. οὐ γὰρ ἰλασμοῦ δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστιν ἰλαστήριον ¹ (Op. Tom. i., pp. 180, 181, edit. Garnier).

¹ The value of this extract—beyond showing how thoroughly the objective reality of the Atonement is assumed as underlying the Christian faith—consists in this, that it is one of those examples which show clearly how the Fathers regarded the deliverance from Satan's captivity by the one sufficient Ransom-price as all resulting from the change of our relationship towards God. The blood of Christ is *therefore* the ransom-price of our release, because it is that which make our propitia-

Epiphanius speaks of Christ accomplishing our salvation no otherwise than by His passion (*ἐκτός πάθους*), by His dying for us and offering Himself for our souls, a sacrifice to the Father, cleansing by His blood, and rending the handwriting which was against us ("Adv. Hær.," Lib. iii., Tom. ii., ch. xxii.).

He also speaks of Christ as bearing our sins upon the tree (the curse being assigned to crucifixion), giving Himself on our behalf, buying us with His blood, releasing us from our curses by His body (*Ibid.*, Lib. ii., Tom. ii., ch. lxxviii.).

St. Ambrose guards against so understanding the saying, "The Word was made flesh," as if the Divine Word had been turned into flesh, by quoting what is said of Christ, that He did no sin, and yet was called "sin." So He is said to be a "curse," not because He was turned into a curse, but because He took upon him (suscepit) our curse ("De Incarn. Dom.," cap. vi., § 60).

Again, he speaks of us as debtors under a hard usurer, who will be satisfied with nothing less than the death of the debtor. "Then," he says, "came the Lord Jesus and laid down His death for the death of all, and poured out His blood for the blood of all" ("Ep. Cl. I.," Ep. xlii., § 7). And, again, he says of Christ that He made satisfaction to the Father (*satisfaciebat Patri*) for our sins ("In Psalm. xxxvii. Enarr.," § 53).

St. Jerome explains Christ's being wounded for our iniquities by His being made a curse for us that He might release us from the curse. And he expounds "the chastisement of our peace was upon Him" by saying that what for our sins we ought to have borne He suffered for us, making peace by the blood of His cross ("In Isa.," Lib. xiv., cap. liii., Op. Tom. iv., c. 620, edit. Vallarsius. Venet., 1767).

St. Augustin as good as says that we may as well deny that Christ died as deny that He was accursed. He regards the saying that He was "made a curse for us" as equivalent to the saying that "He died for" us.

Christ (he says) took upon Him our punishment without our guilt (*Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum*), that so He might bring to nought our guilt, and make an end of our punishment (*ut inde solveret reatum nostrum, et finiret etiam supplicium nostrum*) ("Contra Faustum," Lib. xiv., cap. v., Op. Tom. viii., c. 266, edit. Ben. Paris, 1688).

Again, he says:

Rightly (merito) is the sinner's death, coming out of the necessity of

tion with God. We were bondmen of the devil when we were enemies of God. When by the blood of Atonement we are enemies no more, made to be the Brethren of Him Who redeemed us, then we are as by a redemption-price delivered from the bondage of the evil one.

The ransom and the propitiation are the same. The blood of Christ is the ransom-price in view of our relation to Satan and his bondage. It is our propitiation in relation to God (see above, p. 473).

condemnation, broken up (soluta) by the death of the righteous, coming out of the voluntary work of compassion (ex misericordiæ voluntate) ("De Trin.," Lib. iv., § 4, Op. Tom. viii., c. 812).

Again, he says that Christ took upon Him our sins, not cleaving to them, but bearing them in like manner as Jacob took upon him the kid's skin :

Therefore (he says) death in our Lord was the evidence (signum) of the sins of others, not the punishment of His own (non pœna propriorum) . . . So taking upon Him the sins of others, He says, "*Quæ non rapuit, tunc exsoluebam, id est, peccatum non habens moriebar*" ("Serm. cœclxi., De Resur.," § 16, Op. Tom. v., c. 1414, 1415).

