Durham University

Durham E-Theses

The history of the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 up to the council of Chalcedon, with particular reference to the use of these verses as an argument for infant baptism.

John Paul Tyndale Hunt

How to cite:

Hunt, John Paul Tyndale (1988) The history of the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 up to the council of Chalcedon, with particular reference to the use of these verses as an argument for infant baptism. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/6332/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

Abstract

The History of the Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 up to the Council of Chalcedon, with particular reference to the use of these verses as an argument for infant baptism.

by John Paul Tyndale Hunt

After a consideration of those passages within the New Testament, either by St. Paul himself or other authors, which were written after Colossians, and which reflect the thought or language of Colossians 2:11 and 12 and which may thus be regarded as a commentary upon these verses, the main part of the thesis consists of a study of the way in which these verses were interpreted by Patristic writers.

Colossians 2:11 and 12 have played an important part historically in the rationale for infant baptism. Some paedobaptists, especially those within the Reformed tradition, assume that infants were baptized from Apostolic times on the basis of a covenantal analogy between circumcision and baptism. This study seeks to ascertain when this analogy in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, first occur as an argument for infant baptism. Alongside the study of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted reference is made to early explicit testimony for the practice of infant baptism, and an attempt is made to ascertain what arguments were advanced for infant baptism at any given time.

An attempt is also made to ascertain at what stage in the development of the analogy between circumcision and baptism its use is consistent as an argument for infant baptism. Special attention is paid to any factors not specifically arising from the exegesis of Colossians 2:11 and 12 which may have contributed to the view that in these verses Paul is directly comparing the two rites of circumcision and baptism.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

The History of the Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 up to the Council of Chalcedon, with particular reference to the use of these verses as an argument for infant baptism.

by
John Paul Tyndale Hunt

M.A.
University of Durham
Department of Theology
1988



2 1 NOV 1988

Contents

Declaration and statement of Copyright 11

ABBREVIATIONS 12

PREFACE 14

1 INTRODUCTION 16

1.1 The purpose and scope of this thesis 16

1.2 Points at issue in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 23

1.2.1 Structure 24

1.2.2 Exegesis 24

2 THE NEW TESTAMENT 31

2.1 Ephesians 31

2.1.1 Ephesians 1:13 32

2.1.2 Ephesians 1:19 and 20 39

2.1.3 Ephesians 2:11–22 41

2.1.3.1 Ephesians 2:11 41

2.1.3.2 Ephesians 2:13 48

2.2 1 Peter 3:21 69

2.3 Additional Note: Circumcision as a sign and seal of righteousness by faith 75

3 PATRISTIC EXEGESIS PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA 79

3.1 THE SECOND CENTURY: THE BEGINNINGS OF PATRISTIC LITERATURE 79
3.1.1 Justin Martyr (died 165): Dialogue with Trypho the Jew 81
3.1.1.1 Chapters 113 and 114, and Chapter 43:2 . . 82
3.1.1.2 Chapter 24 97
3.1.1.3 Chapter 41:4 97
3.1.2 Irenaeus: (c130–c200) Against Heresies: IV:16.1 . . . 101
3.1.3 The Gnostics 106
3.1.3.1 A Docetic Interpretaion of Colossians 2:11 and 12 Preserved by Hippolytus: Refutation of All Heresies: VIII: 10, 6–8 106
3.1.3.2 A Valentinian Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12: The Gospel of Philip: f.66 line 18 111
3.2 THE EARLY ALEXANDRIANS 117
3.2.1 Clement of Alexandria 117
3.2.1.1 Miscellanies III:5:43 118
3.2.1.2 Exhortation to the Greeks: 2:27 125
3.2.2 Origen (186–255 AD) 127
3.2.2.1 Commentary on Romans: Book 10:58 127
3.2.2.2 Selections from the Catena on Joshua 129
3.2.2.3 On Psalm 118 (119) 132
3.2.2.4 Homily XIV on Luke: on Luke 2:21–24 . . . 135
Additional Note: Origen and Infant Baptism 140
3.3 EARLY AFRICAN THEOLOGY 157
3.3.1 Tertullian: c160–c220AD 157
3.3.1.1 On the Resurrection of the Flesh: s7 157
3.3.1.2 On the Resurrection of the Flesh: s23 161
Additional Note: On Baptism: s18 162
3.3.2 Cyprian (died 258) 169
3.3.2.1 Testimonies against the Jews: Book I: s8 . . 169

Additional Note: Epistle 64: To Fidus 172
3.3.2.2 On Jealousy and Envy: s14 176
3.4 EARLY ROMAN THEOLOGY 177
3.4.1 Novatian (died 257/8): On the Trinity: c21 s9 177
3.4.2 Additional Note: The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus: s21:4f 179

4 GREEK PATRISTIC EXEGESIS AFTER NICEA 182
Introduction 182
4.1 THE LATER ALEXANDRIANS 184
4.1.1 Pseudo-Athanasius: On the Sabbath and Circumcision: s.4–6 184
4.1.2 Didymus of Alexandria (c313–398): On the Trinity: Book 2: s5 192
4.1.3 Cyril of Alexandria (died 444) 195
4.1.3.1 Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke: Sermon III (on Luke 2:21–24) 195
4.1.3.2 Commentary on the Gospel of St. John . . . 203
4.1.3.2.1 Book III (on John 6:35) 203
4.1.3.2.2 Book X: c2 (on John 15:2) 206
4.1.4 Pseudo-Chrysostom: Homilies on the Passover: III: s2 209
4.2 CAPPADOCIAN WRITERS 215
4.2.1 Asterius the Sophist (died c341): Homily XX (on Psalm VI): s3 and s7 215
Additional Note: Asterius and Infant Baptism 221
THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS 228
4.2.2 Basil the Great. 228
4.2.2.1 The Morals. 228
4.2.2.1.1 Rule 20 229
4.2.2.1.2 Rule 43 230
4.2.2.2 On The Holy Spirit: s35 231
Additional Note: Martyrdom as the Imitation of the Passion of Christ 245

4.2.2.3 Concerning Baptism: Book II: s1 247
4.2.2.4 Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism: s2 252
4.2.3 Gregory Nazianzen (c330–389/90): Oration 33: Against the Arians and Concerning Himself: s4 254
4.2.4 Gregory Nyssen (c335–394) 255
4.2.4.1 Life of St. Macrina: s24 255
4.2.4.1.1 Additional Note: The Christian Dead. 257
4.2.4.2 Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles . . 258
4.2.4.2.1 Homily VI (on 3:6) and Homily XIV (on 5:13) 259
4.2.4.2.2 Homily XIII: (on 5:8–12) 263
4.2.5 Additional Note: The use of Colossians 2:11 and 12 as an argument for infant baptism in Cappadocia in the fourth century. 265
4.3 WRITERS OF SYRIA AND ANTIOCH 274
4.3.1 Cyril of Jerusalem (c315–386): Catechetical Lectures . 274
4.3.1.1 Procatechesis: s2 274
4.3.1.2 Catechetical Lecture IV: Introductory Reading. 275
4.3.1.3 Catechetical Lecture V: s6 275
4.3.2 Epiphanius of Salamis (c315–403): Ancoratus (The Firmly Anchored Man) 279
4.3.2.1 Section s68:s11 279
4.3.2.2 Section 73:8 280
ANTIOCHENE WRITERS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES 282
4.3.3 St. John Chrysostom (c344–354 – 405) 283
4.3.3.1 Homily XXXIX on Genesis: s5 284
4.3.3.2 Homily XL on Genesis: s4 288
4.3.3.3 Against the Hebrews and concerning the Resurrection: s4 290

4.3.3.4 Baptismal Instruction IX: s12 291
4.3.3.5 Homily VI on Colossians 292
4.3.3.6 Homily VIII on Colossians 298
4.3.4 Severian of Gabala (died after 408): Fragments from an Exposition of Colossians 299
4.3.5 Theodore of Mopsuestia (c350–428): Commentary on Colossians 303
4.3.6 Theodoret of Cyrus (c393- 466) 309
4.3.6.1 Commentary on Colossians 309
4.3.6.2 Questions on the Octateuch: Question III on Joshua (on 5:2) 312
4.3.63 Questions and Responses to the Orthodox: 102 314
←——4.3.7 Antiochene and Alexandrian Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12: A Comparison . . 317
EAST SYRIAN CHRISTIANITY 319
4.3.8 Aphrahat: Demonstration XII: s10 319
4.3.9 Ephraem the Syrian (c306–373): Commentary on Colossians 325

5 WESTERN EXEGESIS AFTER NICAEA 328
Introduction 328
5.1 Hilary of Poitiers (died 367/8): On the Trinity: Book I:13 and Book IX:9–12 329
5.2 Zeno of Verona (died c375): Sermons: Book I:13: On Circumcision: s24 342
5.3 Priscillian (died 385): Canons on the Epistles of St. Paul . . . 346
5.3.1 Canon 67 346
5.3.2 Canon 78 347
5.3.3 Canon 84 347
5.4 Ambrose of Milan (either 333 or 339–397) 348
5.4.1 On the Christian Faith: Book III: c2 (s11–14) 348
5.4.2 Concerning Repentance: Book II: s9 352

5.4.3 Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke: Book VII:s37 (on 9:59–62) 356
Additional Note 1 357
Additional Note 2: Ambrose's understanding of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, and his use of this analogy as an argument for infant baptism 358
5.5 Ambrosiaster 360
5.5.1 Commentary on Colossians 360
5.5.1.1 Comment on Colossians 2:11 and 12 361
5.5.1.2 Comment on Colossians 2:20 364
5.5.2 Fragment from a Commentary on Matthew: (on Matthew 24:15) 365
5.6 Jerome (342–419/20) 367
5.6.1 Translation of Origen's Homily XIV on Luke 367
5.6.2 Against Jovinian: Book I: s38 368
5.6.3 Against John of Jerusalem: s27 373
5.6.4 Letter 14: to Heliodorus: s2 375
5.6.5 Letter 65: To Principia: s14 376
5.6.6 Letter 69: To Oceanus: s7 377
5.6.7 Letter 121: To Algasia: s10 380
5.6.8 Commentary on Galatians: Book III (on Galatians 6:15) 382
5.7 The Vulgate version of Colossians 2:11 and 12 383
5.8 Pelagius: Commentary on Colossians 384
5.9 Augustine of Hippo (354–430) 386
5.9.1 Questions on the Gospels: Book I: question 2 387
5.9.2 Reply to Faustus the Manichee 389
5.9.2.1 Book VI: s3 390
5.9.2.2 Book XVI: s29 393
5.9.2.3 Book XIX: s9 401
5.9.2.4 Book XXV: s2 405

5.9.3 Answer to the Letters of Petillian the Donatist. Book II:xxxvii.87 406
5.9.4 Sermon To the Newly Baptized: On the Octave of Easter: s4 411
5.9.5 Sermon 210: sii.3 413
5.9.6 Sermon 231: On the Resurrection According to St. Mark: s2 414
5.9.7 Easterday Sermon: s2 417
5.9.8 On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins and the Baptism of Infants 418
5.9.8.1 Book I:xxvi.39 418
5.9.8.2 Book I:xxvii.47 421
5.9.9 Letter 149: To Paulinus: s26 422
5.9.10 Letter 157: To Hilary: s14 426
5.9.11 On Original Sin: xxx.35–xxxii.37 428
5.9.12 Defence Against Julian the Pelagian Heretic 432
5.9.12.1 Book II:vi.18. 433
5.9.12.2 Book VI: vi.18 and 20 436
5.9.13 On the Trinity: Book IV.vii.11 439
5.9.14 On the Trinity Book XIV:xvi.22; XV:xix.36; On the Soul and Its Origin: IV.xxii.36 441
5.9.15 Tractate Against the Jews: ii.3 443
5.9.16 Concluding Observations 444
5.9.16.1 Additional Note: On Baptism Against the Donatists: Book IV:xxiii.31–xxv.33 445
5.10 Pseudo-Augustine: Against Fulgentius the Donatist: Book I:c2 450
5.11 Eucherius of Lyons (died between 450 and 455): Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae: c10 451
5.12 Peter Chrysologus (c380–450): Sermon 82: On Mark 16:1–12 452
5.13 Leo the Great (died 461) 453

6 CONCLUSION 455

6.1 St. Paul's understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12, and the implications of this for the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. . 455

6.2 The Patristic Period 457

6.2.1 Introduction 457

6.2.2 Exegetical Overview 459

6.2.3 The use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular as an argument for infant baptism 461

6.2.4 The development of the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism. 463

6.2.5 Infant baptism and faith 465

END NOTES 467

Chapter 1 467

Chapter 2 470

Chapter 3 479

Chapter 4 488

Chapter 5 495

BIBLIOGRAPHY A: PRIMARY SOURCES: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS 499

BIBLIOGRAPHY B: MODERN AUTHORS 513

DECLARATION AND STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

I certify that the material of this thesis is the product of my own research and that no part of it has been submitted for a degree to this or any other University.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACW	Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe. Westminster (Maryland) and London, 1946f.
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Buffalo and New York, 1885f. (Various reprints, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1950f.
ANL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Edinburgh, 1867f.
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout and Paris, 1953f.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1866f.
ET	English Translation.
Exp.T	The Expository Times. Edinburgh, 1898f.
FoC	The Fathers of the Church. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1947f.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig, 1897f.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies. London, 1900–1905; Oxford 1906–1949; New Series: Oxford 1950f.
LCC	Library of Christian Classics, ed. J. Baillie, J. T. McNeill, and H. P. van Dusen. London and Philadelphia, 1953f.
LFC	Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, eds. E. B. Pusey, J. Keble and J. H. Newman, Oxford, 1839f.
LNPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Oxford, 1886f. (Various reprints, Grand Rapids, 1952f).
NTS	New Testament Studies. Cambridge, 1954f.
PG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca, Paris, 1857f.
PL	Migne, Patrologia Latina. Paris 1844f.
PLS	Migne, Patrologia Latina. Supplementum, ed. A. Hamman, Paris, 1958f.

SC Sources Chrétiennes, ed. H. de Lubac and J. Daniélou, Paris, 1941f.

SJT Scottish Journal of Theology, Edinburgh, 1948f.

PREFACE

In this study I maintain that the view that from the Apostles onwards infants were baptised on the basis of a covental analogy between circumcision and baptism is invalid from an exegetical, theological and an historical point of view. This was not my original opinion. However, as I have considered the matter more carefully in the course of this study my thinking has been completely turned around. The thesis clearly has a polemical aspect. However, I trust that in so far as my basic argument is concerned, I have not made the evidence conform to my presuppositions. It is rather the case that my views have been made to conform to the evidence, which has involved completely revising my original standpoint.

I had originally planned that the study should include a consideration of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were understood in the Middle Ages, and in the Reformation Era, including how they were understood by the Anabaptists. I hope to write up my findings concerning these two later periods in some other form.

Looking back over the thesis as a whole, I am reminded of the dictum of my history master at school who, commening upon our 'A' level essays, used to exhort: when you have written your conclusion, re-write your essay beginning with the conclusion. I am conscious that this thesis would probably have been better had I done that. Nonetheless, I trust that the main points are sufficiently clear, and substantiated by the evidence.

I am grateful to the respective Deans of the Faculties of Divinity and Arts for granting me additional time in which to complete this thesis.

I am grateful also to Rev. G. Dragas for helping me, in the early stages of this study, with translating some of the Greek Fathers, and for instilling in me a respect for Patristic authors in general.

I am most deeply endebted to my supervisor, the Reverend Professor C. K. Barrett, not only for initially taking me on as a research student, but also for continuing to supervise my research in his very full 'retirement', and for

his patience, encouragement and perceptive comments. I am grateful too to his wife, Margaret, for her kind hospitality on numerous occasions.

I am most grateful to Joan Harrison for kindly typing this thesis, and to the Harrison-Butler family in general for their love and encouragement which has played no small part in the completion of this study.

I am also grateful to Dr. David Wilson for helping me to produce this thesis on a word processor and to the Open University for the use of their facilities for the final version, produced using the LaTeX document preparation system.

DEO GLORIA ET GRATIA

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The purpose and scope of this thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to study the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted up to the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. After a consideration of those passages within the New Testament, either by St. Paul himself or other authors, which were written after Colossians, and which reflect either the thought or language of Colossians 2:11 and 12 and which may thus be regarded as a commentary upon these verses, the main part of the thesis consists of a study of the way in which these verses were interpreted by Patristic writers. The Council of Chalcedon is an appropriate 'terminus ad quem' for the study. By then the main lines along which these verses are understood had already been developed, and from this time onwards writers are increasingly backward looking, tending simply to reproduce the comments of earlier writers. Although there was a revival of Biblical scholarship in the Carolingian period it was not, as Beryl Smalley notes (1), until towards the middle of the eleventh century that original exegesis began again.

These verses have been chosen for special study for two main reasons. First, in Colossians 2:11 and 12 Paul (2) touches upon a number of his major themes: the relation of the Christian to the ordinances of the Old Testament Law: the related themes of Union with Christ, Dying and Rising with Christ, and Baptism; Faith; The Atonement; and the Nature of Christ's Humanity



(that is, if *Χριστοῦ* in the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* is to be understood as an objective genitive, referring to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death. See further item 4 in section 1.2.2 below. This fact alone suggests that these verses deserve careful consideration.

Second, Colossians 2:11 and 12 played an important part, historically, in the rationale for infant baptism. In its crudest form the argument advanced was that in these verses Paul is saying that circumcision in the Old Covenant has been replaced by baptism in the New Covenant, and thus that since infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. This was one of the main arguments advanced in defence of infant baptism by the Reformers (3) in their controversy with the Anabaptists, and remains the main argument for infant baptism in the Reformed tradition. This view, however, was not new to the Reformers, but was first developed during the Patristic Period, reaching its classic Patristic formulation in the writings of St. Augustine.

In the past, the debate concerning infant baptism in the Patristic Period has been concerned primarily with the historical evidence for the practice of infant baptism at any given point in time. This has resulted in what may be described as an historical stalemate, leading some to doubt whether the question can be decided with any certainty on the basis of the evidence at our disposal. In my opinion this attitude is unduly sceptical. I think it possible that an historical study of the development of the theological rationale for infant baptism will shed some light upon the origins and development of the practice. It is of course true that the development of the theological understanding of the practice of infant baptism need not necessarily be concomitant with the development of the practice itself. However, the practice did not arise *ex nihilo*. There must have been reasons why Christians, either in Apostolic times or at some later stage, considered it necessary to baptize infants. It is appropriate, therefore, to study historically the development of the arguments advanced for infant baptism, and to ascertain when they are first used as arguments for infant baptism, and also at what stage in the development of these themes their use is consistent as an argument for

infant baptism.

Those who seek to justify the practice of infant baptism on the basis of a covenantal analogy between circumcision and baptism assume that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was from the first used as an argument for infant baptism. They maintain that the first Christians, being Jews, would naturally have assumed that the principle of the covenant membership of children was still in force. The fact that nowhere in the New Testament do we find an explicit prohibition of infant baptism is thus claimed to support the contention that the Early Church baptized infants. For example, P. Marcel argues that:

> "In reality, the silence of the New Testament regarding the baptism of children militates in favour of rather than against this practice. To overthrow completely notions so vital, impressed for more than two thousand years upon the soul of the people, to withdraw from children the sacrament of admission into the covenant, the Apostolic Church ought to have received from the Lord 'an explicit prohibition', so revolutionary in itself that a record of it would have been preserved in the New Testament. Not only, however, does the eternal covenant remain intact in the New Testament, but in Jesus Christ it reaches its supreme fulfilment. Had our Lord wished the reception of children into this ever valid covenant to be discontinued He would have said so in order that no one might be in any doubt." (4).

One of the aims of this thesis is to examine whether this claim can be substantiated historically, by seeking to ascertain when the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, first occur as an argument for infant baptism. Hence alongside our study of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted we shall also consider explicit testimony for the practice of infant baptism and seek to ascertain from this what arguments were advanced for infant baptism at any given time.

We shall also attempt to ascertain at what point in the development of the analogy between circumcision and baptism its use is consistent as an argument for infant baptism. Hence we shall be especially concerned

to chart the view that Paul is in these verses directly comparing the two rites of circumcision and baptism. Circumcision and baptism are analogous in the sense that they are both covenantal signs. However, the precise sense in which they are analogous, and the implications of this for infant baptism are a matter of dispute (5). Those who appeal to the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism assume that Paul is in Colossians 2:11 and 12 directly comparing the two rites of circumcision and baptism, and that that which is true of circumcision, in particular that infants were circumcised, is thus also true of baptism. It is possible, however, that in these verses Paul understands circumcision and baptism to be analogous in certain limited respects, for example in that they both involve a putting off, or in that they are both signs of faith in God's power to raise from the dead. (See further p.76 below). If this is the case it could be argued that those who maintain on the basis of these verses that because infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized have pressed the analogy between circumcision and baptism beyond that intended by St. Paul. We shall be particularly concerned, therefore, to chart the view that Paul is in these verses directly comparing the two rites of circumcision and baptism, and to note any factors not arising specifically from the exegesis of Colossians 2:11 and 12 that may have contributed to this view.

I have sought to trace every quotation of and allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the hope that the thoroughness of this study will provide a solid foundation for the conclusions set out in chapter six. In so doing I have made extensive, though not exclusive use of the three volumes of the Biblia Patristica that have been published to date, (6) and volume 24/2 of the Vetus Latina. (7) Broadly speaking these fall into five main categories. First, passages in which, although there are no direct verbal parallels with Colossians 2:11 and 12, there is such a similarity of thought that this is best explained by the suggestion that the author's argument has been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12. Second, passages in which there are sufficient verbal parallels with Colossians 2:11 and 12 to indicate that the author is

basing his argument specifically upon these verses. Third, passages in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 are introduced to confirm and support an argument that has already been outlined. Fourth, passages in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 are introduced to develop further an argument which up to that point has only partly been developed. Fifth, phrase by phrase comment upon Colossians 2:11 and 12. In the first four cases especially, it is important to consider the context in which a reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 is made. Hence due consideration is given to the context in which a reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 occurs.

Where appropriate I shall consider those aspects of an individual author's general theology which may have influenced his understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12. However, I would not claim to be an expert upon any of the Patristic authors considered in this study, and it may thus be that those more conversant with the overall theology of a particular writer than I am may see in their comments something that I have overlooked.

Consideration is also given to the circumstances of writing, and to the nature of the work in which references to Colossians 2:11 and 12 occur. It may be that the particular circumstances of writing lead an author to place particular emphasis upon certain aspects of the text and play down others. This, together with the possibility that an author may have made other comments upon Colossians 2:11 and 12 which have not survived means that we must be cautious in assuming that an author's extant comments represent a complete expression of how he understood these verses, and thus cautious also in criticizing an author if he fails to give full expression to all aspects of St. Paul's meaning in these verses. In this respect we are particularly fortunate in that for some authors several comments upon Colossians 2:11 and 12 have survived, and we are thus able to compare these with each other, and not only gain a more balanced view of the way in which the author understood these verses, but also to trace any possible development in his understanding of them.

I have also sought to demonstrate where an author's interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 is dependent upon previous interpreters of the text.

For this reason strict chronological order has not been followed in discussing the comments upon these verses, but the various authors have, broadly speaking, been grouped together in families of interpretation, within which chronological order is generally adhered to.

The process of deciding what is and what is not an allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 is, however, often difficult and subjective. One possible method is to seek the occurrence of the actual language used in these verses. However, the nature of an allusion is such that although the same words may be used they might occur in a slightly different form. It is not always easy to decide whether an allusion is to Colossians 2:12 or Romans 6:4f. For example, the fact that "consepulti" occurs in the Latin translations of both Romans 6:4 and Colossians 2:12 means that it is impossible to decide on the basis of the occurrence of "consepulti" alone, whether Romans 6:4 or Colossians 2:12 is in mind. The occurrence of "per baptismum" often indicates that Romans 6:4 is in mind, though the occurrence of this phrase with clear allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 means that we cannot always be sure that this is the case: an author may in his mind have conflated Colossians 2:12 with Romans 6:4. A reference to "walking in newness of life" is a more certain indication that Romans 6:4, not Colossians 2:12 is in mind. A reference to death and burial with Christ may suggest that Romans 6:4f, not Colossians 2:12 is in mind, though the fact that Colossians 2:20 also speaks of dying with Christ means that this is not necessarily the case. Where a reference to dying to the world, more particularly in view of the reference to being crucified to the world in Galatians 6:14, dying to the elements of the world is combined with a reference to burial with Christ there is a stronger case for an allusion to Colossians 2:12. However, reference to death and burial with Christ soon became part of the general stock of baptismal terminology, and need not necessarily indicate that any specific New Testament passage is consciously in mind.

Another possible method is to look for the distinctive thought of Colossians 2:11 and 12, namely that of a spiritual circumcision, or of a circumcision that Christ himself either underwent or effected, or that baptism has

replaced circumcision. Often, however, these themes are developed in relation to other biblical texts, or without reference to any particular biblical text.

There are, therefore, a number of references included in the Biblia Patristica and the Vetus Latina which I have rejected either as allusions to Romans 6:4 rather than to Colossians 2:12, or because there is no clear evidence that either Colossians 2:11 or 12 is specifically in mind.

Where there is an uncertainty concerning whether or not a writer is alluding to Colossians 2:11 or 12, or has these verses in mind, I have used two main criteria for deciding whether to include such a reference in this study. First, would this reference, if it is an allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 clarify or add to what we already know concerning how a particular writer understood these verses from other, more clear references? Second, given that one of the purposes of this study is to consider the use of Colossians 2:11 and 12 as an argument for infant baptism in the Patristic Period, does this possible allusion have a bearing on the author's attitude to infant baptism?

It is important to note, however, that this thesis is not, a complete study of the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, which is often developed independently of these verses. Where appropriate, however, I have set Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the context of the more general analogy between circumcision and baptism, and drawn attention to instances where this analogy is used as an argument for infant baptism without explicit reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12.

Two further factors suggest that an historical survey of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted in the Patristic Period might be particularly fruitful. First, although it is customary in some circles to assume that the transition of the Gospel from its Jewish origins into an Hellenistic environment led to its distortion, it may nonetheless be argued that Patristic writers, standing closest in time to the writers of the New Testament, may stand closer to the thought world of the New Testament writers than do their twentieth century counterparts. Therefore, the interpretation of these verses by the Early Church Fathers deserves careful and respectful, though

not uncritical, consideration.

Secondly, Colossians 2:11 and 12 played a part in the development of the attitude of the Early Church towards the Old Testament. From the time of Trypho the Jew (8) to Faustus the Manichee the charge was levelled against Christians that they were inconsistent in that whilst they claimed to accept the Old Testament they did not keep its precepts, of which circumcision and sabbath were obvious examples. The Christian counter-reply, as we shall see, is that these precepts were shadows or types of things to come. In the case of circumcision it was argued that it was a type either of a present spiritual circumcision effected in the life of the believer, or of a circumcision of mortality in the future bodily resurrection, or of a circumcision that Christ himself underwent, or of baptism. Support for this was found in Colossians 2:11 and 12. Thus it is hoped that an historical study of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted in the Patristic Period may shed some light upon the Early Church's attitude towards the Old Testament.

Details of the texts and translations used are given in Bibliography A. Where a translation in not acknowledged in the Bibliography the translation is my own.

1.2 Points at issue in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12

It is appropriate at the outset of this study to outline the main difficulties in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12. Care has been taken to allow the various writers to speak for themselves, and not to impose upon them a set of pre-conceived questions which may have been foreign to them. Nonetheless, an awareness of the difficulties involved in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 will enable us to evaluate more clearly an individual writer's interpretation of our text, and help us to assess his individual contribution to the developing understanding of these verses.

The difficulties in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 may be divided into two closely related areas: that of the general structure of these

verses, and that of their detailed exegesis.

1.2.1 Structure

In Colossians 2:11 and 12 Paul draws out some of the implications of what it means to be "complete in him [Christ]" (v.10). In so doing he uses three figures: circumcision, burial (in baptism) and resurrection. It is a matter of dispute whether, and if so in what sense, these figures are related. The dispute particularly concerns whether and if so in what sense, circumcision is related to burial in baptism. Some interpreters deny that circumcision is connected with baptism, arguing that it is a figure for conversion (the circumcision of the heart), or for our redemption in Christ. (9) Other interpreters, however, argue that circumcision is in some sense a figure for baptism, though the nature of the connection between the two is disputed. At the risk of over- simplification we may outline three main possibilities:

(i) that Paul is comparing the outward rite of circumcision with the Christian rite of baptism by which it has been replaced;

(ii) that Paul is here comparing the outward rite of circumcision with the inner significance of baptism in that the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision signifies burial with Christ in baptism, the comparison being with the effect, burial, rather than the means, baptism; (10)

(iii) that Paul is here comparing both the outward rite and the inner significance of circumcision with the outward rite and the inner significance of baptism. (11)

1.2.2 Exegesis

There are a number of specific exegetical problems involved in the interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12:

1. $\tilde{\varphi}$ in v11 could be either:
   (i) instrumental, that is "by whom", emphasizing that this circumcision is effected in the life of the believer by Christ; or

(ii) incorporative, that is "in whom", emphasizing that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone is the result of incorporation into Christ. (12)

2. *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* could be either:
   (i) an adjective qualifying *περιτομῇ*, emphasising the spiritual nature of the circumcision that the believer has undergone in Christ in contrast to the physical nature of carnal circumcision which is wrought by the hand of man; (13) or
   (ii) introduce an adjectival clause, the whole phrase *ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* qualifying *περιτομῇ*, the sense of verse 11 being that the circumcision that the believer has undergone in Christ is not a circumcision made by hands, that is, not consisting in the stripping off of the body of the flesh, but rather in the circumcision of Christ, as though the Greek had been *οὐ χειροποιήτῳ τοῦτό ἐστιν οὐκ ἐν τῇ κ.τ.λ.*. (14)

3. *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός*. The problem whether *ἀπέκδυσις* means "stripping off" or simply "stripping", the different senses which Paul gives to the terms *σῶμα* and *σάρξ*, and the ambiguity of the genitives *σώματος* and *σαρκός* make this a difficult phrase to define precisely. Hence many commentators tend to paraphrase Paul's meaning, frequently connecting it with the reference to the stripping off of the old man in Colossians 3:9. Paul uses the term *σῶμα* in two main senses. (15) First, he sometimes uses it to refer to the physical body. In this sense it is synonymous with *σάρξ* when *σάρξ* means simply the physical flesh. Second, Paul sometimes uses *σῶμα* to mean the whole person or "self". Paul uses the term *σάρξ* in three main ways. First, to indicate the physical flesh; second, to refer to human nature in its transitoriness and weakness; and third, to mean man in his sin and depravity. In this latter sense to be "in the flesh" means to be under the control and power of sin.

The genitive σαρκός could be a genitive of apposition or identity, the phrase τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός meaning "the fleshly body", or "that body which is the flesh". If this is the case, it is probable that Paul is here referring to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, though the phrase τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός could also mean "the whole personality controlled and dominated by one's sinful nature", or "the physical body controlled and dominated by one's sinful nature".

Paul may, however, have in mind the separation of the σῶμα and the σάρξ. In this case, of the two genitives one must be objective, the other a genitive of separation. If ἀπέκδυσις means "stripping off", then the σάρξ would be the object of (the implied) ἀπεκδύω, and the genitive σώματος a genitive of separation, though it could be objected that this really implies τῆς σαρκός τοῦ σώματος rather than τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός. (16) If ἀπέκδυσις means simply "stripping", then the σῶμα would be the object of (the implied) ἀπεκδύω, and the genitive σαρκός a genitive of separation. Thus the phrase ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός could refer to either:

(i) the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision; or

(ii) the stripping off from the physical body that corruption and mortality by which it is bound; or

(iii) the freeing of the whole man of the control and power of sin.

Given these variables it is possible that Paul is both comparing and contrasting the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ with carnal circumcision. It is like carnal circumcision in that it involves a stripping off of the "flesh" from the "body", but it is unlike carnal circumcision in that it is "made without hands"—that is, it is spiritual, not physical.

The use of ἀπέκδυσις instead of simply ἐκδύσις may be due to an implied contrast between the removal of a mere portion of flesh, as in carnal circumcision, and the completeness of the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ.

4. *Χριστοῦ* could be either:
   (i) a possessive genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* being little more than a technical term denoting the Christian rite of baptism as "Christ's baptism"—that baptism which belongs to Christ; or
   (ii) a subjective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to a circumcision that Christ, as the active agent, effects in the life of the believer; or
   (iii) an objective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to that circumcision which Christ himself underwent in his infancy, or to a circumcision that he underwent or effected either in his death or his resurrection. In this case the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ may be a result of his union with Christ in the vicarious circumcision that he himself underwent on behalf of us all.

   If *Χριστοῦ* is an objective genitive, this raises the further possibility that the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* might refer to both Christ and the believer, and that there is a subtle interplay in Paul's thought to the effect that the believer strips off the body of the flesh by union with Christ in a circumcision that he either underwent or effected in which the body of his flesh was stripped off. (17) If Paul has in mind that which was stripped off from Christ in a circumcision that he either underwent or effected in either his death or his resurrection, this might imply that Christ assumed a fallen rather than an unfallen human nature.

5. *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε.* The interpreter of this phrase is faced with three interrelated questions. First, is there any significance in the fact that Paul uses the expression "burial" with Christ rather than his more usual expressions "crucifixion with" or "death with" Christ? Second, in what sense may the believer be said to "have been" buried and to "have been" raised, (18) and in what sense is this "in or with Christ"? Third, what is

the relation of this burial and resurrection with Christ to the rite of baptism?

The significance of the use here of the expression "burial" has been variously understood to mean:

(i) the whole process of crucifixion, death and burial with Christ, being a symbol of "participating in the completeness and finality of Christ's death"; (19)

(ii) that baptism is a symbolic attestation of a death that has already taken place prior to baptism; (20)

(iii) that baptism was by immersion;

(iv) that, in view of the fact that the expression "burial" is found in Paul only here and in Romans 6:4, Paul is dependent here upon a traditional baptismal formula, or at least influenced by traditional baptismal terminology;

(v) that, in view of the parallel between the structure of Romans 6:3 and 4 ("we are baptised into His *death*, *buried* with Him...that as Christ was *raised* we should walk...") and the primitive kerygma cited by Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:3ff ("Christ *died* for our sins, ...was *buried* ...has been *raised*..."), the use of burial with respect to baptism was a result "of applying the traditional language of the kerygma in baptism, when belief in it was confessed and its promises appropriated." (21)

Three main lines of interpretation have been advanced concerning the meaning of Paul's language of dying and rising with Christ:

(i) beneficial: that is, mediating to the believer the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection, namely victory over sin, death and the devil;

(ii) ethical: that is, that an actual change is effected in the life of the believer so that his previous life of sin, the old man, is buried, and that he actually becomes a new creation, being reborn to the resurrection life;

(iii) eschatological: that is, that in the same way that Christ's death and resurrection were eschatological events, so the death and resurrection of the believer with Christ need to be understood in an eschatological context. Christ's death and resurrection brought about a decisive end to the old age in that sin, death and the devil were defeated, and inagurated a new age which, until its consumation at the Parousia, co-exists alongside the old age. Similarly, according to this view, the believer's crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection with Christ need to be understood as a decisive break with the old age, variously characterised by Paul as "the old man", "Adam", "sin" and "death", and a participation by faith, through the Spirit, in the blessings of the new age, characterised by Paul as "righteousness" and "life". Further, in the same way that the old age and the new age co-exist in the interval between Christ's death and his Parousia, so too, in the life of the believer the old man and the new man co-exist so that the believer is initiated into a warfare between the flesh and the Spirit, in which he is under a moral obligation to die daily to sin and to walk daily in newness of life. (22)

Two main approaches have been adopted to the question concerning in what sense this death and resurrection may be described as being "with" or "in Christ":

(i) that this death and resurrection is effected in the life of the believer by Christ as the active agent;

(ii) that death and resurrection with Christ means a participation in Christ's historic death and resurrection and therefore in the benefits of that death and resurrection.

The precise relation of this death and resurrection with Christ to the rite of baptism has also been variously understood. Three main views have been advanced:

(i) that the rite of baptism is the symbolic representation of a death and resurrection with Christ that has taken place prior to bap-

tism;

(ii) that the Christian undergoes a burial and resurrection with Christ (in either of the two senses noted above) in baptism, in virtue of his union with Christ effected thereby;

(iii) that the rite of baptism effects that which it signifies, *ex opere operato*.

6. $\tilde{\omega}$ in v.12b is ambiguous; it could refer either to $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\tilde{\omega}$ or $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$.

7. $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ could mean either:
   (i) faith, that is, the believer's faith; or
   (ii) faithfulness, that is, the faithfulness of the working of God. (23)

8. The genitive $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ is also ambiguous. It could be either:
   (i) objective, the whole phrase $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau o\tilde{\upsilon}\ \theta\epsilon o\tilde{\upsilon}$ meaning "through your faith in the working of God"; or
   (ii) subjective, the whole phrase $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau o\tilde{\upsilon}\ \theta\epsilon o\tilde{\upsilon}$ meaning "faith produced by the working of God".

Chapter 2

THE NEW TESTAMENT

In this chapter we shall consider those passages within the New Testament, whether by St. Paul or other authors, which were written after Colossians and which reflect the language or thought of Colossians 2:11 and 12 and which may thus be regarded as a commentary on these verses. There are four such passages, three in Ephesians and one in 1 Peter.

2.1 Ephesians

Much controversy still surrounds the question of the authorship of Ephesians. Whilst recognising the complexity of the issue I am persuaded by the traditional view that Ephesians was written by the apostle Paul. If Ephesians is by St. Paul, and since, as is probable, it was written after Colossians, (1) it is probable that in those passages in Ephesians which reflect the language or thought of Colossians 2:11 and 12 Paul is thinking upon similar lines to that in which he had done previously in Colossians. It is recognised, however, that his comments in Ephesians may represent an advance upon what he had said previously in Colossians, or that he may be developing similar themes in a different way. If Ephesians is not by St. Paul, we may, nonetheless, regard these passages as the earliest comment upon our text. I think that Ephesians, therefore, provides a basis upon which to establish a Pauline interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12, if not that of St. Paul himself, which we may use, cautiously, as a norm by which

to evaluate later comments upon the text, and a yardstick by which to assess later developments.

2.1.1 Ephesians 1:13

There is a possible allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in Ephesians 1:13. The possible parallels are set out in the table below in which, and in subsequent such tables, an unbroken line _____ indicates a verbal co-incidence, a dashed line _ _ _ _ indicates a probable parallel, and a dotted line ..... indicates a less certain parallel, but one that is possible in the light of other more clear parallels.

Ephesians 1:13.	*Colossians 2:11 and 12.*
ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες...	ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθ τε...
ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες	ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε
ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι	διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς
τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ	ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ

This is not a certain allusion to our text. The occurence of the relative clause ἐν ᾧ is not in itself sufficient to establish an allusion. It is found several times both in Ephesians (1:7,11,13 (twice); 2:21,22; 3:12) and Colossians (1:14; 2:3,9,10,11 and 12), and is thus part of Paul's general terminology (imitated perhaps, by a Paulinist in Ephesians (2)) and need not, therefore, indicate that Colossians 2:11 is specifically in mind. Further, we cannot be certain that ἐσφραγίσθητε alludes to περιετμήθ τε. The fact that Paul uses σφραγίς in 1 Corinthians 9:2 metaphorically without reference to circumcision (or baptism), and that it cannot be established with certainty that the Jews spoke of circumcision as a seal in New Testament times urges caution. Indeed, T. K. Abbott maintained:

> "The figure is such an obvious one that it is needless to seek for its origin in any allusion to circumcision, called a seal in Romans iv.11" (3).

However, in view of the general parallels between Ephesians and Colossians, the combination of the relative clause with a verb in the same voice, and the possible conceptual link between circumcision and sealing in the description of circumcision as a seal in Romans 4:11, together with the connection that Paul elsewhere makes betwen circumcision and the Holy Spirit (Romans 2:28 and 29; Philippians 3:3) amounts to a strong cumulative case for the view that we do have in Ephesians 1:13 an allusion to Colossians 2:11.

If ἐσφραγίσθητε does allude to περιετμήθητε in Colossians 2:11, two important questions follow: first, is "sealing" a figure for baptism? and second, why did Paul (or the Paulinist) substitute σφραγίζω for περιτέμνω?

The figure of "sealing", as used in Ephesians 1:13, is a rich and multifaceted metaphor, the significance of which is not exhausted by attributing to it one single meaning. (4) However, many interpreters argue that it includes a reference to baptism. If ἐσφραγίσθητε echoes περιετμήθητε in Colossians 2:11 this would suggest that περιετμήθητε is also (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to be) a figure for baptism. It is therefore important to establish whether, and if so, in what sense, is ἐσφραγίσθητε related to baptism. Three main views have been advanced:

(a) that sealing refers to the actual rite of baptism; (5)

(b) that sealing refers to the gift of the Spirit bestowed in and through baptism; (6)

(c) that sealing does not refer to baptism at all, but solely to the reception of the Holy Spirit. (7)

Several arguments have been advanced to support the view that "sealing" implies baptism:

(i) J. C. Kirby, in his monograph 'Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost' notes:

> "The combination of "hearing", "believing", and "baptism" is a frequent one in Acts (8:12; 16:14–15; 18:8); in Ephesians

1:13 "sealing" takes the place of "baptism" but that it means the same thing can be shown from the total context of the passage". (8)

(ii) It has been argued that Ephesians is a discourse, written for the benefit of newly baptised Gentiles. (9) The general baptismal character of the Epistle is said to support the view that by sealing baptism is meant;

(iii) in post-New Testament times baptism is frequently described as a seal; (10)

(iv) it has been argued that the aorist ἐσφραγίσθητε indicates a specific point of time, the most likely occasion being baptism; (11)

(v) it has also been argued that the close association in Pauline thought between the bestowal of the Spirit and baptism favours the view that "sealing" indicates baptism; (12)

(vi) it is sometimes argued that in view of its usage as a cultic sign and as a mark of ownership in business transactions, the figure of sealing implies an outward mark, such as baptism.

These arguments, however, are not in my opinion sufficient to prove that sealing necessarily refers to the actual rite of baptism itself.

The alleged baptismal character of the Epistle (argument (ii)) is at best a supporting argument, and even could it be established would not itself prove that ἐσφραγίσθητε indicates baptism. However, the view that Ephesians is a baptismal discourse has not commended itself to all scholars. See the reviews of Kirby by G. B. Caird, (13) and J. C. O'Neill. (14)

With respect to (iii) above, several writers have warned against the danger of allowing second century ideas to control our exegesis of the New Testament. (15) That the word was used in a certain way in the second century does not necessarily mean that it carried the same significance for New Testament writers. Further, as used by St. Paul, the verb σφραγίζω does not necessarily imply baptism. It may do so here, and possibly also at 4:30, and at 2 Corinthians 1:22; 5:5, but it has no connection with baptism

at Romans 15:28. Similarly, in Romans 4:11 Paul uses the cognate noun σφραγίς to refer to circumcision, and in 1 Corinthians 9:2 he refers to the Corinthian Christians as the seal of his apostleship, but in neither case is baptism in mind. Thus the use of σφραγίζω does not necessarily imply baptism.

With regard to (iv) above, it is true that the aorist tense usually indicates a specific point in the past, but a reference to baptism is not necessarily implied in the form of the verb. The specific point in time indicated by many aorists is conversion, that is our faith-response to the Gospel, not the moment of baptism. For example in Galatians 3:2 and 3 the aorists ἐλάβετε and ἐναρξάμενοι refer to the moment of becoming a Christian, (16) as the rhetorical contrast ἐξ ἔργων ... ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς makes clear. Similarly in Romans 8:15 ἐλάβετε refers to the inner experience of conversion, (17) not baptism. Several of the metaphors that Paul uses for conversion also occur in the aorist tense: justification (δικαιωθέντες: Romans 5:1; (the parenthesis ἐκ πίστεως indicates that Paul has in mind our faith-response to the gospel); ἐδικαίωσεν: Romans 8.30); calling (ἐκάλεσεν: Romans 8:38 (the distinction between προοράω and καλέω indicates that Paul has in mind here our calling in time; (18)) καλέσας: Galatians 1:15 (the distinction between ἀφορίζω and καλέω indicates that here also Paul has in mind God's calling at conversion); cf. ἐκάλεσεν: 2 Thessalonians 2:14); salvation (ἐσώθημεν: Romans 8:24). When baptism is in mind it is indicated by the context, not the form of the verb. (Cf. ἔσωσεν Titus 3:5; ἐνεδύσασθε: Galatians 3:27). The connection with baptism lies in that the human side of conversion, the faith-response to the gospel message, is expressed in and through baptism. The metaphors justification, calling and salvation refer to the moment of becoming a Christian not to the results of baptism. In 1 Corinthians 6:11 the aorist does have reference to baptism. However, this is indicated by the verb itself, not the tense. Indeed, the use of λούω rather than βαπτίζω indicates that Paul has in mind here the inner effects of baptism rather than the outward rite itself. (19) The context, however, makes clear that Paul is here thinking of the total event of conversion-initiation,

in which baptism has a part, not the ceremony of baptism in isolation from one's conversion experience. (20) Thus the aorist ἐσφραγίσθητε in Ephesians 1:13 does not of itself indicate baptism. A reference to baptism, if it is to be established at all, needs to be established on other grounds.

Against (vi) above, we may note with J. D. G. Dunn:

> "That a seal implies an external mark (cf. Ezek.9.4; Rev.7.3) does not mean that Paul thought of baptism as a seal ...the reception of the Spirit in NT days was an event of which recipient and onlooker could not but be aware (1 Thess.1.5–9; Gal.3.1–5; 1 Cor.1:4–9 ... " (21)

Therefore on linguistic grounds we cannot automatically assume that ἐσφραγίσθητε necessarily implies baptism, though it is acknowledged that the above considerations do not necessarily exclude this possibility.

Against (i) and (v), in Pauline thought the gift of the Spirit is explicitly connected with faith. Especially noteworthy is Galatians 3:2 (cf. 3:14) which is particularly instructive in view of the combination of "hearing" and "believing" as in Ephesians 1:13. Thus, far from indicating that "sealing" means "baptism", the sequence "hearing" and "believing" in Ephesians 1:13 suggests that "sealing" refers to the reception of the Spirit in response to faith.