St. Chrysostom uses an illustration—such an illustration as in the mouth of a modern preacher would probably incur the imputation of Calvinism, such a one as very commonly is condemned now, and might be very justly condemned if it were set forth as expressing *the whole truth* of the Atonement. But what we are specially concerned to observe is that it could never have come out of a mind in the view of which the doctrine of *vicarious penalty* did not occupy a prominent place. It could not have lived in an atmosphere which was not pervaded with the notion of substitutionary representation, and forensic justification by the non-imputation to sinners of sins imputed to the Righteous One, and willingly borne by the Redeemer.

Let the reader judge of his words :

As when one is condemned to die, another, having no guilt, by electing to die for him (ἐλέμενος θανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου), draws and delivers him from his penalty (ἐξαρπάξει τῆς τιμωρίας αὐτοῦ), even so did Christ do. For, seeing He was not subject to the curse which belongs to transgression, He took upon Himself that other curse [i.e., the curse belonging to one hanging on a tree] instead of this [i.e., the curse of transgression], that He might bring to naught the curse of the transgressors (ἀνεδέξατο ὁ Χριστὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνης ταύτης, ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν ἐκείνων) ("In Gal. c. iii.," Op. Tom. x., p. 700, edit. Montfaucon).

Elsewhere, also, St. Chrysostom teaches very clearly that the Atonement was effected, not by the Incarnation, but by the incarnate Saviour's taking upon Him, and receiving from the Father (when we were the children of His wrath), the punishment and the curse which were due to us (τὴν τιμωρίαν τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο) ("In Asc. Serm.," § 2, Op. Tom. ii., p. 450, edit. Montfaucon).

But another illustration of St. Chrysostom is even more observable. "Adam sinned and died. Christ sinned not and died." How is this strange thing to be explained? He answers that it was in order that he who sinned and died might be delivered from the bonds of death by Him who sinned not and died. And then he adds that it is a thing which often happens in the case of debtors. One owes money to another,

and has nothing to pay, and is therefore bound. Another, who owes nothing, but is able to pay, lays down the payment, and releases the debtor. Then from this illustration he turns back at once to the case of Adam and Christ.

Adam (he says) owed the debt of death, and was held captive of the devil. Christ owed no debt, and was no captive. But He came and paid the debt of death (*κατέβαλε τὸν θάνατον*) for him who was held captive, that He might release *him* from the bonds of death ("Hom. in S. Pascha," Op. Tom. iii, p. 754, edit. Montfaucon).

Cyril of Alexandria teaches that though Christ was righteousness itself (*αὐτόχρομα δικαιοσύνη*), the Father made Him a sacrifice (*σφάγιον ἐποίησεν ὁ Πατήρ*) for the world's transgressions. Thus Christ was numbered with the transgressors, enduring the lot suitable for transgressors (*ψῆφον ὑπομείνας τὴν τοῖς ἀνόμοις προποδουμένην*). He explains that the lot of the world's inhabitants was that they must needs endure death—for sin (*τὸ χρῆμα παθεῖν τὸν θάνατον*), and that the Word was made flesh, and made like unto us under sin (*σύμμορφός τε ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑφ' ἁμαρταν*), and *endured the lot which was ours* (*τὸν ἡμῶν ὑπέστη κλήρον*). He regards this as the explanation of the saying of St. Paul that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man; and declares that Christ-made-His own soul (*τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν*) to be an exchange given for the life of all (*τῆς ἀπάντων ζωῆς ἀντάλλαγμα*). He adds: "One died for all, that we all might live to God, being sanctified and quickened by His blood, and *justified freely by His grace*" ("Ep. XLI.," Op. Tom. x, c. 209, edit. Migne).