The relation between the reception of the Holy Spirit, in response to faith, and baptism is a complex and much discussed issue. It is true that the gift of the Spirit and baptism are closely related in Pauline thought, but this does not necessarily mean that baptism is the means by which the Spirit is conveyed. This issue has been discussed at length by Dunn (22) who, in view of the close connection between faith and the gift of the Spirit in Pauline teaching, concludes that according to Paul the Holy Spirit is not conveyed in or by baptism, but is God's gift of new life, given in response to an individual's faith which is expressed in baptism. (23) In the light of this I agree with Dunn when he says of Ephesians 1:13:

> "any identification of the seal of the Spirit with baptism ...is to be rejected. The thought centres wholely and solely upon the Spirit given by God as his own distinctive seal." (24)

It remains to ask why Paul (or the Paulinist) used $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in Ephesians 1:13 instead of $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\omega$. We noted above that there is a possible conceptual link between the two verbs in the description of circumcision as a seal in Romans 4:11. In Romans 2:28 and 29 Paul argues that true circumcision is not that which is outward in the flesh, but the inner circumcision of the heart $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$. The dative $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ is best understood as an instrumental dative. As C. E. B. Cranfield notes in his commentary on Romans:

> "That $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ here denotes the human spirit is unlikely, since the inwardness of this circumcision is already adequately expressed by $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$." (25)

Similarly, in Philippians 3:3 Paul maintains that the true circumcision are those who worship by the Spirit of God. In view of the description of circumcision as a seal in Romans 4:11, it would be a natural development to use the image of sealing to describe the inner circumcision of the heart performed by the Spirit. The sealing of the Spirit in Ephesians 1:13 includes the same action that is elsewhere described as the circumcision of the heart—the inner transformation and change which is effected in the life of the believer by the Holy Spirit.

This is not to suggest that the notion of spiritual circumcision exhausts the significance of $\grave{\epsilon}\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ in Ephesians 1:13; as noted above, sealing is a rich and multi-faceted figure, the meaning of which cannot be exhausted by attributing to it one single meaning. But in my view the notion of spiritual circumcision is an important element in the meaning of $\grave{\epsilon}\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ in Ephesians 1:13. In particular, this spiritual circumcision helps explain in part the sense in which the indwelling of the Spirit is a seal or mark of ownership. The inner transformation effected in the life of the believer is the inner assurance to the believer himself, and the visible testimony to the on-looker, that he is a child of God, and distinguishes the believer from the non-believer, just as carnal circumcision was the outward mark that distinguished the Jew from the non-Jew. Further the notion of spiritual circumcision helps elucidate the eschatological significance of sealing. Sealing

in Ephesians 1:13 is an eschatological term: believers are said to have been sealed with the Holy Spirit "of promise". The theme of fulfilment is prominent in Ephesians 1:3–14, (26) and the addition "of promise" emphasizes both that the Holy Spirit whom believers now experience is the Holy Spirit who was promised in the Old Testament (Joel 2:28–32) and that the Holy Spirit was not just for Jews, but also for the Gentiles ("all flesh": Joel 2:28). The phrase also includes the notion of the Holy Spirit as the firstfruits and first instalment of our promised future inheritance. The blessings of the future life are partially realized and anticipated in the present life of the believer in the inner transformation and change effected by the Holy Spirit.

It could be objected, however, that the aorist tense, which usually indicates a single action in the past, precludes this interpretation of *ἐσφραγίσθητε* in that the inner transformation and change effected by the Holy Spirit is a continuous process, and not limited to a single point in time. However, as Barth notes:

> "as little as the aorists "he has blessed us," "he has chosen us" in [Ephesians] 1:3–4 will be used to prove that God has ceased to bless and choose after a given moment, ought the sealing to be considered as restricted to one instant only in a man's life." (27)
>
> "the sealing with the Spirit has a specific beginning, but it still continues." (28)

Why then did Paul (or the Paulinist) prefer in Ephesians 1:13 the related verb *σφραγίζω* to *περιτέμνω* which had been used previously in Colossians 2:11? The answer may lie in the fact that the use of *περιτέμνω* in Colossians 2:11 was in part introduced because of polemical considerations, relating to the particular circumstances at Colossae where it was being maintained that those who had not submitted to the Jewish rite of circumcision were deficient as Christians. Thus it may be that in Ephesians, which is generally thought to be a circular letter, (29) Paul dropped the image of circumcision which had been adopted to meet the needs of the particular situation in Colossae, in favour of the related, but more general figure of sealing.

If the above understanding of Ephesians 1:13 is correct, we may draw from this two main conclusions concerning Paul's meaning in his earlier comments in (or the author of Ephesian's understanding of) Colossians 2:11. First, that *ἐσφραγίσθητε* in Ephesians 1:13 is not a figure for baptism, but refers to the reception and inner action of the Spirit given in response to man's faith which is expressed in baptism, but which, together with the reception of the Spirit is not necessarily concomitant with baptism, suggests that *περιετμήθητε* does not refer to the rite of baptism, nor necessarily to an action effected in baptism. Second the progression "hearing", "believing" and "sealing" suggests that in the phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ* in Colossians 2:12b the genitive *ἐνεργείας* is objective.

2.1.2 Ephesians 1:19 and 20

There are clear parallels between Ephesians 1:19 and 20 and Colossians 2:12b:

Ephesians 1:19 and 20	*Colossians 2:12b*
[19] *καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον*	*ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε*
μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ	*διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς*
εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας	*ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ*
κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους	*τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν*
τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, [20] *ἣν*	*ἐκ νεκρῶν*
ἐνήργηκεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ	
ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν...	

It has been argued that the phrase *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ* in Ephesians 1:19 should be connected with the words *εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας* which immediately precede it. (30) In this case, the point is that the same effective power of God that raised Jesus Christ from death is at work in us (cf. 3:7,20; Colossians 1:29) bringing us to a point of faith and belief in him: that is, that our faith is the result

of God's operation in us. In view of the close parallels between Colossians 2:12 and Ephesians 1:19 this, could it be established, would suggest that the genitive *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12b is (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to be) a subjective, not an objective genitive.

Support for the view that *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κ.τ.λ.* in Ephesians 1:19 should be connected with *τοὺς πιστεύοντας* is sometimes sought in Ephesians 2:8 where, it has been maintained, faith is described as the gift of God. However, an appeal to Ephesians 2:8 is not conclusive. *τοῦτο* in v8b is neuter, whereas both *χάρις* and *πίστις* are feminine. That the text has *τοῦτο* and not *αὕτη*, and that, with the possible exception of Philippians 1:29, (31) faith is not elsewhere explicitly described as a gift, (32) is probably decisive against the view that faith alone is being described as a gift of God. Many commentators, however, understand *τοῦτο* to refer to the whole process—salvation by grace through faith. (33) This is certainly possible, but in I think that *τοῦτο* has a more limited reference, referring specifically to our salvation in Christ, and that *θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον* was added to reinforce that salvation is by grace, and that *διὰ πίστεως* was added to emphasize that God's gracious gift of salvation in Christ is received through faith. It is instructive to compare Ephesians 2:8 with Romans 3:24–28. In Romans 3:24 justification is also said to be "by grace" and the adverb *δωρεάν* is added to support and confirm this (cf. Romans 5:15: *ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι*). This is further explained in vv25–28, in which it is emphasized that a man is justified by faith. The gift refers to God's gracious action in Jesus Christ, not to faith which is the means by which we appropriate this. Thus in my opinion Ephesians 2:8 does not lend support for the view that *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κ.τ.λ.* should be connected with *τοὺς πιστεύοντας*.

T. K. Abbott in his commentary on Ephesians argues that to connect *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κ.τ.λ.* with *τοὺς πιστεύοντας* would

> "make the whole solemn exposition in verse 20 subservient to *πιστ.*, which is only incidental in the sentence. The connection would be interrupted by a reference to the origin of faith. Besides, this would require us to give to *κατά* some such meaning as 'by the virtue of' since our faith is not according to the mea-

sure of his power." (34)

Thus it is best to connect κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν with τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος κ.τ.λ. (35) and regard τοὺς πιστεύεοντας as a parenthesis.

Thus the parallels between Ephesians 1:19 and 20 suggest that the genitive ἐνεργείας in Colossians 2:12b is (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to be) an objective genitive—our faith in the power of God which was supremely demonstrated in the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

2.1.3 Ephesians 2:11–22

2.1.3.1 Ephesians 2:11

There are clear verbal parallels between Ephesians 2:11 and Colossians 2:11:

Ephesians 2:11	*Colossians 2:11*
Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ	ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε
ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί,	περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ
οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία	ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος
ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς	τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ
ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου	τοῦ Χριστοῦ

The Sitz im Leben implied by Ephesians 2:11ff has been much discussed in recent years, and our understanding of the passage and of its relevance for Colossians 2:11 is very much bound up with this issue.

It is frequently maintained that Ephesians 2:11ff implies a time when the Jewish-Christian opposition to the inclusion of uncircumcised Gentiles within the Church had ceased, and that this is an indication of the post-Pauline date of Ephesians. (36) (The evidence of Acts is usually excluded on the grounds that Acts allegedly tells us more about the church in Luke's own day, Luke having smoothed over the controversies that had taken place, but which had been resolved by the time that he wrote. (37)) Some scholars have further argued that the debate has now turned full-circle and that the

Sitz im Leben implied by Ephesians is one in which the Gentile Christians were now minimizing or rejecting the Jewish origins of their faith, possibly due to the influence of Gnostic myths about creation and redemption. (38) F. W. Beare (39) sees a further indication of the post-Pauline situation implied by Ephesians in the fact that the writer felt it necessary to add that the Gentiles were Gentiles "in the flesh" which, in Beare's opinion, indicates that for the writer "Gentile" means "non-Christian", (as Beare argues that it does in 4:17), not "non-Jew" as in the genuine Pauline Epistles.

A further indication of the alleged post-Pauline date of Ephesians is found in the reference in v14 to the dividing wall of hostility having been broken down, which it is argued makes better sense if it is seen as a reminiscence of the actual destruction of the Temple in AD 70. (40)

In addition to these alleged signs of a post-Pauline date, several writers have maintained that in Ephesians 2:11ff, as elsewhere in Ephesians, Pauline terminology is employed in a non-Pauline way. This, it is argued, is the case with the reference to circumcision in Ephesians 2:11 where, despite the verbal parallels with Colossians 2:11, the reference to the "so-called circumcision in the flesh made by hands" is felt to be "too depreciatory a remark" to have been made by Paul himself concerning an institution for which he felt reverence, belonging more naturally to "a later stage in the life of the Church than that provided with in Paul's lifetime". (41)

The view that the Sitz im Leben implied by Ephesians 2:11ff is necessarily that of the post-Pauline Church is, however, open to question. The basic assumption of scholars who maintain this view is, as D. Guthrie notes, that the controversy could not have been settled in Paul's lifetime. (42) This assumption is not necessarily correct. It assumes that the theology and practice of the Early Church developed uniformly, regardless of time and place; that the same stage in the development of the Church's understanding, and the same attitudes and practices would be found in all areas of the church at any given time. Such an assumption has been challenged recently by, amongst others, the late J. A. T. Robinson in his study *Redating the New Testament*, (43) and J. D. G. Dunn in his study *Unity and*

Diversity in the New Testament. (44) Although these writers do not make the point, it is surely a mistake to assume that the Jewish-Gentile controversy raged, and was resolved, uniformly within the life of the Early Church. That the controversy raged, for example, in Galatia, and in the Lycus Valley need not imply that it was a major issue in every area of the Church. The absence of any specific reference to the controversy in the Corinthian Epistles perhaps confirms this, though it is possible that some of the problems within the Church at Corinth may have been due to an underlying tension between Jewish and Gentile Christians. (45) Similarly, that the controversy had possibly been resolved in the locality (or localities) to which Ephesians was addressed does not necessarily mean that it had been resolved in all areas of the Church a the time when Ephesians was written. As D. Guthrie comments:

> "The history of the Jewish-Gentile controversy is not easy to trace with any certainty, and no deductions can fairly be made from its presence or absence from any Pauline writing. The state of the controversy must have varied from church to church." (46)

In fact, despite the apparently eirenic character of Ephesians, there are indications within the Epistle itself that the Jewish-Gentile controversy may not have been resolved at the time of writing. The terms "circumcision" and "uncircumcision" in Ephesians 2:11 appear to echo the Jew's own boastful description of themselves as "the circumcision", and their spiteful derogation of the Gentiles as "the uncircumcision" with which the readers of the Epistle would have been familiar. (See further below p.46). This suggests that there may still have been some tension between Jewish and Gentile Christians at the time of writing. Further, it is possible, as Barth notes, (47) that the author's apparently polemical reference in 2:8–9 ("...and not of yourselves...and not of works, lest any man should boast") may concern the same people who are mentioned in 4:14 and 5:6. In Barth's opinion:

> "Since in these two verses the author alludes to an existing and active opposition it ought not to be assumed that only *pro memoria* the vss 2:8–9 refer to a fight against a non-existent or long defeated enemy. Even if Ephesians were written by a post-Pauline

> scribe, the author would have revealed extremely poor taste and judgement by interrupting the rhythmic sequence of vv4–10 with an attack on stuck and worn out windmills." (48)

A second assumption implicit in the view that Ephesians 2:11ff implies a Sitz im Leben in which the Jewish-Gentile controversy was a thing of the past, and therefore of the post-Pauline church, is that what we have here is a rationale for the unification of Jew and Gentile that could only have been developed *ex eventu*—only after the writer had seen the actual reconciliation of Jew and Gentile having taken place in the life and experience of the Church. However, the conviction of the writer of Ephesians is that the breaking down of the dividing wall of hostility between Jew and Gentile, and their subsequent reconciliation, had been effected "through the blood of Christ" shed on the cross (2:13 and 16). Surely it is plausible that it was this vision of what had taken place objectively in Christ in his death on the cross that led to the subsequent breaking down of the actual barriers that divided Jews and Gentiles in the life of the Chuch.

A further indication that the Sitz im Leben implied by Ephesians 2:11ff is not necessarily that of the post-Pauline Church can be seen from a comparison of Ephesians 2:11ff with Romans 11. In Romans 11:17–24 we find a similar perspective concerning the unification of Jew and Gentile in the imagery of the olive tree: Paul argues that Gentiles, the branches taken from the wild olive tree, have been grafted into the natural olive tree, Israel. This conviction had been reached within Paul's own lifetime, prior to the final reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in the life of the Church. In fact, it is possible, as C. E. B. Cranfield argues, that Paul is here

> "concerned to warn [the Gentiles] against adopting an unchristian attitude of superiority towards unbelieving Jews." (49)

This argues against the suggestion that the fact that Ephesians 2:11ff may imply a Sitz im Leben in which Gentile Christians were seeking to minimize or reject their Jewish origins is necessarily an indication of a post-Pauline date for the Epistle. The problem was not simply one that arose

after Paul's death, but one that Paul himself had to contend with in his own life-time.

J. L. Houlden argues that Ephesians 2:11ff represents an advance on Romans 11 in that Gentiles, in becoming Christians, are not simply joining the old Israel, but have in Christ become a new people, a "third race":

> "in Christ (the ~~en~~ one new man, v15) a new people has been created, to which the image of Israel as the people of God can indeed be applied, so long as its limitations are recognised, and in which Jew and Gentile meet on an absolutely equal footing, as standing in need of common redemption (2:1–10). True, Gentiles are those who hitherto have been *far off* (v13) and *alienated from the commonwealth of Israel* (v12), but the perspective is swiftly overshadowed by one in which Christ and the *household* (v19) created by him occupy the theological centre. Thus we are well on the way to the concept of the Church as the *third race*, neither Jewish nor Gentile, but Christian—the new perfect instrument of God's purposes, stemming from Christ, the unique centre of history, a concept first fully explicit in the second century *Letter to Diognetus* ...which itself uses our passage from *Ephesians*. In other words *Ephesians* has a detachment which on this issue Paul lacked. His usual sharp sense of Christ's unique centrality is blunted by the Jewishness in his bones; and while in Romans 9–11 the issue is the addition of the church to a given Jewish base, here the Church is the centre of the scheme, with Jews and Gentiles alike flowing towards her in tributary streams." (50)

However, whilst Ephesians may, perhaps, represent an advance upon Romans 11, such an advance is also found within the acknowledged Paulines, for example in Galatians 3:27–29 and Colossians 3:11. (Cf. Romans 1:16; 3:22ff; 10:12; 15:8ff). Further, Houlden has failed to take into consideration the probability that in the reference to Isaiah 57:19 in vv14 and 17 the writer is using the imagery of Jewish proselytism to describe the incorporation of Jew and Gentile into the household of God. (See further below p.54–55).

I suggest, therefore, that there is nothing in the Sitz im Leben implied by Ephesians 2:11ff that necessarily requires a setting in the post-Pauline Church.

We noted above the argument that the description of circumcision as

the "so-called circumcision in the flesh made by hands" is too depreciatory a remark to have been made by St. Paul, and that it belongs to a later stage within the life of the Church. However, the attitude here towards circumcision is surely no more depreciatory than Paul's reference to the circumcision party as the mutilation in Philippians 3:2, or the description of the whole of his Jewish heritage, including his circumcision on the eighth day, as "dung" $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha$ in comparison with the surpassing riches of the knowledge of Christ (Philippians 3:8).

The key to the significance of the attitude towards circumcision in Ephesians 2:11 lies in the recognition that Paul is here, as in Galatians 2:7–9 and Romans 2:26ff, using the terms "circumcision" and "uncircumcision" metonymically, to refer respectively to those who had and those who had not been circumcised, that is, to the Jews and Gentiles. (51) In so doing he is following standard Rabbinical practice, (52) and echoing not only the Jew's spiteful designation of the Gentiles as "The Uncircumcision", but also their designation of themselves as "The Circumcision". It is their boastful description of themselves as "The Circumcision" that is depreciated in Ephesians 2:11, not the rite of circumcision itself, properly understood. Implicit in the comment here is the distinction between one who is outwardly a Jew and one who is a Jew inwardly, and between a circumcision that is outward in the flesh and the inner circumcision of the heart that had been developed in Romans 2:25–29. The Jews' own description of themselves as "The Circumcision" is depreciated because they were relying upon the mere outward rite of circumcision without the corresponding inner circumcision of the heart. Hence the circumcision upon which they rely is described as a mere "human operation performed in the flesh".

It was noted above (p.25) that Paul uses the term $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ in three ways, to indicate either (i) the physical flesh, or (ii) human nature in its transitoriness and weakness, or (iii) man under the control and power of sin. The majority of interpreters understand the double $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ in v11 in the first, physical sense. Beare, as was noted above (p.42), argued that for the author "Gentile" means "non-Christian" not "non-Jew" and that the first $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$

in v11 was added to show that he was speaking of those who were physically Gentiles by birth. The second *ἐν σαρκί* is usually understood to indicate the physical flesh, as C. L. Mitton paraphases it, "a purely physical mark". (53)

It is possible, however, that *σάρξ* is here used in an evil sense. Kirby argues that the section comprising vv11–22 "consists of a very elaborate chiasmus, the second half being antithetically parallel to the first and also in inverted order", the first "in the flesh" in v11 being contrasted with "in the Spirit" in v21, and the phrase "made in the flesh by hands" with the "holy temple in the Lord" (v21). (54) Barth sees a similar contrast between the flesh in this 'evil' sense and the Spirit:

> "Paul's thought," he maintains, "moves from men in the grasp of "flesh" (2:11), over to the work performed in "Christ's flesh" (2:14), to the operation of the "Spirit" (2:18)." (55)

It is important to recall that Paul is not speaking of circumcision rightly understood, but the human reliance upon the outward rite of circmcision, devoid of its inner significance, by unregenerate Jews. It is this circumcision that is "in the flesh". As Barth comments:

> "Those circumcised as well as those uncircumcised are trapped in the flesh which is weak and perishable as grass...Not despite ...but just because of their circumcision, Jews are included under this indictment." (56)

If this is Paul's meaning it would explain (against Beare) why he felt it necessary to add that the Gentiles were "in the flesh": they are reminded that before they became Christians they were not only separated from the Messiah and alienated from the commonwealth of Israel etc. (v12), but were, like unconverted Jews, also under the control and dominion of sin.

We are now in a position to draw preliminary conclusions from Ephesians 2:ll concerning Paul's meaning in (or the author's understanding of) Colossians 2:11. If *ἐν σαρκί* refers simply to the physical flesh, this would suggest that in Colossians 2:11 Paul is contrasting the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ with carnal circumcision. In other

words, that in Colossians 2:11 Paul is saying that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ is a circumcision which is not made with hands, as is the case with carnal circumcision which consists in the stripping off of the body of the flesh. However, the omission in Ephesians 2:11 of any reference to *σῶμα*, together with the possibility that *σάρξ* is used in an evil sense, emphasizing that before they become Christians the Gentiles were in the realm of the flesh, suggests rather that *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* explains further what it means to have been circumcised in Christ, emphasizing that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ has freed them from the realm of the flesh.

2.1.3.2 Ephesians 2:13

It is possible that there is a further parallel of thought between Ephesians 2:13 and Colossians 2:11:

Ephesians 2:13	*Colossians 2:11*
νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	*ἐν ᾧ καὶ...*
ὑμεῖς ὅι ποτε ὄντες	
μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς	*περιετμήθητε...*
ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ	*ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*

In order to establish the meaning of Ephesians 2:13 and its relevance for Colossians 2:11 it is necessary first to consider the background to the imagery employed in Ephesians 2:13–22. This has been variously understood, either in Old Testament-Rabbinic terms, or in the light of the Gnostic Redeemer-Myth, or in the light of parallels with the teaching of the Qumran Community.

The claim that Ephesians needs to be understood in the light of a Gnostic background was first made by F. C. Baur. (57) The first detailed study of the relation of Ephesians to Gnostic texts was that of H. Schlier, "Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief", published in 1930. (58) Since then the

matter has been much discussed. Those who argue that Ephesians shows an awareness of Gnosticism vary in their assessment of the significance of this. Some have argued that Ephesians is simply dependent upon Gnostic ideas; others have maintained that the author uses Gnostic concepts and language since these formed part of the intellectual background of his readers, but that he invests them with a distinctive Christian significance, so that Ephesians can be regarded as being both dependent upon, and a corrective to Gnosticism at the same time; a third view is that Ephesians, far from being dependent upon Gnosticism, is a line by line refutation of it. (59)

Schlier maintained that the combination of the imagery of the wall, the body, the new man and the building in Ephesians 2:11 only makes sense if the writer is consciously drawing upon the Gnostic Myth of a Cosmic Redeemer, the Primal Man, who breaks down the wall that divides the heavenly pleroma from the earthly world, after having gathered his members, who had been imprisoned in this world, into a new man, his body, which the Gnostic texts sometimes refer to as a building. Schlier argued that the author transformed this myth by replacing the timelessness of the Gnostic concept of redemption with the historic event of the death of Christ on the cross.

Schlier's understanding of a Gnostic background to the imagery employed in Ephesians 2:11ff has been both developed and modified by E. Käsemann, with interesting implications for Colossians 2:11ff (60). Käsemann argues that a Gnostic background underlies both Colossians 2:11–15 and Ephesians 2:11ff, the former passage describes in individual terms what the latter describes in cosmic terms, and he uses his understanding of Colossians 2:11–15 to illumine the meaning of Ephesians 2:11ff.

According to Käsemann the "circumcision of Christ" in Colossians 2:11 refers both to what happens to Christ on the cross, and to the believer in baptism. This circumcision of Christ on the cross includes the disarming of the principalities and powers (Colossians 2:15) which has its corresponding effect in the life of the believer. This, according to Käsemann, is described in Colossians 2:11 as "the stripping off of the body of the flesh", and in Ephesians as "the breaking down of the dividing wall of hostility in Christ's

flesh" (v14). He maintains that the dividing wall of hostility refers to

> "The demonic boundary wall...which, according to the myth, leaves souls trapped without a way out of the kingdom of darkness. The Saviour has struck a breach in it, through which he escapes with his own." (61)

Käsemann notes that in Ephesians 2:14 $\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is connected with the $\nu\acute{o}\mu o\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\tau o\lambda\tilde{\omega}\nu$, but argues that this is a Christian re-application of the Gnostic Myth, which originally referred to the breaking down of the barrier between God and Man, giving it a new twist so that it now applies also to the social barrier between Jew and Gentile.

Käsemann further maintains that in Gnosis the $\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ originally referred to the flesh—the power of matter which forms the cosmic wall which separates God and Man. The flesh is also the means by which the soul is held in bondage to the principalities and powers, so that the flesh is "the epitome of the evil Aeon." In Pauline circles, Käsemann argues, flesh is the power of worldliness corrupted by sin which has become the means by which man is brought under the control of the principalities and powers. Käsemann maintains that according to Ephesians

> "Christ and the cross killed and broke down the material hostility at the same time in himself, his believers and the world... Christ wiped out the unity of the bodily garment of the powers and principalities and so made possible the ascension of his own. For if the strength of the soul is snatched away from the cosmos and matter, according to the myth, the world disintegrates. Just that happened in the "circumcision of Christ" on the cross, in that Christ broke the power of the sarx, disarmed it, and struck a breach in the $\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. (62)

This imaginative interpretation of Ephesians 2, together with its implications for Colossians 2:11f, is very attractive. However, caution is urged on two counts. First, Käsemann's purpose is different from ours. He has used his interpretation of Colossians 2:11 to illuminate the meaning of Ephesians 2:11ff; our purpose is the other way round, to use Ephesians 2:11ff to illuminate the meaning of Colossians 2:11. In particular, Käsemann has assumed

that the "circumcision of Christ" in Colossians 2:11 refers to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death, and on this basis has argued that the references to Christ's death in Ephesians 2:11ff refer to a circumcision that Christ has undergone; our purpose is to enquire whether there is anything in Ephesians 2:11ff which suggests that Christ's death was understood as a circumcision, and which might in turn, therefore, suggest that the "circumcision of Christ" in Colossians 2:11 refers to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death. The possible Gnostic background to the imagery employed in Ephesians 2:11ff has not provided any direct evidence for this. Second, the alleged Gnostic background to Ephesians has not been accepted by all interpreters of the Epistle. In particular the view that the author is, in Ephesians 2:11ff, dependent upon the Gnostic Redeemer-Myth has been much criticized. One reason for this is that the Gnostic texts upon which Schlier and Käsemann build their argument are mainly later than the New Testament, and recent research has demonstrated that the Gnostic Redeemer-Myth as such is a post-Christian development (63). Thus it has been argued that it cannot therefore legitimately be used as background material for the New Testament (64). This does not prove, as Rader notes (65) that Ephesians does not contain Gnostic concepts, but it does make it unlikely thet the Gnostic Redeemer-Myth is explicitly in mind. A different conclusion, however, is reached by J. T. Sanders who argues that whilst there is no direct dependence of Ephesians upon the Redeemer-Myth, or vice versa, both may draw upon a common background, that of Gnosticizing-Judaism. (66) A further reason why some scholars have rejected the suggestion that Ephesians is dependent upon the Gnostic Redeemer-Myth is that the latter does not contain certain concepts basic to Ephesians 2:11ff. In particular E. Percy has objected that the Myth lacks the idea of representation found in Ephesians. (67) Stig Hanson also notes a further eight elements found in Ephesians 2:11ff which are lacking in the Redeemer-Myth. (68) These differences may, however, be viewed as the author's own adaptation of the original myth.

Given these doubts concening the possible Gnostic background to Eph-

esians 2:11ff it is relevant to enquire whether a possible Qumran or Old Testament-Rabbinic background is capable of providing a more adequate interpretative-key to the imagery employed in the passage than may a possible Gnostic background.

Several scholars have drawn attention to the parallels between Ephesians and the teachings of the Qumran Community. R. P. Martin has provided a convenient summary of the parallels which are to be found in Ephesians 2:11ff:

> "the Dead Sea scrolls . . . speak of God's habitation set on a rock (1QS 8:4–10; 1QH 6:25–27, as in Ephesians 2:20–22), the entrance of the community as 'coming near' (1QS 6:16,22; 11–13) and the exclusion of 'aliens' and 'strangers' from the new Temple (4Q Flor 1:1–7; cf 11Q Temple 29:8–10). The 'holy ones' or 'saints' are permitted to dwell in the house for ever, in associaion with the angels (1QS 9:7f; 1QH 3:21ff)." (69)

If the author is deliberately drawing upon the language of Qumran, it is possible that, in saying that the Gentiles have been "brought near" by the blood of Christ, he is using the terminology of Qumran initiation to describe the inclusion of the Gentiles in the New Israel, possibly in contrast to Qumran exclusivism. (70) Initiation into the Qumran Community did not, however, involve sacrifice. The Qumran Covenanters, whilst recognising the validity of the Old Testament sacrificial system, regarded the priests officiating in the Temple as reprobate, and therefore, took no part in the Temple cultus. Even though they had priests amongst their members they did not set up a rival cultus at Qumran, but rather the Community's priests kept themselves in a state of constant readiness for the end of time when true Temple worship would be restored, and when they would offer true sacrifices in the Temple. It seems therefore that the reference to the "blood of Christ" in Ephesians 2:13 is not to be understood in the light of Qumran parallels, but as the author's own statement indicating that the sacrificial death of Christ is the means by which the Gentiles have been included in the New Israel. Thus we may conclude that if Ephesians 2:13 is to be understood solely in the light of possible Qumran parallels it does not suggest

that Colossians 2:11 is specifically in mind, and neither is there any direct parallel of thought between the two passages.

It is open to question, however, whether a Qumran background is able to provide an adequate interpretative-key to all the imagery employed in Ephesians 2:11ff. As W. Rader notes:

> "Qumran research has made illuminating contributions to our understanding of Ephesians 2:11–22 [but] few would claim that the Qumran literature provides the whole background for such concepts in the passage as the new man and dividing wall." (71)

Thus several scholars, whilst noting the possible parallels between Ephesians and Qumran, suggest that rather than indicating any actual dependence of Ephesians upon Qumran these parallels are best explained by the suggestion that both were drawing upon a common tradition. (72)

Several writers have maintained that an Old Testament-Rabbinic background is capable of providing an adequate interpretative key to the imagery employed in Ephesians 2:11–22. (73) Several of the key images— "circumcision", "Israel", "covenants", "peace", "blood" and "law of the commandments in ordinances"—are obviously used in a sense that is inspired by the Old Testament and Old Testament interpretations current at Paul's time. (74) In addition, other images, though capable of being understood in the light of either Gnostic or Qumran parallels are equally intelligible in the light of an Old Testament-Rabbinic background: "flesh" is a familiar Old Testament and Rabbinic motif; the "dividing wall" is intelligible as an allusion to the wall in the Temple which separated the Court of the Gentiles from the inner courtyards from which the Gentiles were forbidden on pain of death; the edifice imagery of vv20–22—the "building", "temple" and "house"—is intelligible as a development of such Old Testament texts as Isaiah 28:16; Psalm 118:21–22, and the vision of the New Temple in Ezekiel 40–48; and the "new man" might, as Martin argues (75) have been suggested by the description of the proselyte as a new creature in some Rabbinic texts.

It seems to me, therefore, that an Old Testament-Rabbinic background is capable of providing a more adequate interpretative-key to the images em-

ployed in Ephesians 2:11ff than either a possible Gnostic or Qumran background. This is not to suggest that possible Gnostic and Qumran parallels are not relevant, but rather that the Old Testament-Rabbinic background should be used to establish the primary meaning of the text.

This conclusion is especially important for our understanding of Ephesians 2:13 which includes an allusion to Isaiah 57:19, which is quoted directly in v17. In its original context "those far off" referred to the Jews in exile, and "those near" to the Jews who remained in their homeland. In Ephesians 2:13, however, "those far off" are identified with the Gentiles, prior to their conversion. This interpretaion had partly been anticipated in Jewish exegesis. On the basis of such texts as Psalm 148:14 ("he has lifted up the horn of his people, the praise of all his saints; even of the children of Israel, a people near to him") the "near" were identified with the nation of Israel, and "those far off" with the Gentiles. In some Rabbinical interpretations of Isaiah 57:19 "those far off" are identified with Gentile proselytes. (76) Kirby cites the evidence of Midrash Bemidbar Rabba VIII.4 in which the question is asked about proselytes having a share in the building of the Temple, and the answer given is:

> "To inform you that the Holy One, blessed be he, brings near those who are distant and supports the distant just as the nigh. Nay more, he gives peace to the distant sooner than the nigh; as it says, 'Peace, peace to him that is far off and to him that is near' (Isaiah 57.19)". (77)

Indeed, as Barth reminds us,

> "the very name "proselyte" (derived from the Greek *proserchomai*, "to approach", "to come near") indicates, persons are meant who (from afar) "come near" the blessing and the community of Israel." (78)

This suggests that in Ephesians 2:12 Paul is deliberately using the imagery of Jewish proselytism to describe the incorporation of Gentiles into the people of God. If we accept the evidence of Acts 22:21, where the "nations afar (*ἔθνη μακρὰν*)" refers to the Gentiles, we have confirmatory evidence that Paul accepted this identificaion.

It is particularly significant, therefore, that in Ephesians 2:13 Gentiles are said to have been brought near "by the blood of Christ". To become a proselyte a Gentile had to be circumcised. In Ephesians 2:13 "the blood of Christ" is the counterpart to the blood of Gentile circumcision. This is noted by Kirby, who comments:

> "Just as the Gentile is brought near to Israel and made a proselyte by the blood of circumcision, so by the blood of Christ the Gentiles are brought near and made members of God's household, real citizens of Israel." (79)

The "blood of Christ" is most naturally understood as a reference to Christ's sacrificial death on the cross. The term "blood" is commonly used in the undisputed Pauline Epistles and elsewhere in the New Testament to refer to Christ's sacrificial death, and it has already been used with this meaning at 1:7. Reference is also made to the cross in 2:16. Both words are combined in Colossians 1:20 in the phrase "the blood of the cross" to which Ephesians 2:13 forms a close parallel, especially in view of the reference in Colossians 1:20 to Christ "having made peace", an idea which is present in Ephesians 2:13 in the allusion to Isaiah 57:19, and is mentioned explicitly in Ephesians 2:14.

It is clear from the context that Gentiles no longer need to be physically circumcised since that which was previously effected by carnal circumcision has now been effected by the "blood of Christ". The "blood of Christ" is thus the means by which the divisiveness of carnal circumcision has been overcome. It is important to ask, therefore, whether the "blood of Christ" has superseded circumcision—that is, whether circumcision has been rendered obsolete in that it has now been replaced by a superior and more effective means of incorporation, namely the "blood of Christ"; or whether the "blood of Christ" is seen as a fulfilment of circumcision, so that Christ's death may be metaphorically described as a circumcision, and that the Gentiles may be said to have been spiritually circumcised "in Christ".

The latter possibility is suggested by the description of circumcision in v11 as "in the flesh made by hands". In view of the parallel with Colossians

2:11 this is not simply a derogation of carnal circumcision, but implies a contrast with a spiritual circumcision made without hands. If in Ephesians 2:13 Paul is using the language of Jewish proselytism to describe the incorporation of the Gentiles into the new Israel, then, in view of the fact that the blood of Christ is the counterpart to the blood of proselyte circumcision, it seems reasonable to conclude that Christ's death is this spiritual circumcision made without hands.

The phrase "blood of Christ" may seem an unusual expression for Christ's death viewed metaphorically as a spiritual circumcision. Why, it may be asked, if this was Paul's meaning, did he not use some such expression as "the circumcision of Christ" to make this point? This may be due in part to the fact that an explicit reference to the death of Christ as a circumcision would have unduly limited his meaning here. He is concerned to show that the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross effected not simply the social reconciliation of Jew and Gentile by removing the divisiveness of the Jewish law, characterised by circumcision, but also the reconciliation of both Jews and Gentiles to God. In Ephesians 2:13 Paul is considering one important aspect of Christ's death, but does not wish to imply that this is the only aspect of Christ's death relevant to his present purpose.

It is possible that the use of the phrase the "blood of Christ" to refer to the death of Christ as a circumcision may have been suggested by the Rabbinic references to the blood of circumcision as the blood of the covenant. The Rabbis taught that unless blood was shed in circumcision, the circumcision was invalid (eg. Tosef Sabb. xv(19)9; Bab. Tal. Sabb. 135a). G. Vermes has demonstrated (80) that in Septuagintal and Targumic versions of Exodus 4:24–26 Moses, whose life was in danger because of his failure to circumcise his son, is said to have been saved by the sacrificial value of the blood of his son's circumcision. Vermes argues that this tradition was established prior to 200 BC.(81) Vermes further notes:

> "Unless the 'blood of the Covenant' was shed, the rite was not considered as having been validly performed. It is well specified that even should there be no foreskin to sever (for any reason whatsoever), blood must still flow for the rite to be effective."

(82)

In addition to the tradition concerning Exodus 4:24–26, in one of the paraphrases of Leviticus 17:11 a parallel is drawn beween the sacrificial blood of circumcision, and the blood of the Passover Lamb. Vermes notes:

> "According to ancient teaching, the first Passover in the desert was celebrated by the mingling of both the blood of circumcision and the paschal lamb. Hence Leviticus xvii.11: 'For the life of the flesh is in the blood' is paraphrased 'Life is in the blood of the Passover; life is in the blood of circumcision.'" (83)

Barth notes a further element in Jewish tradition in which the blood of circumcision was considered to have a sacrificial significance. He notes:

> "Not only Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac, but also the covenant blood of Abraham that was poured out in his circumcision was accredited to his children and children's children." (84)

Kirby notes that

> "In the days before the destruction of the Temple, the rite of proselyte initiation included the offering of an expiatory sacrifice in the Temple as well as baptism and circumcision." (85)

As evidence of this Kirby cites the Talmud:

> "The proselyte's atonement is not complete until the blood of his offering has been tossed for him against the base of the Altar." (86)

However, this reference tends to confuse the issue. The blood of Christ in Ephesians 2:13 is clearly analogous with the blood of circumcision and not of the proselyte's sacrifice. In fact, as G. F. Moore notes:

> "The offering of a sacrifice ...is not one of the conditions of becoming a proselyte, but only a condition precedent to the exercise of one of the rights which belong to him as a proselyte, namely participation in the sacrificial meal. As soon as he was circumcised and baptised, he was in full standing in the religious community, having all the legal rights and powers and being subject to all the obligations of the Jew by birth. He had entered the Covenant." (87)

In the light of this emphasis upon the sacrificial value of the blood of circumcision in Early Jewish Tradition the use of the expression "the blood of Christ" to refer to Christ's death viewed metaphorically as a spiritual circumcision is more apposite than might at first appear.

It is possible, however, that the use of the phrase "the blood of Christ" to refer to Christ's death as a spiritual circumcision may have been suggested by a covenantal analogy between circumcision and Christ's death developed by Paul himself, independently of the Rabbinic Tradition noted by Vermes and Barth. In Ephesians 2:11ff Paul is explaining how the Gentiles have been incorporated into the New Israel. Incorporation into the Old Covenant was sealed by the covenant-sign of circumcision. According to the tradition that Paul had received, the New Covenant between God and Man had been established by the blood of Christ (1 Corinthians 11:25). The blood of Christ is thus the covenantal counterpart to carnal circumcision, and this train of thought might have precipitated the viewing of Christ's death as a spiritual circumcision, and may explain the use of the phrase "the blood of Christ" in Ephesians 2:13 where the emphasis is not simply upon incorporation into Old Covenant Judaism, but into the New Israel, the spiritual building built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone (v20).

Finally, with respect to v13, we may note that the emphatic *νυνὶ δὲ* stands in marked contrast to *χωρὶς Χριστοῦ* in v12. The context— which stresses the former alienation of the Gentiles from the commonwealth, covenants and promises of Israel—suggests that *Χριστός* in v12 is not simply used as a proper name, but is a reference to Jesus as the long awaited Jewish Messiah, in whom God's promises to Israel were fulfilled. This in turn suggests that *Χριστός* in v13 similarly is not simply a proper name, but means "the Messiah". The difficulty with this interpretation of *Χριστός* in v13 is that it could—if pressed— be taken to imply that the Jews themselves were formerly "in the Messiah". However, the interpretation of *Χριστός* in v13 as "Messiah" seems, nonethelss, to be required by the context.

The conviction that in Ephesians 2:13 Paul is saying that the death of

Christ is not simply a negation of circumcision, but a fulfilment of it is, in my opinion, confirmed by a consideration of vv14–16 which, in turn, help elucidate further the meaning of v13. Several writers have drawn attention to possible hymnic traits in Ephesians 2: 14–18 (88) and have suggested that in these verses the author is drawing upon an early Christian hymn. Indeed, several attempts have been made to isolate later additions to the original hymn. If these verses do come from a different hand from that of v13 their value in helping to elucidate the meaning of v13 is necessarily limited: although they would not have been included had they not been in accord with the author's own theology, and general purpose in the passage. If they are taken from, or based upon an early Christian hymn they cannot be regarded as explaining the precise significance of v13. I am not persuaded, however, that vv14–18 are based upon an early Christian hymn. As Mitton notes:

> "The fact that parts of Ephesians have a liturgical ring about them does not mean that the author is borrowing from the existing liturgies, nor even that he is deliberately composing material for use in public worship. It may be merely that this is the style in which he wrote, especially in the knowledge that the letter would probably be read in the context of peoples gathered for fellowship or worship." (89)

The decisive argument against the theory that in vv14–18 the author is drawing upon an early Christian hymn is the fact that these verses, as well as the epistolary parts of the epistle, show a dependence on Paul's letters. (90)

Verses 14–16 are fraught with syntactical and exegetical difficulties, for a full discussion of which the reader must refer to the standard commentaries on the passage. In my opinion two key factors govern our interpretation of these verses. First, as Barth notes:

> "Though the grammatical coordination of the three nouns "wall", "law" and "enmity" is ambiguous, it is certain that these three concepts are meant to interpret one another." (91)

Further,

"They are used not only to clarify the meaning but also to produce an escalating effect." (92)

Second, in view of the fact that the same word—ἔχθρα—is used to describe the enmity experienced between Jews and Gentiles, and between both Jews and Gentiles and God, it seems to me that the cause of the enmity in both cases must be one and the same. (93)

Although the meaning of the phrase τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ is much disputed, in my opinion it is an allusion to the wall in the Temple at Jerusalem which separated the court of the Gentiles from the inner courts which were restricted to the Jews, and which was a tangible exprssion of the wider division that the law created between Jews and Gentiles; and that τὴν ἔχθραν should be taken as the object of καταργήσας, the meaning of v15 being that the enmity created by the failure to keep the law, and not the law itself, has been abolished. To my mind this best fits the context. It was the failure of the Gentiles to keep the law which resulted in the hostility of the Jews towards them, and in their exclusion from the blessings of Israel; and it was the failure of both Jews and Gentiles to render to God that true obedience that he requires of man, of which obedience the law is an outward expression, that was the cause of the enmity between both Jew and Gentile and God. All, as Paul concludes in Romans 3:23, both Jew and Gentile, have fallen short of the glory of God, and failed to render to him that true obedience which he requires of all men, of which the written law was the outward expression.

According to v15, the abolition of the enmity has taken place "in his flesh". In view of the reference to the "blood of Christ" in v13, and to the reconciliation of both Jew and Gentile to God in one body "through the cross", the phrase "in his flesh" may simply refer to Christ's sacrificial death on the cross as the means by which the penalty for man's failure to fulfil the law rendered (cf. Galatians 3:10–13). However, although the noun "flesh" is used by Paul in combination with other terms to refer to Christ's death (eg. Colossians 1:22: "the body of his flesh through death"), the single noun "flesh" is—with the possible exception of Romans 8:3—nowhere used singly

in the Pauline Corpus to refer to Christ's death. (94)

It is possible, therefore, that "in his flesh" has an incarnational reference, rather than referring exclusively to Christ's death on the cross. Mitton suggests that the phrase:

> "could be taken to refer to the actual ministry of Jesus, and the way he defied the Jewish law at points where he saw it misrepresented the will of God, and carried his defiance to the extent of dying rather than agreeing to conform to it. In that case it might be possible to translate "in his flesh" as 'by what he said and did'." (95)

However, this suggestion fails to do justice to the express purpose of the abolition of the enmity by Christ in his flesh, namely "so that he might in himself create of the two [formerly separate groups] one new man."

A more plausible view in my opinion is that "his flesh" refers to the human nature that Christ assumed, and that underlying Ephesians 2:15 is the same train of thought as is found, arguably, in Romans 8:3: Christ assumed fallen human nature, which, by his life of perfect obedience he cleansed, restored, reconstituted and recapitulated in himself; that is, that in the course of his earthly life Christ waged a constant warfare against the inner tendency to sin, arising from the fallen human nature that he had assumed, which he perfectly resisted, thereby condemning sin in the flesh. (96) Thus Christ as Perfect Man rendered to God that true obedience that God requires of man. This perfect obedience included perfectly fulfilling the Jewish Law, which fulfilment is attributed to those who are "in him". Thus the enmity arising from the fact that the Gentiles have not fulfilled the Jewish Law is overcome in Christ since they have, in him, fulfilled the Jewish Law.

This, however, was not on behalf of the Gentiles only. The purpose was so that Christ might create "in Himself" one new man out of the two formerly distinct groups of Jew and Gentile. The new man is a reference to the Christian community made up of all those—whether Jew or Gentile— who participate in the cleansed and restored, reconstituted and recapitulated humanity in Christ. It is the corporate counterpart to the references to the

individual Christian as a "new creation" (2 Corinthians 5:17; cf. Galatians 6:15) or as having put on the "new man" (Colossians 3:10). Behind these terms lies the conception of Christ himself as the "Last Adam" (1 Corinthians 15:22, 45–47), the first fruits of the New Creation (1 Corinthians 15:23) and the firstborn of many brethren (Romans 8:29). To have put on the new man (Colossians 3:10) is the equivalent to having put on Christ (Galatians 3:27), and the ethical injunction to put on the new man (Ephesians 4:23 and 24) is the equivalent to the ethical injunction to put on the Lord Jesus Christ (Romans 13:14). According to Paul in Romans 1:18–31, Jews, just as much as Gentiles, have failed to keep the Law, and failed to render to God that obedience that God requires of man. Thus it is both by the recognition they stand equally as sinners in the sight of God, and thus equally in need of the righteousness of God which is received by faith, and also as they jointly experience the new life in Christ, that the social enmity between Jew and Gentile is overcome. Only as the Jews and the Gentiles jointly participate in the humanity that has been cleansed and restored, reconstituted and recapitulated in Christ are they united.