Theodoret teaches that since human nature owed a debt which it could not pay, the Lord Himself, in His wisdom, arranged for the payment, so delivering human nature. He appeals to Isaiah and St. Paul as witnesses to this truth, the one before, the other after, both by the utterance of the same Spirit. He explains that we owed the endurance of chastisement and penalty (*παιδείαν καὶ τιμωρίαν*. See LXX. of Isai. liii. 5), but that, instead of our having the experience of this, our Saviour endured this, and so gave to us peace with God. Thus, he says, Isaiah both shows us *the sufferings* of our salvation (*τὰ σωτήρια πάθη*), and teaches us the cause of those sufferings. And then he quotes St. Paul's teaching: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."—And in that word "for us" he bids us see how He, owing nothing, and free from all sin, paid what we owed, obtained liberty for us who lay under ten thousand debts, by reason of which we were held in forced bondage, and bought us by laying down the price of His own blood.

He further explains that this is the reason why the death Christ died was the death of the cross. *That* death was an

accursed death, and our nature, by reason of the transgression of the law, was an accursed nature. So He takes on Himself the new curse, and brings the other to nought by being slain in injustice. He, being under no curse, endured the death of the sinners, and so was able to say to the great enemy: "Thou art taken in thine own snares, and thy sword has pierced thine own soul; thou hast digged a pit and art fallen into the midst of it. Thou hast had power over those that had sinned; but thou hast laid thy hand on One who had done no sin. Therefore yield up thy power, and depart deprived of thy tyranny. I will deliver all from death, and that not as a work of compassion only, but of compassion combined with justice (*οὐκ ἀπλῶς ἐλέω χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ἐλέω δικαίῳ*). I have paid the debt of human nature, and can now destroy the just hold of death, because I have endured the unjust hold of death"¹ ("De Providentiâ," Orat. x., Op. Tom. iv., pp. 666-672, edit. Schulze).

St. Leo writes: "The compassion of the Trinity so divided among themselves the work of our restoration (*divisit sibi opus nostræ reparationis. misericordia Trinitatis*)—that the Father should be propitiated, the Son should propitiate, the Holy Spirit should inflame the soul (*igniret*)" ("De Pent., Serm. III., 'Hodiernam,' In Hept. Præs.," p. 76, c. i.).

Again, he teaches that God, being both righteous and compassionate, so ordered the matter of providing medicine for the sick, reconciliation for the guilty, and redemption for the captives, that the sentence of just condemnation might be broken (*solveretur*) by the righteous work of the Redeemer ("De Pass. Dom., Serm. v., In Hept. Præs.," p. 51, c. ii.).

Again, he regards this as the result and purpose of the Incarnation, that man might attain glory through shame, incorruption through punishment (*incorruptio per supplicium*), life through death ("Serm. xix., De Pass. Dom., In Hept. Præs.," p. 67, c. ii.).

Gregory the Great speaks of the Redeemer as without fault taking upon Him (*suscepit*) the punishment (*pœnam*) of our fault (*culpæ*) ("Moral. XIII.," c. xxx., § 34, Op. Tom. i., c. 429. Venet., 1744).

He constantly treats of the Atonement in relation to the justice of God, asking, *e.g.*, how God can be just if He condemns Him to whom no punishment is due; and answering that He could never have delivered us from the death which was our due except by taking upon Himself the death which was not His due.

¹ The above does not pretend to be a translation. It aims only at being a substantially accurate representation (greatly abbreviated) of Theodoret's teaching in this oration. The same may be said of the sayings of other Fathers, as given in the text. Similar teaching will be found frequently recurring in the writings of Theodoret.

Therefore (he adds) the Father in His justice, *in punishing the just, orders all things in justice* (justum puniens, omnia juste disponit), because by this method He justifies all things, viz., in that He condemns for sinners Him Who is without sin (eum, qui sine peccato est, pro peccatoribus damnat); so that herein all the elect things might attain to the height of justice, in that He Who is over all has borne the condemnation of our injustice (damna injustitiæ nostræ sustineret) ("Moral. III.," cap. xiv., § 27, Op. Tom. i., c. 84, 85. Venet., 1744).

Again, he says it was expedient that the death of a Just One dying unjustly should bring to nought the death of sinners dying justly ("Moral. XXXIII.," cap. xv., § 31, Tom. i., c. 1095).

To these brief extracts¹ we will only add the following very remarkable testimony to the belief of the early Church, which has been, we think, strangely overlooked:²

After the space of three years, and at the commencement of the fourth; so He draws near to His bodily passion, which He willingly undergoes on our behalf. For the punishment of the cross is what was due to us. But if we had all endured the cross, we had no power to deliver ourselves from death. . . . But He, the Saviour of all, came, and the punishments which were due to us, He received into His sinless flesh, which was *of us, instead of us, and for our sakes* (τὰς ἡμῖν χρεωστούμενας τιμωρίας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναμάρτητον αὐτοῦ ὑπέδεξατο σάρκα). This is the Apostolic and approved faith, which the Church has received from the beginning, from the Lord Himself, through the Apostles, which has been handed down by tradition from one generation to another, and which the Church sets on high, and holds it fast, now and for ever³ (Mansī, Tom. ii., c. 876. Florence, 1759).

Could we desire to add anything to the clearness of this testimony? Could anything be added to its force?

It is from the work of Gelasius of Cyzicus, on the Council of Nicæa, a work which is of no historical authority. But whether these improbable dialogues were written merely as a theological exercise, or with a design to pass them as a true narrative, in

¹ Many more might be added.

Chrysostom's expression, ἀντιφρόπος τῆς πάντων ἀπωλείας, may surely be said to imply all that is contended for in the text. See Dr. S. Smith's "Pœna Vicaria," p. 21.

² It is, however, referred to in "Pearson on Creed."

³ Assuredly no fair interpretation can possibly divest this passage of the teaching of imputation, substitution, and *pœna vicaria*.

When Archdeacon Norris wrote "the idea of imputation . . . is a theory shocking to the conscience, and unknown to the Church until the sixteenth century" (p. 48), he must have been thinking of a sense of imputation, of which Thulock said: "Such an imputation could not be spoken of; it could not be effected" ("On Heb.," Diss. ii., vol. ii., p. 288, edit. 1842). It is surely not in this sense that the word is used in the theology of the Reformation, as expressing a doctrine taught in the Scriptures, and upheld by the Fathers.

Is it possible to have a clearer statement of imputation (in the only sense which is contended for) and *pœna vicaria* than the following comment on Isa. liii. ?—Καθὼς λέγει Ἡσαίας, αὐτὸς τὰς μαλακίας ἡμῶν ἀφεί, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. Ὡστε οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὀδυνᾶται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐγκατελείφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας

either case the writer would certainly not have set down as the acknowledged faith of the Christian Church what would be recognised by Christians as altogether alien from their belief.

Much additional evidence to the same effect might be added, but it is confidently believed that what has already been adduced is amply sufficient for the purpose we have in view.

It is not intended to deny for a moment that errors early began, stealthily and silently, to creep into the practice and teaching of the Christian Church which had an undoubted tendency to dethrone and supersede this view of the atoning death of Christ—errors the prevalence and power of which in after-ages did indeed avail to cast this doctrine into the shade, and to reduce it to the position of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water to minister to the growing superstitions which were gradually clinging round a mistaken sacerdotal system. All the more striking and forcible, therefore, is the evidence of the doctrine of *pœna vicaria* still existing and making itself manifest in spite of what was tending to stifle it. And the fact of its survival becomes, therefore, all the more cogent a witness to this—that its origin is to be traced, not to the thoughts of man's wisdom or human invention, but to the true fountain-head of Divine revelation, to the oracles of God, and to the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

Weeds and thorns grew apace which struck their roots deep into the natural heart of man—thorns whose nature it was to choke the good seed of God's Word. But this teaching of *substitution and imputation*—the *pœna vicaria* of the incarnate Son of God—the dying of the Just for the unjust, was found to lift up its head and manifest its vitality in spite of all its manifold adverse surroundings.