The obedience of Christ has not only removed the enmity between Jew and Gentile, but also between both Jew and Gentile and God, since Christ as man has rendered to God that obedience that God requires of man. In v16, however, it is explicitly stated that this has taken place in one body "through the cross" having slain the enmity "in it" (ἐν αὐτῷ). The latter phrase is ambiguous. It could refer either to the cross of Christ as the means by which the enmity was slain, or to Christ's body as the location in which the enmity was slain. Several commentators suggest that "through the cross" is an addition to the original hymn, (97) in which case ἐν αὐτῷ would have originally referred to Christ's body. If this is an addition to the original hymn, its addition would be all the more significant, emphasizing that the removal of the enmity and the reconciliation has taken place specifically through Christ's death.

This emphasis upon the cross (whether in the alleged original hymn, or as an addition to it) could be taken to call into question the interpretation of ἐν

τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ outlined above, that the enmity was abolished by Christ's life of perfect obedience. I do not, however, believe this to be the case for two reasons. First, the cross is the supreme test of Christ's obedience. In the Christological Hymn in Philippians 2 it is stressed that Christ's obedience was "unto death, death on a cross" (v8). Similarly in Romans 5:15–19, while the obedience by which "many will be made righteous" (v19) certainly, as Cranfield notes, "covers His whole life, not just His passion and death", (98) the contrast with the "offence of the one" (vv15,17 and 18) suggests that it is the specific act of Christ's obedience in humbly submitting to death that is specifically in mind. In his passion Christ's identification with sinful humanity reached its climax, and his death was therefore both his moment of greatest temptation and also his supreme act of obedience. As E. Best comments:

> "The crucial moment in the battle against sin was the death of Jesus (*a sacrifice*), just as it was in justification and salvation (Romans 3:25; 6–10). For it is in the death of Jesus that his lower nature is seen to be completely real; the one event which is shared by all who have the lower nature is death, and Jesus was not a divine being who put on the disguise of a lower nature which he could drop at the terrifying moment of death ...and evade it. Death was the moment of greatest temptation; a few hours before his death he prayed vehemently to escape it but accepted it as God's will (Mark 14:32–42). Death was the most likely moment for him to sin and fail. Thus it was in dying that he triumphed over the flesh and defeated sin completely. In consequence *sin* (and not the sinner) was condemned *within that very* [lower] *nature*." (99)

Second, there is an aspect of the enmity between both Jew and Gentile and God which is absent in the social enmity between the Jews and the Gentiles, namely the curse pronounced upon those who fail to keep the requirements of the law (Galatians 3:10–14). Christ has not only perfectly fulfilled the law on our behalf, by his life of perfect obedience, but also in his sacrificial death on the cross borne in our place the curse that the law pronounced upon those who fail to keep the law. Thus I think that the emphasis upon the cross of Christ in v16 as the means of the removal of

the enmity and of reconciliation to God supplements, rather than calls into question, the view that ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ in v15 refers to Christ's life of perfect obedience, and that it was introduced because the removal of the enmity between both Jews and Gentiles and God involves not only Christ's active obedience in perfectly fulfilling the law on our behalf, but also in the further aspect, absent in the social enmity between Jew and Gentile, of his passive obedience in bearing in our place the curse that the law pronounces upon those who fail to keep its precepts.

In general terms, therefore, I suggest that vv14–16 support the conclusion that "the blood of Christ" in v13 does not simply supersede circumcision, but is a fulfilment of it. The emphasis in the context of v13 is not upon the abolition of the law iself, but of the enmity created by the Gentiles' failure to keep the requirements of the law, which enmity has been abolished since Christ himself has fulfilled the law on their behalf. However, according to our interpretation of v13, circumcision was fulfilled by the circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death: our understanding of v15 would suggest that circumcision was fulfilled when Christ was circumcised in his infancy. I do not think, however, that these two views are necessarily mutually exclusive. Circumcision was the pledge of submission to the whole law, and Paul insists upon the inseparability of circumcision and total obedience (Galatians 5:3; 6:13; Romans 2:15). Thus Christ's circumcision in his infancy was a prefigurement of his whole life of total obedience, reaching its supreme expression in his death on the cross. Closely related to this, circumcision was the outward sign of the need for the corresponding inner circumcision of the heart (Romans 2: 28 and 29). This spiritual circumcision was achieved by Christ's life of perfect obedience whereby he cleansed our fallen human nature, freeing it from the controlling power of sin, which obedience reached its consummation in his death on the cross.

The meaning of Ephesians 2:15f is not therefore simply that Christ overcame the enmity between Jew and Gentile that existed 2000 years ago but that in cleansing and restoring our fallen human nature, freeing it from the controlling power of sin, he has overcome the root cause of all potential en-

mity and divisions between man and his fellow man, and between man and God. (100)

Finally, with regard to Ephesians, I cannot agree with J.A. Allen when he argues that the use of the "in Christ" formula in Ephesians shows a marked difference from the generally accepted Paulines in that

> "its use is predominantly, if not exclusively, in the instrumental sense ...'In Christ' is no longer for this writer the formula of incorporation into Christ, but has become the formula of God's activity through Christ." (101)

According to Allen, the parallelism of the phrase in Ephesians 2:13 ("in Christ ...in the blood of Christ") unmistakeably demonstrates that "in Christ" here is used in a purely instrumental sense. (102) Allen further argues that this is an indication that the Epistle was not written by the apostle Paul. However, our understanding of Ephesians 2:13 suggests that ἐν Χριστῷ is not used in an instrumental sense, but refers to the believer's incorporation into Christ. Paul is not speaking of an action that Christ effects as the active agent in the life of the believer, but of that which results from the believer's incorporation into Christ; through union with Christ the believer participates in the circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death. Thus it seems to me that in Ephesians 2:13 we have an example of the use of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ to denote precisely that which Allen believes to be absent in Ephesians, namely "a personal profound identification with Christ which is the basis of salvation and new life." (103)

We are now in a position to draw out the parallels betwen Ephesians 2:11ff and Colossians 2:11 and 12, and to draw conclusions from Ephesians 2:11ff concerning Paul's meaning in his earlier comments in (or the author of Ephesians' understanding of) Colossians 2:11 and 12.

Both passages, as Barth notes, "describe the way in which the divisiveness of carnal circumcision was overcome", but "What is in Colossians described in only one verse (2:11) is in Ephesians spread over nine verses (2:11–19)." (104)

Ephesians implies and Colossians states that the Christian has "in Christ" undergone a spiritual circumcision, which Ephesians implies (in the

light of v11) and Colossians states, is "made without hands". The implication in both Ephesians and Colossians is thus that the Christian does not, therefore, need to be physically circumcised.

In Ephesians 2:13 *ἐν Χριστῷ* is used to mean "in the Messiah". This suggests that *ἐν ᾧ* in Colossians 2:11 means not simply "in Christ", but "in the Messiah", and that *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* means "the circumcision of the Messiah".

In Ephesians 2:13 the death of Christ is viewed metaphorically as a spiritual circumcision. This suggests that *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 2:11 is an objective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death. This is confirmed by a comparison of Colossians 2:11 and 12 with Romans 6:3 and 4. Whereas Romans 6:3 and 4 speak of death, burial and resurrection, Colossians 2:11 and 12 speak of circumcision, burial and resurrection, the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* being equivalent to the phrase *εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ*. That Colossians 2:11 speaks of being circumcised in Christ whereas Romans 6:4 speaks of being baptized into Christ does not mean that *περιετμήθητε* in Colossians 2:11 is a figure for baptism. *βαπτίζεσθαι* as its use in 1 Corinthians 10:2 indicates, does not of itself describe the actual water-rite of baptism. Here, as in Galatians 3:26f and 1 Corinthians 12:13, it is used metaphorically to describe our incorporation into Christ. As Dunn argues, with reference to Galatians 3:26f:

> "*Βαπτίζεσθαι εἰς Χριστόν* is simply a metaphor drawn from the rite of baptism to describe the entry of the believer into Christian experience—or, more precisely, the entry of the believer into the spiritual relationship of the Christian with Christ, which takes place in conversion-initiation." (105)

In Romans 6, as Dunn notes,

> "the first and only concrete reference to water-baptism ...is the phrase *διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*." (106)

Ephesians 2:15 implies that this circumcision consisted in cleansing our fallen human nature, which Christ had assumed, freeing it from the control

and power of the flesh. This suggests that the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 refers to both Christ and the believer: that *σῶμα* refers to our human nauture, *σάρξ* to the control and power of sin in which our human nature was bound, and that the genitive *σαρκός* is a genitive of separation, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* meaning "the stripping off of the flesh from the body", that is, the freeing of our human nature from the control and power of sin.

Thus far in our discussion of Ephesians 2:11ff and its implications for Colossians 2:11 and 12 no reference has been made to baptism. There is no explicit mention of baptism in Ephesians 2:11ff, and the parallel between Ephesians 2:13 and Colossians 2:11 indicates that the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* is not simply a periphrasis for Christian baptism. However, several scholars who understand it to refer to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death see a connection between this circumcision and Christian baptism. Käsemann, for example, maintains that

> "in the *περιτομὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* both what happens to believers in baptism and what happens to Christ on the cross are combined." (107)

In similar vein, H. Sahlin, who believes that Ephesians is "almost wholly about baptism", (108) and thus that "it would be expected a priori that in the important section Ephesians 2:11–22 the apostle is also thinking of baptism, (109) comments:

> "The shedding of blood, which takes place at Jewish circumcision, has now been replaced by Christ's blood. Hereby the apostle seems to mean either the death of Christ on the cross or the circumcision of Jesus: both possibilities are in themselves conceivable. For the first speaks of the fact that the death of Christ really stands as the focal point of early Christian thought; this is also discussed in the following verses. Meanwhile a reference to the circumcision of Jesus seems completely conceivable. Baptism indeed signifies becoming incorporated into the body of Christ. Thereby the person to be baptised is blessed with everything which has befallen the body of Christ; the death on the cross and the resurrection (cf. especially Romans 6:3–5 and

> 1 Corinthians 15:20–22), but also the sorrows of Christ (cf. 2 Corinthians 1:5; 1 Peter 4:12–16). It would be completely in agreement with New Testament thought to assume that the circumcision of Christ is also of benefit to all Christians. Perhaps for the apostle the shedding of blood at Jesus' circumcision and that at his death on the cross face together in a unity—into a single shedding of blood of reconciliation. Whichever interpretation of the expression "in the blood of *Christ*" one wishes to favour, the term "the circumcision of Christ" (Colossians 2:11) proves to be deeply meaningful for Christian baptism. Whenever this concept meets the reader in Colossians and Ephesians, or is suggested, it is probably not a chance invention of the letter writer, but here reference is made to a Christian dogma probably already well known to the addressees." (110)

Whether or not one understands baptism to be in mind in Ephesians 2:11ff depends to a large extent upon general presuppositions concerning the alleged baptismal character of the Epistle, and concerning the relationship between union with Christ and baptism. The only possible indication in the text itself that baptism may be in mind is the reference in v15 to both Jews and Gentiles having become in Christ "one new man". This, as we have seen, is the corporate counterpart to the individual Christian having "put on the new man" (Colossians 3:10), which in turn is the equivalent to having "put on Christ" (Romans 13:14). According to Galatians 3:27 "as many as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ". This may lend support to the view that through baptism the Christian participates in the circumcision that Christ himself underwent, and thus having put off the flesh, the "old man", participates in the new humanity that Christ reconstituted in his person, the "new man". However, as we have already suggested, *βαπτίζεσθαι* in Galatians 3:27 is used metaphorically of our incorporation into Christ which takes place in conversion-initiation and is not a reference to the actual rite of water baptism.

It must be conceded that Ephesians 2:11ff does not itself provide sufficient evidence to determine whether there is any relation—and if so, the precise nature of the relation—between *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 and Christian baptism. My own opinion is that in Colossians

2:11 and 12 Paul does have in mind a correspondence between circumcision and baptism. However, the correspondence is not between the outward rites themselves, nor indeed the subjects of these two rites, but between the inner significance of circumcision and the inner significance of baptism. Spiritual circumcision—*περιτομὴν ἀχειροποιήτην*—and burial are both figures for the same process, namely union with Christ in his death. That is not to say, however, that Paul understood baptism to be the fulfilment of circumcision, or that he is saying here that Christians do not need to be physically circumcised because they have been spiritually circumcised in baptism. That which was signified by carnal circumcision was fulfilled by Christ in his death; and the Christian does not need to be physically circumcised because through union with Christ he participates in the circumcision that Christ underwent in his death. It is the death of Christ on the cross that has brought to end the requirement for physical circumcision, not baptism.

2.2 1 Peter 3:21

There is a possible allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in 1 Peter 3:21:

1 Peter 3:21	*Colossians 2:11 and 12*
ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον	*ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε*
νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα,	*περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ*
οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου	*ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς*
ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς	*σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ*
ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν, δι'	*Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ*
ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	*ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ*
	συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως
	τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
	ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

The contrast in 1 Peter 3:21—*οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν*—is usually understood in one

of two ways; either that the author is refuting a false understanding of baptism, emphasizing that the efficacy of baptism lies not in the external act of washing, but in the baptized person's inner spiritual relationship with God; or that the author is contrasting the effectiveness of Christian baptism with that of Jewish washings, or that of the pagan mysteries.

The view that ἀπόθεσις refers to an external rite of washing has, however, been challenged. J. W. Dalton objects that

> "the 'putting away of the filth of the flesh' is a strange and unparalleled expression for washing." (111)

Similarly, J. N. D. Kelly, following Dalton, notes that the noun

> "is a surprising one to use of removing dirt by *washing*; both it and its cognate verb *apotithesthai* . . . in their basic connotation suggest a physical putting away, like the taking off of clothes, or of some integument" (112)

Dalton further objects that

> "the contrast expressed by οὐ . . . ἀλλὰ normally involves an absolute opposition: not this, but on the contrary something else." (113)

Similarly, Kelly argues that if the author's intention was to deny that the function of baptism is to cleanse the body either literally or ceremonially

> "we should expect him to have written 'not only', for baptism (as is freely stated in Heb. x.22) is clearly in one sense a washing." (114)

Accordingly Dalton, taking up hints of G. Estius (115) and E. G. Selwyn, (116) has proposed that σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου refers to circumcision, and that the author is contrasting the outward and physical effects of circumcision with the inward and spiritual effects of baptism by which it has been superseded. (117) Similarly, Kelly, following Dalton, suggests:

> "the writer is excerpting a primitive baptismal catechesis in which the Christian sacrament, with its profound interior moral

dedication, is contrasted with the ritual **removal** of a purely external, physical **filth** which marked its type in the Old Testament dispensation. The technical *apothesis* ... may have been deliberately chosen to emphasize that the baptismal 'putting off' concerns something far more radical and spiritual than the discarding of a despised portion of the flesh." (118)

Dalton, following the lead of Selwyn (119) has drawn attention to parallels between the context of 1 Peter 3:21 and Colossians 2:11. In his opinion:

> "the whole context of Colossians 2:11 reminds one of that of 1 Peter 3:21. Paul insists that the Jewish law offered only a shadow of what was to come, 'but the substance belongs to Christ', almost an exact parallel to type and antitype. Part of this outmoded system was the domination over human beings of 'the principalities and powers'. Christ in His victory has disarmed these spirits: and this victory is applied to Christians by their share in the resurrection of Christ: 'And you, who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive (*συνεζωοποίησεν*) together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses.'
>
> "Here we have the same themes as those found in 1 Peter 3:18–22 transposed somewhat to suit their application to Christian life. In 1 Peter 3:18, Christ died for our sins: in Colossians 2:13 God (through Christ) forgives us all our trespasses. In 1 Peter 3:18, Christ is put to death in the flesh, but brought back to life in the spirit, to bring us to God: in Colossians 2:12f, the Christian is buried with Christ in baptism, and raised with Him: God has made the Christian alive (*συνεζωοποίησεν*) with Christ. In 1 Peter 3:19, 22 Christ is presented as the victor over hostile spirits, angels, authorities and powers: in Colossians 2:15, He disarms the principalities and powers and triumphs over them. In 1 Peter 3:21 we are moving in the realm of type and antitype (flood and baptism): in Colossians 2:17 the impositions of the law are called 'a shadow of what is to come: but the substance belongs to Christ'. Finally, in 1 Peter 3:21, the putting off of the dirt of the flesh' is contrasted by opposition with Christian baptism: in Colossians 2:11 circumcision 'made with hands' is contrasted with circumcision 'made without hands': the putting off of the foreskin in the Jewish rite is contrasted with the putting off of 'the body of the flesh in the circumcision of Christ'." (120)

If in the phrase *οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* the author is consciously alluding to Colossions 2:11 this would suggest that he understood *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* in Colossians 2:11 to introduce an adjectival clause qualifying *περιτομῇ*, contrasting the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ with carnal circumcision; that is, emphasizing that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ is a circumcision that is "not made with hands, that is, not consisting in the stripping off of the body of the flesh". It would also suggest that the author understood *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* as little more than a periphrasis for Christian baptism. There is no indication that, on this understanding of the text, the author of 1 Peter might have understood the phrase to refer to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent.

If the phrase *οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* is a conscious allusion to Colossians 2:11, then it is further possible that the phrase *δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* was suggested by *ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν* in Colossians 2:12b. *δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* should be connected with *σῴζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς...εἰς θεόν* being a parenthesis. The writer's point is that the water of baptism "saves ...through the resurrection of Christ", that is, as Cranfield comments, "by applying to the baptized person the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection." (121) This could suggest that the author, if he had Colossians 2:12b specifically in mind, understood *ἐν ᾧ* to refer to baptism.

The parenthesis *οὐ σαρκὸς...εἰς θεόν* is added to make clear that the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection are not automatically applied to the baptizand, but only in response to the expression of his faith. The phrase *συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα* has been much discussed. The basic meaning of *ἐπερώτημα* is "question" or "inquiry". However, this does not make very good sense in the context (unless, that is, it is an allusion to the baptismal interrogations). In a few cases the cognate verb *ἐπερωτάω* means "make request for" (Psalm 137:3; Matthew 16:1) and according to Kelly (122) many commentators attribute that meaning to the noun here.

Upon this view the phrase means "an appeal or prayer to God for a clear conscience", that is, an expression of repentance. (123) Kelly, however, urges three reasons against this view:

> "(a) there is no evidence, theological or liturgical, that baptism, either in the 1st or in subsequent centuries, was envisaged from the human side as a prayer or 'appeal'; (b) it relies exclusively on the two or three instances of *eperōtān* meaning 'request', overlooking the fact that *eperōtēma* itself nowhere bears this sense but is found with another, more suitable: (c) it ignores the one or two precious patristic comments on the text that survive." (124)

There is some evidence from the papyri that ἐπερώτημα was a technical term for making a contract, and specifically could refer to the undertaking given by one of the parties in response to the formal question addressed to him. (125) Hence many understand ἐπερώτημα as a "pledge". Cranfield tentatively suggests that the pledge referred to is not man's pledge to God, made at his baptism, but God's pledge to the baptizand of a good conscience toward him:

> "Baptism," he suggests, "is a pledge or assurance or earnest of God's forgiveness of sins." (126)

If Colossians 2:11 and 12 are in the author's mind here this might suggest that he understood ἐνεργείας in Colossians 2:12b as an objective genitive, and the whole phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ. mean the baptizand's faith in the working of God.

I do not think, however, that in the phrase οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου the author is either refuting a false view of baptism, or that he is contrasting baptism with either circumcision or Jewish washings or the pagan mysteries. The phrase is, rather, added to clarify his argument, and to safeguard against possible misunderstanding. In vv20–21 the author draws a parallel between the salvation of Noah and that of Christians in that they both involve water. Water is a symbol of salvation and cleansing, and the external application of water to the body is a symbol of an inner spiritual cleansing. However,

the author wishes to make clear that baptism does not save by means of the external water rite in which the body is washed but rather by means of the person's faith which is expressed in baptism, not only in submitting to the actual rite itself, but specifically in the accompanying verbal affirmation of faith.

In my opinion, whilst the suggestion that in 1 Peter 3:21 the author is contrasting the efficacy of Christian baptism with that of circumcision, together with its implications for Colossians 2:11 and 12 is an attractive one, it is far from certain. Dalton himself acknowledges that to conclude that the "putting away of the filth of the flesh" is certainly to be understood of circumcision "would probably be going too far", though in his opinion "this hypothesis is at least worthy of consideration", and the most probable interpretation in the present state of the evidence. (127)

As Dunn (who thinks that Dalton and Kelly are "unnecessarily sceptical about referring *σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* to baptism" (128)) comments:

> "In a context where the train of thought has forced the author to use the word 'water' to characterize baptism it is natural for him to correct the resulting theological imbalance by defining baptism (and the role of water therein) more closely."(129)

I agree with Dunn's opinion that:

> "Peter does not contrast an outward cleansing with an inward cleansing or speak of baptism as God's means of cleansing the heart. ...What Peter says is quite unambiguous at this point: baptism saves, not in its washing of the filth of the flesh, but by expressing man's repentance and/or faith to God. By the negative he does not deny that baptism is a rite which touches the body; but he does deny that it is the outward cleansing that saves (that is, *οὐ*...qualifies not *βάπτισμα* alone but the whole phrase *σώζει βάπτισμα*). This is why he says *οὐ* not *οὐ μόνον*. By the positive statement he affirms that baptism is essentially the expression and vehicle of man's faith, not God's inner working grace." (130)

I agree with Dunn's conclusion that

> "For Peter ...baptism has its two aspects: it is a water rite which changes the body, and an expression of man's ἐπερώτημα to God. It can also be said to save, so long as we realize that it is the second aspect which is relevant here. It is not water or its cleansing operation which effects salvation; the water rite as a water rite effects nothing more than the washing of the body. When he says that baptism saves, Peter means baptism in so far and only in so far as it is an expression of faith." (131).

Further, the parallels between 1 Peter 3:21 and Colossians 2:11 and 12 are not sufficient, in my opinion, to indicate an actual awareness and dependence of 1 Peter 3:21 upon Colossians 2:11 and 12. There are no direct verbal parallels between the two texts, and the parallels beween their respective contexts may simply be due to the use of common baptismal teminology. There is not sufficient evidence to suggest that in his comments in 1 Peter 3:21 the author is directly dependent upon what St. Paul had said previously in Colossians 2:11 and 12. Therefore, even if in 1 Peter 3:21 the author is contrasting the efficacy of Christian baptism with that of circumcision, I do not think that we can draw conclusions from his comments here concening the way in which he might have understood Colossians 2:11 and 12. At most what we may have here is evidence that in the Apostolic (or possibly Sub-Apostolic) Era baptism was possibly contrasted with circumcision. There is nothing in the contrast—if such there is—to suggest that baptism is viewed as a fulfilment of circumcision, and it would, in my opinion, be reading too much into the text to suggest that the author believed that Christians are spiritually circumcised when they were baptised.

2.3 Additional Note: Circumcision as a sign and seal of righteousness by faith

There are a number of other passages in the New Testament which, although technically they lie outside the scope of this study, nonetheless have important implications for the analogy between circumcision and baptism, and the use of this analogy as an argument for infant baptism. It is appropriate

to consider some of these here.

In Romans 4:11–25 Paul draws a parallel between the faith of Abraham and that of the Christian believer. Abraham was justified by his faith in the power of God to raise up a son, Isaac, from the deadness of his body and the deadness of Sarah's womb; the Christian believer similarly is justified by his faith in God who has raised up his Son, Jesus, from death. Indeed, the parallel between the faith of Abraham and that of the Christian believer is particularly close in that Isaac may here be regarded as a type of Christ, and also in that Christ is also a descendant of Isaac.

In Romans 4:11 circumcision is described as a sign and seal of Abraham's righteousness by faith. In Colossians 2:12b and c Paul speaks of the believer being raised through faith in the power of God who raised Christ from the dead. It is possible, therefore, that Paul understood circumcision and baptism to be analogous in that they are both signs and seals of the righteousness which is by faith. In Romans 4:1–11 Paul emphasizes that circumcision did not itself establish Abraham in a right relationship with God, but was rather a sign and seal of a prior righteousness by faith while Abraham was still uncircumcised. If Paul did understand circumcision and baptism to be analogous as signs and seals of righteousness by faith, as I think is probable, this would suggest that he did not think that submission to the rite of baptism established a person in a right relationship with God, but rather that we are established in a right relationship with God by a prior faith, which is expressed in and through baptism.

Paedobaptists often draw attention to the fact that whilst in the case of Abraham circumcision was a sign of a prior righteousness by faith, Abraham's descendants were nonetheless circumcised in infancy, and that for them circumcision was a sign not of a prior, but of a need for a future righteousness by faith; and maintain that the analogy between circumcision and baptism thus means that the children of believing parents ought to be baptized. (132) This argument, however, ignores the teaching of the New Testament that a person is a son of Abraham not by physical descent but by repentance and faith. This theme is implicit in Romans 4:12 and 16–18.

It is explicit in the teachings of John the Baptist, Jesus, Paul himself in Romans 9:7f and Galatians 3, and the Apostle John.

John the Baptist warned the Scribes and the Pharisees that the mere fact that they had Abraham as their father did not mean that they would escape the coming judgement. They needed rather to bring forth fruit worthy of repentance (Matthew 3:7–10). Indeed, it is possible that John's baptism was derived from proselyte baptism, and that, as Cranfield explains,

> "the implication of his baptism was that Jews did not have a right to membership in the people of God by the mere fact that they were Jews (cf. Mt. iii.9, Lk. iii.8): by their sins they had become as Gentiles and now they needed as radical a repentance as did Gentiles, if they were to have any part in God's salvation." (133)

Jesus similarly maintained that physical descent did not of itself make a person a true son of Abraham, but rather responding to God in the same way that Abraham had done. (John 8:37–40).

Paul himself in Romans 9:7 and 8 explicitly states that not all Abraham's physical descendants are his seed, and that it is not the children of the flesh that are his seed, but the children of the promise. Some years earlier, in Galatians 3:1–14, he had outlined this argument in positive terms: the true sons of Abraham are those, whether Jew or Gentile by birth, who are justified by faith. Indeed in Galatians 3:8 he explicitly states that God's promise to Abraham that in him all the nations of the world would be blessed is fulfilled in the justification of Gentiles by faith. The "children" of the promise are those who are justified by faith. Clearly for Paul one does not become a true son of Abraham by physical descent—whether from Abraham or from Christian parents—but through personal faith.

John, in the Prologue to the fourth Gospel, similarly emphasizes that God gave the right to become children of God "to those who believe on his [Christ's] name" (1:12), and emphasizes that this re-birth is not by natural descent or the will of man, but the will of God (1:13).

The argument that although in the case of Abraham circumcision was a sign of a prior righteousness by faith, the analogy between circumcision and

baptism means that since infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized, infant baptism like infant circumcision pointing to the need for a future righteousness by faith, is not only based upon the false assumption that Paul is in Colossians 2:11 and 12 comparing the two rites of circumcision and baptism so that that which was true of circumcision is also true of baptism, but also contradicts the New Testament teaching concerning the true sons of Abraham.

Chapter 3

PATRISTIC EXEGESIS PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA

3.1 THE SECOND CENTURY: THE BEGINNINGS OF PATRISTIC LITERATURE

There is no explicit exegesis of Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the Second Century. This is as we would expect. Although a collection of ten Pauline epistles (not including the Pastorals or Hebrews) was in existence at the time of Marcion, who taught in Rome between 137 and 144 AD (though whether he was the first to make such a collection, or whether he was making use of an already existing collection is not clear), it was not until towards the end of the second century that the Pauline Epistles came to be acknowledged as "scripture". This was implied by Theophilus of Antioch (Ad Autolycum: II:22, written about 180 AD), but as far as we know, Irenaeus was the first explicitly to identify the New Testament books—including all 13 Pauline Epistles—as Scripture. (1) It was only after the Pauline Epistles came to be acknowledged as scripture that the need arose to provide an authoritative exegesis of their meaning. As R. M. Grant comments:

> "The gradual formation of a canon ...made necessary an attempt to provide an authoritative exegesis of its contents. Such exegesis did not arise earlier, it would appear, because there was no real canon in existence". (2)

However, from an early date the Epistles of St. Paul exerted an important influence upon the development of Christian thought.

In the Primitive Church the Old Testament scriptures formed the "doctrinal norm", (3) and their importance was accentuated by the controversies with the Jews in which the Early Christians sought to demonstrate their beliefs from the Old Testament itself. However, in the sub-Apostolic age the Old Testament scriptures were increasingly understood in the light of the teachings of the Lord and of his Apostles. This "tradition" consisted of both oral and written sources. Almost as late as the middle of the second century AD Papias could express a preference for the "living and abiding voice" over "information from books". (4) However, in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists we find allusions to the actual written documents of the New Testament itself. (5) What we find, therefore, particularly in Jewish-Christian writings from the end of the first century onwards is, as Grant notes,

> "a supremely authoritative Old Testament along with Christian writings which serve to interpret it for the Christian communities, but which are not, apparently, regarded on the same plane." (6)

The Epistles of St. Paul played a significant part in this process, and exerted an important influence upon the development of Christian thought. Several of St. Paul's Epistles were 'circular' letters, designed to be read in more than one community (Galatians and Colossians together with Ephesians, if Pauline), and by the end of the first century AD the Epistles of St. Paul were widely known. (7) There are no clear allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers that have been preserved, but it is possible, though by no means certain, that Justin Martyr's theology was influenced by these verses.

3.1.1 Justin Martyr (died 165): Dialogue with Trypho the Jew

Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew was written from Rome about 155–160 AD, (8) and recalls a debate that took place at Ephesus (9) with a leading Jew (10) shortly after the end of the second Jewish War (132–135 AD). The significance of the Dialogue for the history of Christian thought lies in that in it Justin both sets forth a rationale for the continuing relevance of the Old Testament law for Christians, and develops a typological method of interpreting the Old Testament which had a considerable influence upon later writers.

Whether Justin's argument concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision has been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12 is not clear. Much of his argument, both in the Dialogue and in his First Apology, is based upon "testimonia", that is proof texts from the Old Testament collected together primarily for use in controversy with the Jews. Rendel Harris' theory (11) that there existed a single written book of Old Testament Testimonies which was the oldest literary product of the church, ante-dating the earliest of the New Testament writings, and which was drawn upon by every Patristic writer who used Old Testament proof texts, has not won general acceptance. (12) It appears, rather, that in the Patristic Period there was a testimony tradition, which was fluid rather than static, and which was transmitted in both written and oral form, and which grew in bulk with time. (13)

There are four passages in which Justin's argument concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision may have been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12, though this is by no means certain. Whether this is the case or not, it is important to consider these passages both because they illustrate the way in which the analogy between circumcision and baptism was expounded in the middle of the second century, and because Justin's argument in these passages had an important influence upon the way in which these verses were understood at a later stage.

3.1.1.1 Chapters 113 and 114, and Chapter 43:2

Colossians 2:11 and 12 have possibly influenced Justin's argument in c113 and c114 of the Dialogue. In order to understand the significance of Justin's comments here they need to be set in the wider context of Justin's argument concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision.

The debate with Trypho was occasioned by Trypho's advice to Justin to

> "be circumcised, then observe what ordinances have been enacted with respect to the Sabbath, and the feasts, and the new moons of God; and, in a word, do all the things which have been written in the law: and then perhaps you shall obtain mercy from God." (8:4).

Not to do so, Trypho argues, would be an indication that Justin despises God's covenant (10:3).

The substance of Justin's reply is that the Old Testament itself points forward to a new law (Isaiah 41:4 and 5; Jeremiah 31:31 and 32) which has been inaugurated by Christ, the new Lawgiver, and has superseded the Old Testament law.

> "I have read," Justin replies, "that there shall be a final law, and a covenant, the chiefest of all, which it is now incumbent on all men to observe, as many as are seeking after the inheritance of God. For the law promulgated on Horeb is now old, and belongs to yourselves alone; but *this* is for all universally. Now, law placed against law has abrogated that which is before it, and a covenant which comes after in like manner has put an end to the previous one; and an eternal and final law—namely, Christ—has been given to us, and the covenant is trustworthy, after which there shall be no law, no commandment, no ordinance." (11:2).

Justin proceeds to turn Trypho's argument against him:

> "This same law," he argues, "you have despised, and this new holy covenant you have slighted; and now you neither receive it, nor repent of your evil deeds ... You have now need of a second circumcision". (12:2 and 3). (14)

This "second circumcision" is, according to Justin, the circumcision of the heart, spoken of by the prophets, which is effected in the life of the believer by Christ. Justin's argument is based upon his typological interpretation of Joshua 5:2ff, a passage which is alluded to several times in the course of the Dialogue, and which is developed in greater detail in c113 and c114.

Justin notes that the Rabbis delight in discussing the significance of the alteration of names in the Old Testament, and uses this Rabbinical method of interpretation to argue that Moses' alteration of the name Oshea the son of Nun to Joshua (Numbers 13:6) indicates that Joshua was a type of Jesus (Jesus being the Greek form of the Hebrew name Joshua). Joshua, Justin notes, was appointed successor to Moses, the law giver, and it was Joshua, not Moses, who led the people into their inheritance, the promised land. This, Justin argues, is a type of the fact that Jesus, not Moses, will lead us into our spiritual inheritance (113:1–4).

Joshua was also commanded by God to circumcise the people a "second time" (Joshua 5:2) which, Justin argues, is a type of the second circumcision which Jesus effects. The knives of stone, by which Joshua circumcised the people a second time are a type of the teachings of Jesus, preached by the apostles, by which this circumcision is effected.

> "The former [Joshua] is said to have circumcised the people a second time with knives of stone (which was a sign of the circumcision with which Jesus Christ Himself has circumcised us from the idols made of stone and other material), and to have collected together those who were circumcised from uncircumcision, i.e. from the error of the world, in every place by the knives of stone, to wit, the words of our Lord Jesus. For I have shown that Christ was proclaimed by the prophets in parables a Stone and a Rock. Accordingly, the knives of stone we take to mean His words, by means of which so many who were in error have been circumcised from uncircumsision with the circmcision of the heart, with which God by Jesus commanded those from that time to be circumcised who derived their circumcision from Abraham, saying that Jesus (Joshua) would circumcise a second time with knives of stone those who entered into that holy land." (113:6 & 7; cf.24:2).

Ἐκεῖνος

λέγεται δευτέραν περιτομὴν μαχαίραις πετρίναις τὸν λαὸν περιτε-τμηκέναι (ὅπερ κήρυγμα ἦν τῆς περιτομῆς ταύτης ἧς περιέτεμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰδώ-λων), καὶ θημωνιὰς [13] ποιήσας τῶν ἀπὸ ἀκροβυστίας, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ κόσμου, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ περιτμηθέντων πε-τρίναις μαχαίραις, τοῖς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν λόγοις. Ὅτι γὰρ λίθος καὶ πέτρα ἐν παραβολαῖς ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐκη-ρύσσετο, [14] ἀποδέδεικταί μοι. Καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας οὖν τὰς πετρίνας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἀκουσόμεθα, δι' ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροβυστίας οἱ πλανώμενοι τοσοῦτοι καρδίας περιτομὴν περιετμήθησαν, ἣν πε-ριτμηθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἀρχὴν λαβοῦ-σαν περιτομὴν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [15] προὔτρεπεν ἔκτοτε, καὶ τοὺς εἰσελθόντας εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην τὴν ἁγίαν δευτέραν περιτο-μὴν πετρίναις μαχαίραις εἰπὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιτετμηκέναι αὐτούς.

"Blessed therefore are we who have been circumcised the second time with knives of stone. For your first circumcision was and is performed by iron instruments, for you remain hard-hearted; but our circumcision, which is the second, having been instituted after yours, circumcises us from idolatry and absolutely every kind of wickedness by sharp stones, i.e. the words [preached] by the apostles of the corner stone cut without hands. Our hearts are thus circumcised from evil ..." (114:4).

Μακάριοι

οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ περιτμηθέντες πετρίναις μαχαίραις τὴν δευτέραν πε-ριτομήν. Τμῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πρώτη διὰ σιδήρου γέγονε καὶ γίνεται· σκληροκάρδιοι γὰρ μένετε· ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ περιτομή, ἥτις δευτέρα ἀρι-θμῷ, μετὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν φανερωθεῖσα, διὰ λίθων ἀκροτόμων, του-τέστι διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου [10] καὶ τοῦ ἄνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντος, περιτέμνει ἡμᾶς ἀπό τε εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ πάσης ἁπλῶς κακίας· ὧν αἱ καρδίαι οὕ-τως περιτετμημέναι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρίας,

Justin's view that the knives of stone represent the words of Jesus is derived from the Old Testament concept that the ears as well as the heart need to be circumcised. Jeremiah 6:10, which speaks of the circumcision of the ears, was included in the Testimonies concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision. The author of *The Epistle of Barnabas*, who also

constructs his argument upon Old Testament testimonies, similarly argues that the circumcision is an inner response to the Christian message. He writes:

> "Furthermore, He saith concerning the ears, how that it is our heart which is circumcised. The Lord saith in the prophet; 'With the hearing of the ears they listened to me.' And again He saith; 'They that are afar off shall hear with their ears, and shall perceive what I have done.' And; 'Be ye circumcised in your hearts,' saith the Lord. ... Therefore He hath circumcised our ears, that hearing the word we might believe.' But moreover the circumcision in which they have confidence is abolished; for He hath said that a circumcision not of the flesh should be practised." (IX:1–4)

> IX. *Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὠτίων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν.* Λέγει Κύριος *ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ·* Εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου. *καὶ πάλιν λέγει·* Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἃ ἐποίησα γνώσονται· *καί·* Περιτμήθητε, λέγει Κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. 2. *καὶ πάλιν λέγει·* Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου. Τίς ἐστιν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἀκοῇ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός μου. 3. *καὶ πάλιν λέγει·* Ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι Κύριος ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. *καὶ πάλιν λέγει·* Ἀκούσατε λόγον Κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. *καὶ πάλιν λέγει·* Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. 4. *οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομὴ ἐφ' ᾗ πεποίθασιν κατήργηται· περιτομὴν γὰρ εἴρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γενηθῆναι. ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἄγγελος πονηρὸς ἐσόφιζεν αὐτούς.*

True circumcision, according to Barnabas, involves hearing and believing the word.

Underlying this understanding of the spiritual significance of circumcision is the view, common to both Barnabas and Justin, that man, prior to his conversion, was in the grip of evil demons who had led him into error, idolatry and wickedness, and that redemption thus consists in liberation from ignorance and error, and from bondage to the demonic powers that lead men astray. Justin teaches that during his earthly ministry Christ not

only imparted true knowledge and teaching (15) so that those who now believe in his words, preached by the apostles, are "circumcised from error", (16) and enlightened, (17) but also triumphed over the demonic powers that held men in bondage (18) so that those who are exorcised in his name participate in his victory. (19) Justin understands the figure of the circumcision of the heart to refer to the liberation from error and idolatry, and although he nowhere explicitly states that the circumcision of heart includes liberation from the control of demonic powers it is clear from the underlying structures of his thought that the two are closely related.

Although Justin sometimes speaks of the second spiritual circumcision without mention of baptism, (20) the way in which he develops his argument in c114 suggests that he closely associated spiritual circumcision with baptism. Justin draws a parallel between Christ as the Stone who effects spiritual circumcision and Christ the Rock, which according to Jewish tradition followed the Israelites in the wilderness and provided them with water, which, Justin maintains, was a type of the fact that Christ provides Christians with the living water. This leads him to draw a polemical contrast between the superior effectiveness of the living water over against the empty effects of Jewish washings:

> "And our hearts," Justin continues, "are circumcised from evil, so that we are happy to die for the name of the Good Rock, which causes living water to burst forth for the hearts of those who by Him have loved the Father of all, and which gives those who are willing to drink of the water of life. But you do not comprehend me when I speak these things; for you have not understood what it has been prophesied that Christ will do, and you do not believe us who draw your attention to what has been written. For Jeremiah thus cries: 'Woe unto you! because you have forsaken the living fountain, and have digged yourselves cisterns that can hold no water."' (114:4 and 5).

Christ the Stone, who circumcises the heart with sharp stones, is also the Rock who provides living water for the heart. Although the theme of drinking living water does not of itself necessarily indicate that Justin has baptism in mind, this is suggested by the reference to Jeremiah 2:13.

This text is quoted by the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (XI.2), and was probably part of the primitive testimony tradition. The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* maintains that Jeremiah 2:13 was

> "written in reference to Israel, how that they would not receive the baptism which bringeth remission of sins". (XII.1)

It is probable that Justin understood the text in a similar way (cf. c19:1 and 2 (cited below) and c14.1). Thus the parallel that Justin draws between Christ as the Stone who effects a spiritual circumcision and Christ the Rock who provides living water indicates that Justin closely associated spiritual circumcision with baptism. This connection was stated more explicitly earlier in the Dialogue. In c18 Justin urges Trypho to

> "Wash ...and now be clean, and put away iniquity from your souls, as God bids you be washed in this laver, and be circumcised with the true circumcision." (18:2).

Λούσασθε οὖν καὶ νῦν καθαροὶ γένεσθε καὶ ἀφέλεσθε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς [3]*δὲ λούσασθαι ὑμῖν· τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς καὶ περιτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἀληθινὴν περιτομήν.*

In the following section this true circumcision is identified with the "baptism of life" which, as in c114, is contrasted with the empty effects of Jewish washings:

> "we [do not] receive that useless baptism of cisterns, for it has nothing to do with the baptism of life. Wherefore God has announced that you have forsaken Him, the living fountain, and digged for yourselves broken cisterns which can hold no water. Even you, who are circumcised according to the flesh, have need of our circumcision; but we, having the latter, do not require the former." (19:2 and 3).

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀνωφελὲς τὸ τῶν λάκκων προσλαμβάνομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦτο τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἐστι. Διὸ καὶ κέκραγεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι [3]*Ἐγκατελίπετε αὐτόν, πηγὴν ζῶσαν, καὶ ὠρύξατε ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους, οἳ οὐ δυνή-*

σονται συνέχειν ὕδωρ. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μέν, οἱ τὴν σάρκα περιτετμημένοι, χρῄζετε τῆς ἡμετέρας περιτομῆς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ταύτην ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν ἐκείνης δεομεθα.

Further, in c43:2 Justin states that

> "we, who have approached God through Him, have received not carnal, but spiritual circumcision, which Enoch and those like him observed. And we have received it through baptism."

Καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ διὰ τούτου προσχωρήσαντες τῷ Θεῷ, οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομήν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικήν, ἣν Ἐνὼχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· [3]ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτήν,

At first sight, however, there appears to be tension in Justin's thought concerning the relationship between spiritual circumcision and baptism. On the one hand, the emphasis upon spiritual circumcision effected by Christ's words implies a hearing and responding to Christian teaching prior to baptism. In fact in his first Apology Justin records that in the Church of his day there was just such a period of catechetical instruction prior to baptism. He writes:

> "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated." (Apol. 2:61). (21)

On the other hand, however, in c43 of the Dialogue (cited above) Justin clearly states that this circumcision is received "through baptism".

In fact, in Justin's account of baptism in the *First Apology* we find a similar apparent tension concerning the notion of illumination. On the one hand Justin speaks of the candidate as one "who is illuminated", implying that the catechetical instruction is an "illumination", yet at the same time he speaks of baptism itself as "illumination":

> "there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone ... And this washing is called illumination because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed." (Apol: 1:61).

This apparent tension may be due to the fact that in the early church baptism itself was regarded as the climax of the catechetical instruction so that what may be said of the one may, by extension, be said of the other. As J. N. D. Kelly, speaking of baptism in the second century AD, remarks:

> "The catechumen was all the time looking forward to the great experience which would set the crown upon all his intensive preparatory effort. So closely did the catechetical instruction dovetail into the ceremony of initiation which was its climax that the single word baptism, in an extended sense, could be used to cover them both together." (22)

In support of this Kelly cites a passage from Irenaeus which is remarkably similar to c43:2 of the Dialogue:

> "the rule of truth ...which he received through baptism (*διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*)." (23)

The three-fold formula "in the name of" in *Apology* 1:61 is probably an allusion to the baptismal interrogations. As Kelly notes (24) it is unlikely that we have here an allusion to a baptismal creed since the formula "in the name of God the Father ... " (and by implication also the formulas "in the name of Jesus Christ ... ", and "in the name of the Holy Spirit ... ") was pronounced over the candidate by the officiant. Kelly further argues that:

> "It is very unlikely that what is referred to is a formula of baptism ("I baptise thee in the name of" etc.), partly because it cannot be proved and is not at all likely that such formulae were in use at this early date, and more decisively because when they did come into use they were much briefer than the one suggested here would have been." (25)

In Kelly's opinion,

> "The suspicion is unavoidable that what St. Justin had in mind was a series of interrogations about belief similar to those which ...[are] a regular feature in later baptismal rites." (26)

Thus Justin's account of baptism in his First Apology suppots the view that he understood baptism to be the climax of the catechetical instruction, and helps explain how he can speak of the second circumcision as both a response to Christ's words, and something that is received through baptism. The second circumcision refers to the convert's response to the teachings of Christ which reaches its climax in the baptismal ceremony in which the candidate gives his solemn and public assent to that teaching in his response to the baptismal interrogations. Thus the second circumcision is not simply a periphrasis for baptism.

Two important questions follow from this for the purposes of our study: first, to what extent—if at all—has Justin's argument been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12, and if so, what may we learn from this concerning the way in which Justin understood these verses? second, is Justin's teaching concerning spiritual circumcision, and the connection between spiritual circumcision and baptism consistent with Paul's teaching on this matter?

Justin's argument here is based upon the Old Testament testimonia concerning Christ as the Stone and the Rock, and the typological parallel beween Joshua and Jesus. It is possible that his argument here is based solely upon these themes, and that Colossians 2:11 and 12 has not played a part in the development of his argument. What is new in Justin's argument is that he connects these themes. Christ, as L. W. Barnard notes, "is regarded as the New Circumciser, the spiritual Joshua, the instrument of a spiritual circumcision, for the knife was a Stone, and the Stone was Christ." (27) Justin is the first Patristic author to connect these themes. He is also the first Patristic author who explicitly connects the theme of the spiritual circumcision with baptism.