But it may be alleged that, after all, these Patristic teachings show clearly that this doctrine, however distinctly held, was

παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν κόσμον ("De Incarn. et Contra Arianos," § 2, In Athan., Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 697, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777).

But very much to be observed is another saying of St. Athanasius, in which he speaks of Christ taking upon Him our curse, even as He took upon Him our human nature: τὸ γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ λεγόμενον, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διάνοιαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τούτου δυνατὸν εὐρεῖν· γέγραπται γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ, Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονε κατάρρα, καὶ ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς γέγονε κατάρρα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνεδέξατο κατάρραν, εἰρηται κατάρρα γεγονέναι· οὕτω καὶ σὰρξ γέγονεν οὐ τραπεῖς εἰς σάρκα ἀλλ' ὅτι σάρκα ζῶσαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε ("Ad Epictetum Epist.," § 8, Op. Tom. i., par. ii., p. 724, edit. Ben. Patav., 1777). Is it possible to maintain that the idea of imputation and of *pœna vicaria* is not present here?

Yet, again, Athanasius writes: Οὐ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦλθε τελειῶσαι ὁ Σωτὴρ· ὅθεν οὐκ ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ οὐκ εἶχε γὰρ ζωὴ ὧν ἀπετίθετο τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδέχετο, ἵνα καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι προσελθόντα τέλειον ἐξαφανίσῃ ("De Incarn.," § 22, Op. Tom. i., par. i., p. 53. Patav., 1777). If death is the *pœna* of sin, will anyone contend that there is no idea of imputation and *pœna vicaria* here?

held in combination with other doctrines which tend materially to modify its difficulties.

And we are quite ready to reply that if there has been anything like a tendency in modern times to separate this doctrine from associated truths—truths associated with it as well in Holy Scripture as in the writings of the Fathers—this tendency is very much to be deprecated.

The hypostatic union of two natures in Christ, what is now sometimes spoken of as the solidarity of Christ with the human race, His summing-up (*recapitulatio*) of humanity in Himself, the victory of the incarnate Deity over death and hell for us, the mystical union of the risen Saviour with all the members of His mystical body (the *unio mystica capitis et corporis*), and the regenerating power of the truth of the Cross, its Divine efficacy to crucify the old man in the human heart, the perfecting of human nature in its union with the Divine—these are truths which, in the Christian faith, and in their bearing on the doctrine of the Cross, must never be dishonoured. Do we, in insisting on the truth of the atonement of Christ by giving Himself to be the burden-bearer of our sins, His giving Himself an *ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων*—do we wish to make light of these truths, or of their connection with the truth of the Gospel of Christ? Surely it is sufficient answer to say—God forbid!

To the theological student the true doctrine of the Cross is a complex and many-sided doctrine indeed. It has its side of Divine mystery. It has its marvels and miracles. It is a Divine teaching full of Divine riches of grace and wisdom and power. What mind of man has ever sounded its depths? What human eye has ever scanned its heights? What heart of man has ever reached the circumference of its wisdom?

But, still, all this in no wise withstanding, we must never cease to insist on the truth that those who would enter truly into the deeper and higher teachings of the Cross of Christ, and be taught to know its power in the school of Divine experience, must first of all submit to accept the simple truth of the Saviour dying for sinners, that sinners may be justified freely (*δωρεάν*) by His blood—the simple truth of the Atonement as seen on the side which is turned to the sinner's faith, as it is seen in its adaptation to the condemned sinner standing guilty before God—the truth that we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins. First of all we must receive the truth of Atonement by *pœna vicaria*; we must receive it in its simplicity, as it is hid from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes. The Christian who would truly be able to say that by the Cross of Christ "the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world" must first be content as a condemned sinner to

believe in Christ crucified *for him*, and so must be taught by the Spirit of God to say, "I live by the faith of the Son of God, Who loved me and gave Himself for me." If the truth of Christ's death *for us* be hampered, and its simplicity marred by attempts to condition it or confuse it by requiring first death *in us*, crucifixion in our own souls, a spiritual dying to sin and living unto God—just so far will there be a real marring and hampering of the very power—the only power by which the old man is crucified with Christ—that the body of sin may be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.