Although there are no direct verbal parallels with Colossians 2:11 and 12, it is possible that these verses contributed to these developments. Justin

was acquainted with Colossians. He shows traces of all of St. Paul's Epistles except the Pastorals and Philemon (and possibly also Philippians. (28) He alludes to Colossians 1:15 to 17 three times (*Dialogue*: 100; *Apology* I:46; *Apology* II:6), and it is reasonable to suppose that he had, at some time, read Colossians 2:11 and 12, and that these verses may, therefore, have contributed to his understanding of the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relationship to baptism.

Two points might possibly suggest that Colossians 2:11 and 12 have influenced Justin's arguments here. First, there is a possible conceptual parallel between Justin's reference to Christ as the Cornerstone "cut without hands", and the reference in Colossians 2:11 to a circumcision "made without hands". However, this is by no means certain. "Cut without hands (*ἄνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντες*)" is an allusion to Daniel 2:34 (cf. 2:45), to which Justin also alludes in c76 in a context in which neither circumcision nor baptism is in mind. The description of Christ as the cornersone "cut by hands" was due to the connection of Daniel 2:34 with the Stone testimonium, and does not necessarily indicate a conceptual link with Colossians 2:11. Further, the parallel between Justin's imagery here and Colossians 2:11 is not exact. Daniel 2:34 speaks of a stone "cut" without hands whereas in Colossians 2:11 Paul speaks of a circumcision "made" without hands. Further, Justin describes Christ himself as the Stone "cut without hands", whereas in Colossians 2:11 it is the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ that is described as "made without hands". Further, Justin is also familiar with the relatively rare adjective *χειροποίητος* which he uses twice (*Apology* I:58.3; *Dialogue 35:6*) (29) to refer to various man-made heresies. If he did have Colossians 2:11 in mind, it is surprising that he nowhere uses this term to describe carnal circumcision, or *ἀχειροποίητος* to describe the second spiritual circumcision.

A second factor which might suggest that Justin's argument in c113 and c114 of the Dialogue may have been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12 is the connection made between the second spiritual circumcision and baptism. Although such a connection was axiomatic in later Christian teaching con-

cerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, and was frequently made without specific reference to, or even conscious allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12, it would be a mistake to assume that such a connection was necessarily obvious to a writer of the second century. Even if this connection had been made by some writers prior to Justin, it does not necessarily follow that this connection was made in the tradition upon which Justin himself drew. Justin shows no awareness, for example, of the tradition in which circumcision and baptism are connected because of their common designation as $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. Nowhere in his extant writings is either circumcision or baptism descibed as a seal. Indeed, there is evidence which suggests that the concept of spiritual circumcision was not explicitly connected with baptism in the testimony tradition upon which Justin drew. The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* drew upon the same testimony tradition. However, in his discussion of the spiritual significance of circumcision the author gives no indication that circumcision is to be connected with baptism (cIX). The subject of baptism is discussed after an intervening section dealing with the significance of various dietary regulations in the Old Testament and in the treatment of baptism there is no indication that it is viewed as the spiritual fulfilment of circumcision. To assume that in speaking of a spiritual circumcision effected by Christ (cIX) the author means baptism would be to be guilty of reading back later Patristic views concerning the relationship between circumcision and baptism which do not appear to be present in the author's thought.

As we have seen, however, Justin argues that spiritual circumcision is received "through baptism". It would appear, therefore, that Justin represents an important development in the evolution of the analogy between circumcision and baptism in that he explicitly connects spiritual circumcision with baptism. It is possible that this development was the result of an interplay between Joshua 5:2 and Colossians 2:11 and 12. According to Joshua 5:2 God commanded that the Israelites should be circumcised a second time. To Justin this does not make sense as it stands: how can people be circumcised for a second time? Hence he interprets the passage typologically—a move

that had partly been anticipated in the tradition upon which he drew, in which Joshua had already been identified as a type of Christ (cf. *Barnabas* cIX). Justin understands the second circumcision to be the type of the spiritual circumcision that Jesus effects, (cf. *Barnabas* cXII) which has replaced carnal circumcision, and which Jews must now undergo in addition to their physical circumcision. It is possible that Justin saw in the reference to "the circumcision of Christ" in Colossians 2:11 the typological fulfilment of the second circumcision of Joshua 5:2, and that the justaposition of circumcision and baptism in Colossians 2:11 and 12 led him to connect the second circumcision with baptism.

However, Colossians 2:11 and 12 need not necessarily lie behind the connection between circumcision and baptism. This connection may have been precipitated by the view that circumcision is a figure for a person's response to the Christian message which culminated in the affirmation of faith in response to the baptismal interrogations. Several other factors may also have contributed to the connection between the second circumcision and baptism. Justin's typological interpretation of the Old Testament may have led him to seek a ritual counterpart to carnal circumcision in the ritual of the Christian church. Another factor may have been anti-Jewish polemic, combined with a hankering after the external securities of religion. It would have been much easier to answer the Jewish criticism that Christians did not observe the commandment of circumcision by replying that they had undergone a spiritual circumcision through baptism than to refer to an intangible spiritual circumcision effected in the life of the believer. A further contributing factor may have been the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day, and that baptism took place on Sunday, the eighth day. (See further section 3.1.1.3 below).

It is by no means certain, therefore, whether Colossians 2:11 and 12 have influenced Justin's argument here. It is possible, however, that the lack of any direct verbal parallels with Colossians 2:11 and 12 may be due to the nature of Justin's argument: he is attempting to justify his beliefs from the Old Testament in order to convince a Jew, and thus he worked out his

ideas primarily in Old Testament language and in relation to Old Testament texts. If Colossians 2:11 and 12 have influenced Justin's argument here, and I am not convinced that they have, we have an example of the process noted above (p.80) in which, as the church moved into the second century, the Old Testament was, particularly in Jewish-Christian circles, interpreted in the light of the teachings of the Lord and his apostles.

Underlying Justin's interpretation of Joshua 5:2 lie two important principles, that the Old Testament points forward to the New Covenant which God has now established with man through Christ, and which has taken the place of the earlier covenants (cf. c11); and that the Old Testament is a is a Christian book which needs to be understood in the light of Christian teaching. Because the Jews fail to acknowledge this they fail to understand the true significance of the Old Testament scriptures. The most succinct statement of this conviction of Justin's is found in c29 of the Dialogue where he seeks to justify his argument there by maintaining that his words

> "have neither been prepared by me, nor embellished by the art of man; but David sung them, Isaiah preached them, Zechariah proclaimed them, Moses wrote them. Are you acquainted with them Trypho? They are contained in your Scriptures, or rather, not yours, but ours. For we believe them; but you though you read them, do not catch the spirit that is in them." (29.2)

Justin's typological exegesis of the Old Testament was not a new development. Several New Testament writers employ typology (30) the origin of which is, as K. J. Woollcombe notes, to be found in the way in which New Testament writers handled Old Testament prophecies. (31) The difference between typological exegesis and allegorism is that typological exegesis is the establishment of historical connections between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament and similar events persons or things in the New Testament within the historical framework of revelation, whereas allegorism is the search for a secondary and hidden meaning of a narrative which does not necessarily have any connection at all with the historical framework of revelation. (32)

If Justin's argument here has been influenced by Colossians 2:11 and 12, then the following conclusions may be drawn from it concerning the way in which he understood these verses.

First, Justin understood *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* to be an adjective qualifying *περιτομῇ* emphasising the spiritual nature of this circumcision in contrast to carnal circumcision which is performed by iron instruments.

Second, Justin does not allude to the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* which does not appear to have exercised any influence upon his thought. That he speaks instead of being circumcised from error and deceit suggests that he understood the phrase in the light of the tradition that he had received concerning man's condition prior to conversion. (33)

Third, Justin understood the genitive *Χριστοῦ* to be subjective, referring to the circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer. This is effected "through baptism"—taken in an extended sense to include the period of catechetical instruction which reaches it climax in the baptismal interrogations. It is not, however, simply a periphrasis for baptism as Christ's circumcision.

Whether or not Colossians 2:11 and 12 have influenced Justin's argument here, his argument had a profound influence upon later writers, and upon how Colossians 2:11 and 12 were understood at a later date. It is appropriate, therefore, to note the differences between Justin's argument here and that of St. Paul in Colossians 2:11 and 12. There are four main differences.

First, the typological parallel between Joshua and Jesus, and the typological interpretation of Joshua 5:2f led to the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* being understood to refer to a circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer, rather than to Christ's death viewed metaphorically as a circumcision.

Second, and closely related to this, whereas in Colossians 2:11 the circumcision that the Christian has undergone is a result of his incorporation into Christ, this aspect of Paul's thought is entirely absent from Justin's thought. For Justin, spiritual circumcision is not the result of personal

union with Christ, but is, rather, effected impersonally by Christ's teaching, transmitted by his apostles.

Third, for Justin the circumcision of the heart is a figure for conversion rather than an on-going process of moral transformation and change as is the case with Paul. In c113 and c114 of the Dialogue the circumcision of the heart is viewed primarily in terms of conversion from paganism ("Jesus Christ Himself has circumcised us from idols made from stone and from other material"; "our circumcision ... circumcises us from idolatry and every kind of wickedness"). Rather than referring to an on-going process of spiritual renewal that characterises the whole of the believer's life it is limited to the transfer of allegiance from paganism to Christianity. In fact Justin speaks of spiritual circumcision in terms of an intellectual rather than a moral change. It involves liberation from error, effected by Christ's teaching, and illumination. Justin does, however, believe that this response to Christ's teaching should result in a corresponding moral change: in the account of baptism in the First Apology Justin states that the candidate not only indicates his acceptance of Christian teaching but also undertakes to live accordingly. However, this moral change results from an awareness of Christ's moral teaching rather than from the personal influence of Christ himself.

Fourth, Justin maintains that the spiritual circumcision is effected "through baptism (*διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*)" (c43:2). Although Justin has in mind a person's response to the Christian message which culminates in the expression of faith made in baptism, this connection paved the way for the view that circumcision is a figure for that which is effected in baptism, and ultimately for the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism. It also contributed to the view that baptism effects a moral change—the heart is circumcised in baptism.

There are two further passages in the Dialogue which require consideration since they suggest that Justin may have been aware of a tradition, possibly derived from Colossians 2:11, in which Christ himself was understood to have undergone a spiritual circumcision.

3.1.1.2 Chapter 24

In c24:2 Justin contrasts the blood of circumcision with the blood of salvation:

> "the blood of that circumcision is obsolete, and we trust in the blood of salvation; there is now another covenant, and another law has gone forth from Zion. Jesus Christ circumcises all who will . . . with knives of stone."

> ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς ἐκείνης κατήργηται, καὶ αἵματι σωτηρίῳ πεπιστεύκαμεν· ἄλλη διαθήκη τανῦν, καὶ [3] ἄλλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Σιὼν [4] νόμος. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους περιτέμνει, ὥσπερ ἄνωθεν [5] ἐκηρύσσετο, πετρίναις μαχαίραις,

The reference to the "covenant" here suggests that Justin may have been aware of the Rabbinic understanding of the blood of circumcision as the blood of the covenant, and that the contrast here is not simply between the physical shedding of blood in both circumcision and Christ's death on the cross, but upon the significance of the blood in each case as "the blood of the covenant". Whether the contrast that Justin makes here is based upon Colossians 2:11, in which Christ's death is viewed metaphorically as a circumcision, or Ephesians 2:13 in which Paul has in mind a parallel between the blood of circumcision and the blood of Christ on the cross, or upon a tradition derived from either, is not clear. It is indeed possible that the contrast was noted by Justin himself. Evidently, however, the view that the blood of circumcision was "the blood of the covenant" was sufficiently firmly established in Jewish tradition for a Gentile, admittedly a Gentile well acquainted with Judaism, to have been aware of it.

3.1.1.3 Chapter 41:4

In c41:4 Justin connects circumcision on the eighth day with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. He argues that

"The commandment of circumcision, again, bidding [them] always circumcise the children on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision, by which we are circumcised from deceit and iniquity through him who rose from the dead on the first day after the Sabbath [namely through] our Lord Jesus Christ. For the first day after the Sabbath, remaining the first of all days, is called, however, the eighth according to the number of all the days of the cycle and [yet] remains the first."

Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα [4]τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν [5]περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος [6]τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· μία γὰρ τῶν σαββάτων, [7]πρώτη μένουσα τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάλιν τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κυκλοφορίας ὀγδόη καλεῖται, καὶ πρώτη οὖσα μένει.

Justin is the first writer to connect circumcision on the eighth day with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. He is in fact the first writer to see a spiritual significance in the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day. Although the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* attributes a spiritual signifiance to the number three hundred and eighteen, the number of men in Abraham's household (Genesis 14:14) which he assumes to be the number of those whom Abraham circumcised (Genesis 17:27), he does not attribute a spiritual significance to the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day. Nor does he connect the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day with the fact that Christ rose again on the eighth day. These were secondary, later connections made by Justin himself.

Later writers who connect circumcision on the eighth day with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day maintain that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. Some explicitly connect this theme with Colossians 2:11, understanding the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection. However, although some modern writers think that Justin has this theme in mind here, (34) I do not think that this is the case. Justin does not actually say that

Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection, but that Christians are circumcised through him who rose on the eighth day. Carnal circumcision, he maintains, "was a type of the true circumcision (*τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς*: cf. c18:2, cited p87 above) by which we are circumcised from deceit and error", that is, the circumcision that is effected in the life of the believer.

Daniélou maintains that the connection here between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day lies in that circumcision is a figure for baptism, and that baptism is the means by which we participate in the resurrection of Christ which took place on the eighth day. (35) I do not think that this is the case. Justin nowhere develops the possible typological correspondence between the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day and the fact that baptism was administered on Sunday, the eighth day. Indeed, as we have already seen, for Justin circumcision is a figure for a person's response to the Christian message, which culminates in baptism, not for the rite of baptism itself.

The connection here between circumcision and Christ's resurrection is, I suggest, a somewhat tenuous one, which was based upon the analogy with the eighth day, the full implications of which had not been fully realized. In the tradition that Justin had received carnal circumcision was understood to be a type of the true spiritual circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer. Justin notes that carnal circumcision took place on the eighth day and Christ rose again on the eighth day: hence he connects circumcision with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. However, the connection simply lies in the analogy with the eighth day. Justin does not understand Christ to have effected a circumcision in his resurrection. This was a later development, based upon the connection that Justin makes here between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, but Justin himself does not have this theme in mind.

W. Rordorf maintains that the connection between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day was reached in retrospect, after the analogy between circumcision and baptism had given rise to Sunday being called the eighth day:

> "baptism," he argues, "was regarded by Christians as the fulfilment of circumcision. One of the important regulations in the Old Testament commandment about circumcision was that the newly born child should be circumcised on the eighth day of his life . . . we find the Fathers expressing the opinion that the entire saving event of Easter was, in fact, the meaning of the 'circumcision on the eighth day': before the time of Christ the whole of mankind had been unclean, but by his victory on Easter Sunday Christ had in some way 'circumcised' or cleansed mankind. This bold stroke of typology can have come about only because the weekly Sunday in memory of Easter was already the Church's day for baptism. Because the newly converted were, in fact, baptised on Sunday, the eighth day, and because they thus received spiritual circumcision, so retrospectively the resurrection of Christ could also be referred to as a circumcision of mankind on the eighth day." (36)

It is perhaps relevant to point out that this explanation of the origin of the term "the eighth day" as a name for Sunday enables Rordorf to dismiss the Old Testament background of the term, and the eschatological significance of the term in Jewish Apocalyptic as a symbol of the rest from suffering and therefore the blessing of the New Age as a significant factor in the Early Church's attitude towards Sunday, and accords with his overall thesis that at first Sunday was simply the day upon which Christians worshipped, and that it only later came to be regarded as a day of rest. (37)

I am not persuaded either by Rordorf's general argument, nor by his view that the use of the term "the eighth" as an expression for Sunday was precipitated by the analogy between circumcision and baptism. We have already questioned the assumption that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was established in the mid-second century AD, and seen reason to believe that circumcision was not connected with baptism in the tradition upon which Justin drew. Further, the earliest known occurrence of the term "the eighth" as a designation for Sunday occurs in *Barnabas* cXV in a context in which neither circumcision nor baptism is in mind. It is used there as a symbol of the new creation which follows on from the Sabbath rest. Further, as we have already noted, Justin does not develop the possible

typological connection between the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day and the fact that baptism was administered on Sunday, the eighth day. I am inclined, therefore, to agree with W. Stott who maintains that:

> "it seems more likely that this [circumcision on the eighth day] came to be regarded as the type of spiritual circumcision on the eighth day after the day had already got its name, than that it gave the day that name." (38)

The fact that baptism took place on Sunday, the eighth day, probably did, however, contribute to the view later that carnal circumcision was a type of the actual rite of baptism.

In conclusion, although some later writers who connect circumcision on the eighth day with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day understand the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, this view was not derived from Colossians 2:11. Rather, the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day affected the way in which this phrase was understood, resulting in the view that it refers to a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, rather than in his death.

3.1.2 Irenaeus: (c130–c200) Against Heresies: IV:16.1

It was, as R. M. Grant notes,

> "as the early church entered more fully into the Graeco-Roman world [that] it placed an increasingly high value upon the traditions about the Lord Jesus and upon the writings of the apostles, but [in the first half of the second century AD] the books of the apostles and their immediate successors were not yet viewed as scripture." (39).

Irenaeus appears to have been the first orthodox Christian writer explicitly to identify New Testament books as scripture. (40) It is appropriate, therefore, that the first extant reference to our text, a quotation of Colossians 2:11a, should occur in his writings.



Irenaeus wrote his treatise *Against Heresies* about 180–185AD. Only fragments of the Greek original are extant, but the complete work has survived in Latin translation, the date of which is variously given as between 200AD and 420AD. (41) The work consists primarily of a refutation of Valentinian Gnosticism (in its various forms) and of Marcionism. Common to both these systems was the belief that the world was created by an inferior Demiurge who is identified with the God of the Old Testament who is distinct from the Supreme God of the New Testament. In Valentinian Gnosticism the Demiurge is an evil being, though as Kelly notes (42) "Marcion himself refrains from identifying this Demiurge with the principle of evil." This belief inevitably influenced their attitude towards the Old Testament Law. Marcion insisted that the Old Testament Law ought to be interpreted literally, and his dualism led him to reject the value of it altogether. The Gnostics ignored the literal sense of the law and interpreted it allegorically.

Over against the dualism of Marcionism and the various Gnostic systems, Irenaeus re-affirms the belief that the God of the Jews and the God of the New Testament are one and the same, and that the world was created by this One good God. Irenaeus discusses the purpose and significance of the Old Testament Law in Book IV of *Against Heresies* . He is concerned, on the one hand, to show the validity of the Law prior to the coming of Christ: yet at the same time he seeks to demonstrate that the ceremonial precepts of the law have been superseded since the coming of Christ, so that they are no longer binding upon Christians.

Fundamental to Irenaeus' argument is that there is a distinction between the moral and ceremonial precepts of the law. From the first man has been justified by keeping the moral or "natural" precepts of the law, as Irenaeus calls them (IV:13.1) which later were embodied in the Decalogue, and which "if any one does not observe he has no salvation." (15:1). The moral precepts of the law have not been abrogated by Christ, who rather extended and fulfilled them (13:1). The remainder of the law was added later in response to the Israelites' apostasy concerning the worship of the golden calf (16:1). The apostasy, Irenaeus argues, represented a desire to

return to slavery, which desire God fulfilled in subjecting the Israelites to bondage to the rest of the law. The purpose of this was both "a cause of discipline, and a prophecy of future things" (15:1; cf. 16:5).

Irenaeus argues that

> "the law, since it was laid down for those in bondage, used to instruct the soul by means of those corporeal objects which were of an external nature, drawing it, as by a bond, to obey its commandments, that man might learn to serve God." (13:2).

This bondage was brought to an end by the intrumentality of the Saviour who taught that men should willingly serve God:

> "But the word," Irenaeus continues, "set free the soul, and taught that through it the body should be willingly purified. Which having been accomplished, it followed as of course, that the bonds of slavery should be removed, to which man had now become accustomed, and that he should follow God without fetters . . . " (13:2)

The ceremonial observances of the law were, however, also given

> "as a type of future things,—the law typifying, as it were, certain things in shadow, and delineating eternal things by temporal, celestial by terrestrial." (11:4).

With respect to the specific issue of circumcision and the sabbath Irenaeus argues that the observance of these ceremonies does not of itself establish a man in a right relationship with God, but rather that they are signs of a much wider obedience that God requires of men.

> "we learn from scripture itself," he argues, "that God gave circumcision, not as the completer of righteousness, but as a sign, that the race of Abraham might continue recognisable. For it declares: 'God said unto Abraham, Every male among you shall be circumcised; and ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskins, as a token of the covenant between Me and you.' This same does Ezekiel the prophet say with regard to the Sabbath: 'Also I gave them My Sabbaths, to be a sign between Me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them.' ...These

> things, then, were given for a sign; but signs were not unsymbolical, that is neither unmeaning nor to no purpose, inasmuch as they were given by a wise Artist; but the circumcision after the flesh typified that after the Spirit. For 'we,' says the Apostle, 'have been circumcised with a circumcision made without hands.' [Etenim, 'nos,' ait Apostolus, 'circumcisi sumus circumcisione nonmanufacta']. And the prophet declares, 'circumcise the hardness of your heart.' But the Sabbaths taught that we should continue day by day in God's service. 'For we have been accounted,' says the Apostle Paul, 'all the day long as sheep for the slaughter,' that is consecrated [to God], and ministering continually to our faith, and persevering in it, and abstaining from all avarice, and not acquiring or possessing treasures on earth ..." (16:1).

Irenaeus reinforces this argument by citing James 2:23, pointing out that Abraham was justified on the basis of his faith prior to his circumcision, and also that Lot, Noah, Enoch, and "all the rest of the righteous men who lived before Abraham" were justified independently of circumcision and the sabbath and without the law of Moses (16:2).

Irenaeus then considers the question why the Patriarchs did not need the Mosaic Law:

> "Why then," he asks, "did the Lord not form the covenant for the fathers? Because 'the law was not established for righteous men' (1 Tim. 1:9). But the righteous fathers had the meaning of the Decalogue written in their hearts and souls, that is, they loved the God who had made them and did no injury to their neighbour. There was no occasion that they should be cautioned by the prohibitory mandates, because they had the righteousness of the law in themselves." (14:3).

It is clear from the way in which Irenaeus introduces Colossians 2:11 to support his argument that he understood *περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ* to be the typological fulfilment of carnal circumcision. *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* is understood as an adjective qualifying *περιτομῇ*, emphasising the spiritual nature of this circumcision. However, there is no indication from the context concerning the way in which Irenaeus may have understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* which is not quoted.

Irenaeus does not refer to the fact that this circumcision has taken place "in Christ", nor does he quote v11c—*ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Rather he interprets *περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ* in the light of the tradition concerning the circumcision of the heart, and, in the light of Romans 2:29, identifies this with an action effected in the life of the believer by the Holy Spirit.