In vain shall we strive with many strivings to learn aright the blessed lesson of "Christ *in us*," for life, for holiness, for victory, for power; if we refuse to learn the lesson of "Christ *for us*," for atonement, for justification, for peace, and rest for our souls. He, Who alone is our life and our salvation, *He* has to say to each believing heart, "If I *wash* thee not, thou hast no part with Me." For an increase of spiritual power, and higher experience of the resurrection life of Christ, our souls want no new doctrine of sanctification, but a new hold of that old doctrine of justification which is the power of God unto salvation, and a deeper, much deeper, rooting in the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge.

It should be added that the view we have of God's dealings in respect of sin and sinners in the Atonement of Christ is not the whole view of the matter. That free justification bought at such a cost, and offered to guilty sinners in such wondrous grace—it stands before the sinner's soul as an open door. At that door none can enter in for him. The entrance of none other can avail instead of him. His individual responsibility is here. The grace of the Gospel has been brought to him by the redeeming work of another, to which he could contribute nothing at all. This grace comes of the work all of another, not of himself at all. The obedience of the Gospel must come of himself alone (howbeit it comes all of the grace of God), not of another at all.

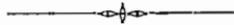
The offer of Divine peace, the beseeching litany of reconciliation, comes from heaven above, and comes only because of this, that, in His love and pity for the lost, God made Him to be sin for us Who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. The acceptance of reconciliation can come only from the heart of the sinner whose ear has been opened by grace to hear the prayer, "As though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled unto God." The responsibility of this reconciliation is a responsibility in which each human heart must needs stand alone.

The religion of Christ is pre-eminently the religion of salvation. That salvation is full of marvels—strange and wondrous things, which it never entered into the heart of man to conceive. And

these marvels will always be a stumbling-block, a *σκάνδαλον*, to the natural heart and intellect of man. Marvels, because they are marvellous, are hard to receive. But when the soul—humbly receiving God's testimony concerning our "earthly things," the things of our sin, our ruin, our death—has revealed to it by God's Spirit the "heavenly things" of Christ's redemption, so marvellously adapted to our need, then the marvels of our difficulties are turned into marvels of Divine grace and wisdom and love. And we recognise that it could only have been by marvels, with difficulties and Divine workings very strange to us, the working of thoughts and ways higher than our thoughts and ways, that condemned sinners, the children of God's wrath, could have been made the children of grace, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son.

The working of that which is not human at all, but all Divine, is to be seen in providing the salvation, the food which the sinner man, in his great need, could never provide for himself. But the hungering and the feeding, the thirsting and the drinking, is that which pertains and must pertain to each individual soul, in which no other soul can share or co-operate. In this matter every man should prove his own work, that he may have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: "For every man shall bear his own burden" (Gal. vi. 5).

N. DIMOCK.



ART. V.—THE REFORM OF CONVOCATION.

(Concluded from page 401.)

REFERENCE was made last month to the efforts of the Lower House of the Southern Convocation to bring about a better representation of the clergy in Convocation, and we saw the difficulties which stand in the way of that reform being effected by the body from which it might most naturally be looked for, namely, Convocation itself. We will now proceed to consider the question of its being carried out by one of the other three authorities who were mentioned as possibly having jurisdiction in the matter, namely, the Archbishop, the Crown, and Parliament.

It has been suggested that the Archbishop of the Province, as President of Convocation, has an inherent power of summoning to it such of the inferior clergy of his Province, either in person or by their proctors, as he may from time to time think proper. He has, no doubt, a certain power and jurisdiction as to the constitution of the Lower House of Convocation. While, on the one