Significantly Irenaeus makes no mention of baptism. There is no suggestion either from the context, nor, so far as I am aware, from elsewhere in Irenaeus' writings that he viewed baptism as the typological fulfilment of circumcision. The "circumcision made without hands" of Colossians 2:11 is understood as an obedience of the heart which is characteristic of the Christian life as a whole, and is certainly not limited to one particular moment, such as baptism. It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that by the time that Irenaeus wrote the analogy beween circumcision and baptism was so firmly established that all references to spiritual circumcision should be taken to refer to baptism. We have seen that Justin did make such a connection between circumcision and baptism, but there is no reason to suppose that this connection was made universally throughout the church in the latter part of the second century AD. The connection made by Justin would only be significant if it could be shown that Ireaeus was dependent upon Justin, or upon a tradition stemming from him. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that this is the case. In fact there is some evidence that Irenaeus may have been acquainted with the *Epistle of Barnabas*, in which, as was noted above p.92 the circumcision of the heart was not connected with baptism. As R. P. C. Hanson notes:

> "He [Irenaeus] allegorizes the two categories of hoof-cleaving and cud chewing animals in a manner reminiscent of the 'Epistle of Barnabas' and Pseudo-Aristeas before him." (43).

This does not of course mean that Irenaeus necessarily adopted the same attitude towards the spiritual significance of circumcision as that found in the *Epistle of Barnabas*: Irenaeus is obviously influenced by various diverse traditions, and the time gap between Barnabas and Irenaeus was sufficient for developments to have been made in this area. Nonetheless, that Irenaeus

may have been influenced by the *Epistle of Barnabas*, or by a similar tradition, means that we should not automatically assume that he connected the circumcision of the heart with baptism, given the lack of any evidence to suggest this.

The lack of reference to baptism may seem surprising in view of the juxtaposition of circumcision and baptism in Colossians 2:11 and 12. However, this, together with the rather truncated nature of the quotation, suggests that Colossians 2:11a is introduced as a proof text to support the argument. Indeed it may have already been used in this way in the tradition upon which Irenaeus drew: Irenaeus himself shows no awareness of the context of his quotation.

3.1.3 The Gnostics

In view of the fact that Colossians 2:11 speaks of the "stripping off of the body of the flesh" it is not surprising to find that some Gnostic sects made use of these verses in their systems. Although there are no actual quotations of Colossians 2:11 and 12 in their writings that have been preserved, there is evidence of the influence of these verses in at least two different Gnostic systems.

3.1.3.1 A Docetic Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 Preserved by Hippolytus: Refutation of All Heresies: VIII: 10, 6–8

There is an allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in Hippolytus' account of Docetism in Book VII of his *Refutation of All Heresies*. This work was written after the death of Pope Callistus in 222 AD (cf. 9:12), though the teaching outlined here is akin to the gnostic sects that flourished in the second century.

Hippolytus records that the Docetics believed that three Aeons emanated from the Supreme God, each of which subdivided into ten lesser Aeons. These three Aeons were bisexual and combined to beget the Saviour from the Virgin Mary as their joint offspring.

The three Aeons emitted light which illuminated the darkness below by way of the third Aeon, the furthest away from the Supreme God. By means of this light the forms or prototypes of all living creatures, contained within the Aeons, were transmitted into the darkness where they were held captive. In order to halt this process the third Aeon built a firmament beneath the Aeons, which separated the light from the darkness. However, the pattern of the third Aeon himself was also imprinted on the darkness below which formed an evil Demiurge, the Great Ruler, or "living fire" (fire being the antithesis to light), who is identified with the God of the Old Testament.

The forms emitted from the light were thus trapped in the darkness, that is the flesh, where they cooled down and formed souls (44) and passed from one body to another. This transmigration of souls was brought to an end by the instrumentality of the Son. Hippolytus' account of the Docetic teaching continues:

> "in order that he [the Son] should clothe himself with the outer darkness—meaning the flesh—an angel who accompanied him from above brought the gospel (i.e. good news) to Mary, he says, as it is written (Luke 1:26ff). And her offspring was born, as it is written; and when it was born, then he who came from on high clothed himself with it, and did everything as it is described in the Gospels. He washed himself in the Jordan: he washed himself receiving the type and imprint in the water of the body born from the Virgin, so that when the Archon condemned his creation to death, to the Cross, that soul which had been trained within the body should put off the body and nail it to theCross, and through it should triumph over the authorities and powers (Col. 2:14f); and (yet) should not be found naked, but should put on he body which was imprinted in the water, when he was baptised, instead of that flesh. This . . . is what the Saviour says, "Unless a man be born of water and spirit, he shall not enter the kingdom of heaven; for what is born of the flesh is flesh" (John 3:5f)."

ἵν'
οὖν, φασὶν οἱ Δοκηταί, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐπενδύσηται τὸ ἐξώτερον, τὴν σάρκα φησίν, ἄγγελος συνοδεύσας αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν τὴν Μαριὰμ εὐηγγε-

λίσατο, φησίν, ὡς γέγραπται. ἐγεννήθη τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς γέγραπται. γεννηθὲν δὲ ἐνεδύσατο αὐτὸ ἄνωθεν ἐλθών, καὶ πάντα ἐποίησεν οὕτως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται, ἐλούσατο εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐλούσατο δὲ τύπον καὶ σφράγισμα λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ γεγεννημένου σώματος ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου, ἵν' ὅταν ὁ ἄρχων κατακρίνῃ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα θανάτῳ, τῷ σταυρῷ, ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐν τῷ σώματι τραφεῖσα, ἀπεκδυσαμένη τὸ σῶμα καὶ προσηλώσασα πρὸς τὸ ξύλον καὶ θριαμβεύσασα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας μὴ εὑρεθῇ γυμνή, ἀλλ' ἐνδύσηται τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, ὅτε ἐβαπτίζετο, ἀντὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκείνης ἐκτετυπωμένον σῶμα. τοῦτό ἐστι, φησίν, ὃ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ· »ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὅτι τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν.«

This argument has clearly been developed in the light of Colossians 2:11–15. The phrase *ἀπεκδυσαμένη τὸ σῶμα* is a conflation of v15 with v11, upon the assumption that that which is stripped off is the same in each case, namely *τὸ σῶμα*. The phrase *μὴ εὑρεθῇ γυμνή* is an allusion to 2 Corinthians 5:3 *εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθησόμεθα* which may have been suggested because 2 Corinthians 5:1, like Colossians 2:11, also uses the relatively rare term *ἀχειροποιήτος*. Thus there is also some interplay between Colossians 2:11–15 and 2 Corinthians 5:1–4. However, the details of the Docetic argument, together with its implications for Colossians 2:11 and 12 are less clear. This may be because Hippolytus is not here quoting from the writings of the Docetics, as he had done, for example, when recounting the views of Basilides and Valentinus, but giving an account of their views in his own words. Indeed it is not altogether clear whether Hippolytus himself had fully understood the Docetic system that he outlines here. There are four main areas of difficulty which require some discussion.

The first concerns the relationship beween the Heavenly Son and the soul of the earthly Jesus. In particular, it is not clear whether the phrase *ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐν τῷ σώματι τραφεῖσα* refers to the Heavenly Son or the soul of the earthly Jesus. The sudden use of *ψυχή* here is rather surprising. The subject of the preceding verbs is the Heavenly Son. However, up to his point in Hippolytus' account the term *ψυχή* is used to refer to the souls which were trapped in the flesh. If *ψυχή* here refers to the soul of

the earthly Jesus then it involves an awkward change of subject. However, for ψυχή here to refer to the Heavenly Son would involve the term being used in a way different to that in which it is used elsewhere. Nonetheless, I think it probable that ψυχή does here refer to the Heavenly Son. In Hippolytus' account ψυχή is the subject of ἀπεκδυσαμένη. In Colossians 2:15 the subject of ἀπεκδυσάμενος is Christ. Since in the Gnostic systems the term Christ is generally used to refer to the Heavenly Saviour, as distinct from the name Jesus which is generally used to refer to the earthly man, I think it reasonable to conclude that ψυχή here does refer to the Heavenly Son. Its usage here may, perhaps, be due to the influence of John 10:11ff. The sense of the Docetic teaching is thus that the Son did not himself suffer death on the cross, but when the Archon condemned the body of Jesus to death the Son stripped off that body and nailed it to the cross.

This leads to a second area of difficulty. There is some ambiguity concerning the nature of the body that the Son put on instead of "that flesh". Was this second body simply a replica of the body of Jesus, which the Son wore during his remaining time on earth, (45) or a substantially different heavenly, spiritual body? The reason, according to the Docetics, why the Son put on a second body was that "he might not be found naked". This, as we have already noted, is an allusion to 2 Corinthians 5:3. That 2 Corinthians 5:3 speaks also of an "heavenly tabernacle" suggests that the body that the Son put on was a heavenly, spiritual body, not simply a replica of his previous body. The main difficulty with this view is that the body which the Son put on is said to be "a type of the body born from the Virgin" of which he received the type and imprint at his baptism. It is natural to connect this phrase with the preceding reference to the offspring of Mary, in which case the body that the Son put on would be a replica of the body of Jesus. Indeed, the phrase ἀντὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκείνης could be taken to support this view in that it might imply that Christ put on another fleshly body instead of that particular fleshly body which he stripped off. J. H. MacMahon, sensing this difficulty, suggests in his translation of this passage that in his baptism the Son received "another spiritual body besides" the

body born of a Virgin. (46) (The phrase is included in parenthesis). A different solution is suggested by G. Salmon who argues that

> "It is probable that we are not here to understand [the earthly] Mary, but that reference to the birth from the Virgin mentioned in the earlier part of this myth." (47)

However we resolve this difficulty, it seems to me that the allusion to 2 Corinthians 5:3 is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the Son put on a heavenly, spiritual body, not simply a replica of his previous body. There is, as we shall see, other evidence that some gnostics believed that the soul is not naked in the resurrection, but is clothed with a heavenly body.

The third area of difficulty is that it is not immediately apparent from Hippolytus' account how salvation is achieved in the Docetic system. In particular it is not clear whether this extract is intended as a description of salvation, or simply of the circumstances of the Son's earthly existence. The remainder of Hippolytus' accout is somewhat obscure, but the sense appears to be that salvation stems from the knowledge disclosed by the Son during his earthly existence: in each of his thirty years on earth the Son disclosed each of the thirty Aeons, apparently so that all the different forms that had emanated from those Aeons might recognise their heavenly origin, and by this gnosis achieve salvation. All souls are thus potentially capable of knowing Christ, though these Docetics maintained their superiority over other gnostic sects by arguing that only those "from above", that is, they themselves, were capable of understanding Christ in full: the rest understand him in part only. In some gnostic systems, however, a correct undestanding of the cross appears to have been an integral part of this gnosis, (48) and this may be the case here.

This leads to a fourth, related question, namely whether what happened to the Son is presented as a pattern of what will also happen to the gnostic. Some gnostics believed, as did some later Christian writers, that every significant event in the life of the Saviour had a corresponding effect in the life of the believer. (49) In my opinion this may be the case here. The quotation of John 3:5 serves to generalise the experience of the Son. We

may surmise that the Docetics taught that in the same way that at his baptism in the Jordan the Son received a seal of the heavenly body that he would put on when he stripped off the physical flesh that he had assumed, so too the gnostic in his baptism receives a seal of a heavenly body so that when his physical body dies, he strips it off, and instead of entering into another physical body puts on a heavenly body, thus bringing to an end the transmigration of his soul.

We are now in a position to draw some conclusions concerning the way in which the Docetics interpreted Colossians 2:11 and 12. Two main points may be made. Firstly, although there is no mention of circumcision in Hippolytus' account, that *σώματος* in Colossians 2:11 is taken to refer to the Son's body which he stripped off and nailed to the cross suggests that the cross is viewed metaphorically as a circumcision. The Son is at one and the same time both the agent and the object of this circumcision: he strips off from himself that flesh with which he had clothed himself. This suggests that the Docetics understood *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as both a subjective and an objective genitive. It is not a periphrasis for baptism, nor does it refer to an action that is effected in baptism. Rather, baptism is a prolepsis of the circumcision that the Son effected on the cross, and which the gnostic will undergo at death. Secondly, it would appear that the Docetics understood *σαρκός* as a genitive of apposition or identity, and the phrase *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to mean "that body which is the flesh". That the Son is said to have put off "the body" and put on another body "instead of that flesh" indicates that *σῶμα*, when it is used to refer to the earthly body, and *σάρξ* are interchangeable terms.

That Colossians 2:11 and 12 was interpreted in this way in some gnostic systems is confirmed, in part, by the *Gospel of Philip*.

3.1.3.2 A Valentinian Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12: The Gospel of Philip: f.66 line 18

The *Gospel of Philip* was found in the Gnostic Library which was discovered near Nag Hammadi in 1945. Epiphanius mentions a heretical *Gospel of*

Philip (Against Heresies 26:13), though the quotation preserved by him is not contained within the *Gospel of Philip* from Nag Hammadi. It is possible, therefore, that there were two separate works circulating under the same title. (50) The work appears to be a collection of excerpts from a catechetical sermon explaining different aspects of the baptismal and eucharistic rite, together with an appendage concerning Christian living. Running throughout is the image of the bridal chamber, symbolizing a man's union with his true self. The date of the work is disputed. Its theology shows affinities with Valentianism (51) (the image of the bridal chamber is a familiar theme in Valentinian Gnosticism), and several scholars thus argue that it originated in the late second or early third century. (52) The use of second century ideas does not, however, prove that it was written in the second century for as R. McL. Wilson, whilst advancing an early date, points out "there is nothing to prevent the use of second century ideas by men of the third century or even later." (53) J. É. Ménard, however, has shown that it contains themes found in later gnosticism and therefore takes the third century as the *terminus a quo* for the work, (54) though whether the tractate presupposes or anticipates the doctrines of later gnosticism is a matter of debate. (55) Whatever the precise date of the work, it has clear affinities with second century gnosticism and is, therefore, included at this point in our study.

The *Gospel of Philip* was originally written in Greek, but has only survived in Coptic translation. The following discussion is based upon the English translation of W. W. Isenberg in "The Nag Hammadi Library in English", edited by James M. Robinson. (56) The references are to the folio and line numbers in the Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. (57) Square brackets in the translation indicate a lacuna in the manuscript; parentheses (...) indicate material supplied by the editor or translator.

There is a possible allusion to Colossians 2:11 on f.66 line 18. The writer is explaining here how the soul becomes free from the flesh:

> "Fear not the flesh, nor love it. If you fear it, it will gain mastery over you. If you love it, it will swallow and paralyze you.
>
> "Either he will be in this world or in the resurrection or in the places in the middle. God forbid that I be found in them! In this

> world there is good and evil. Its good is not good, and its evil not evil. But there is evil after this world which is truly evil—what is called "the Middle". It is death. While we are in this world it is fitting for us to acquire the resurrection for ourselves, so that when we strip off the flesh we may be found in rest and walk in the Middle. For many go astray on the way." (66:4–21).

From this extract two points are immediately apparent. First, the author taught that the resurrection has, in one sense, taken place as a spiritual reality (cf. 56:15–20; 66:7–20; 68:31–37; 73:1–8). As Robinson notes, this view, which is also advanced in the Treatise on the Resurrection and in the Exegesis of the Soul, was repudiated in 2 Timothy 2:16–18. (58) Second, the soul is not actually released from the physical flesh until death.

In order to understand the full import of the meaning of the author's comments here we need to set them in the context of the work as a whole. The author believed that the present world was the result of a mistake (75:2–4), as a result of which the soul is contained within a contemptible body (56:25–25). Death came into the world because of the differentiation of the sexes (an argument apparently based upon Galatians 3:28), which began in the separation of Adam from Eve (68:22–26; 70:9–22) and has passed to their descendants because they were conceived outside the bridal chamber (60:34–61:12). Christ, by his coming to earth, reunited male and female in the bridal chamber (60:13–22; cf. 67:31–35; 68:17–22; 71:3–15) so that those who look upon Christ see themselves as they should be (61:20–35). Precisely how Christ achieved this reunion is not altogether clear; nor is the meaning of the single enigmatic reference to the cross (68:26–29). It is clear, however, that the author regarded Christ's baptism in the Jordan, rather than the cross, as decisive for redemption. At his baptism Christ consecrated the water and emptied it of death so that those who are baptised in it are redeemed (70:34–71:3; 72:29–73:1; 77:7–15). Baptism is an image of the reunion that is effected in the bridal chamber (67:12–18; 69:14–70:4). Spiritual resurrection is effected through baptism (69:25&6), though this is particularly associated with the chrism rather than the rising from the baptismal water itself (73:17–19; 74:12–13). The author appears,

however, to draw a distinction between spiritual resurrection, which refers to the present resurrection of the soul, and redemption, which, possibly on the basis of Romans 8:23, refers to liberation from the physical flesh at death (66:8–20; 69:14–70:4).

It is the author's comments upon the rite of stripping and robing before and after baptism that shed most light upon the allusion to Colossians 2:11. He remarks:

> "Some are afraid lest they rise naked. Because they wish to rise in the flesh, and [they] do not know that it is those who wear the [flesh] who are naked. [It is] those who [...] to unclothe themselves who are not naked..." Flesh [and blood shall] not [be able] to inherit the kingdom [of God] (1 Cor. 15:50). What is this thing which will inherit? It is that which belongs to Jesus and his blood. Because of this he said, "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink my blood has not life in him" (John 6:53). What is it? His flesh is the word, and his blood is the Holy Spirit. He who has received these has food and he has drink and he has clothing. I find fault with others who say that it will not rise. Then both of them are at fault. You say that the flesh will not rise. But tell me what will rise, that we may honour you. You say the spirit in the flesh, and it is also this light in the flesh. (But) this too is a matter which is in the flesh, for whatever you shall say, you say nothing outside the flesh. It is necessary to rise in this flesh, since everything exists in it. In this world those who put on garments are better than the garments. In the kingdom of heaven the garments are better than those who have put them on." (56:26–57:22).

Some of the details of the author's argument here are not altogether clear, but the main point appears to be that the rite of stripping prior to descent into the water, and robing in a fresh garment as one rises from it are a prolepsis of the stripping off of the flesh and the robing with heavenly garments at death. The author's comments appear to have been prompted by the embarrassment felt by some at the rite of stripping. They were afraid of being naked, which prompts the author to note that some were afraid of being naked in the spiritual realm. Presumably they were afraid that if they rose simply as a disembodied spirit they would lose all sense of

personal identity in the next life, and therefore wished to rise in the flesh.

The author steers a middle course between these two extremes. On the one hand on the basis of 1 Corinthians 15:20 he rejects the view that the physical flesh will inherit the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand he argues against those who deny altogether the resurrection of the flesh. On the basis of John 6:53f he maintains that there is a flesh with which we shall be clothed in the next life, which ensures personal identity in the next life. Without this heavenly garment it will not be possible to see the king, for "Nobody will be able to go in to see the king if he is naked." (58:16–17). Those who wear this garment are also no longer exposed to the principalities and powers during the remainder of their time in this world (70:5–9).

The *Treatise on the Resurrection*, also found in the Gnostic Library at Nag Hammadi, similarly envisages that a person will receive another flesh in the resurrection (47:2–10; cf. 47:33–48:6). M. L. Peel provides further evidence of this view in other gnostic texts. (59) The existence of this view in at least some gnostic systems confirms, in my opinion, the view taken above that in the Docetic system recorded by Hippolytus the body that Christ was said to have put on instead of the body which he stripped off and nailed to the cross was a heavenly, spiritual body, not simply a replica of his physical body which he wore for his remaining time on earth.

It seems to me that the argument in the *Gospel of Philip* has been developed in the light of Colossians 2:11 and 12. The references to stripping, even in a baptismal context, do not in themselves prove that Colossians 2:11 and 12 are in mind. Galatians 3:27 states that those who have been baptised into Christ have "put on" Christ. In the light of this it was an understandable development to connect those passages which speak of putting off the old man and putting on the new man (Ephesians 4:22–24; Colossians 3:9 and 10; cf. Romans 6:6) with baptism. However, that the author of the *Gospel of Philip* speaks of stripping off the flesh suggests that Colossians 2:11 is specifically in mind.

We are now in a position to draw conclusions concerning the way in which the author understood Colossians 2:11 and 12. Three main points

may be made. First, our discussion suggests that he understood σάρξ in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical flesh. That he speaks in 56:24–6 of the soul being contained within a "contemptible body", but goes on to speak of wearing the "flesh" (56:26–32) suggests that for this author σῶμα and σάρξ are interchangeable terms, and that he understood the genitive σαρκός in Colossians 2:11 as a genitive of apposition or identity: "that body which is the flesh".

Second, the author connected the reference to circumcision in Colossians 2:11 with the reference to baptism in v12. Baptism, as we have seen, is for him the prolepsis of the stripping off of the flesh at death. There is no suggestion, however, that he undersood the phrase ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ to be an objective genitive, referring to a circumcision that Christ himself underwent on the cross.

Third, the author's conviction that a spiritual resurrection takes place in baptism suggests that he understood ᾧ in Colossians 2:12b to refer to baptism. That it is viewed as a past event, having already taken place in baptism, may have been due to the influence by the aorist συνηγέρθητε other passages within the New Testament speak of the believer having already been been raised with Christ (Ephesians 2:6; Colossians 3:1), but Colossians 2:12 alone explicitly connects this with baptism, although this may be implied in Romans 6:5 if ἐσόμεθα is a logical, rather than a temporal future.

3.2 THE EARLY ALEXANDRIANS

Alexandria, with its famous Museum and magnificent library, was second only to Athens as a centre of learning in the ancient world. Here, as J. Quasten notes, (60) Oriental, Egyptian and Greek cultures commingled to give rise to a new civilization. According to Eusebius (61) Christianity was brought to Alexandria by St. Mark. It is certainly probable that there were Christians in Alexandria in apostolic times. More important than the evidence of Eusebius is the reading of Codex Bezae at Acts 18:25, that Apollos had been instructed in the word "in his native place ($\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$)", that is, in Alexandria. This implies that Christianity had reached Alexandria by about AD50, though we do not know what evidence was available to the Western editor for this interpolation. (62)

Alexandrian Christianity is notable for its favourable attitude towards Greek philosophy, and for the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament. In both these respects Alexandrian Christianity bears a resemblance to Alexandrian Judaism. However, although Clement and Origen show a familiarity with Philo who, although he exercised little influence upon his fellow Jews, had a considerable influence upon Alexandrian Christianity, the similarity to Alexandrian Judaism may simply be due to the general influence of, and common response to, the heterodox environment in Alexandria—in particular the need to get on with one's Greek neighbours—rather than the result of a direct dependence upon it.

3.2.1 Clement of Alexandria

Clement was not a native of Alexandria: he was probably born in Athens of pagan parents, and travelled widely to receive his education from various teachers before he settled in Alexandria. In Alexandria he studied under, and eventually succeeded, Pantaenus as head of the catechetical school, which position he held from about 189AD until the outbreak of the persecution of Severus in 202AD.

Clement wrote a commentary on the writings of the Old and New Tes-

tament entitled *Hypotyposes*. This was not a running commentary of the entire text, but an allegorical interpretation of selected verses. (63) It may have included comments on Colossians 2:11 and 12, but unfortunately the work has not been preserved. However, a quotation of, and an allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 have survived, from which we may go some way towards reconstructing the way in which Clement understood these verses.

3.2.1.1 Miscellanies III:5:43

Clement's *Miscellanies* forms the third part of a trilogy, comprising also the *Exhortation to the Greeks* and the *Tutor*, in which Clement seeks to win over to Christianity the educated classes of Alexandria. Clement, as H. Chadwick notes, (64) had a two-fold concern. On the one hand he was anxious to vindicate for Christian teachers the right to study the Greek philosophers, over against those Christians who, partly in reaction to gnostic speculation, had a negative attitude to the study of philosophy, fearing that it would lead them astray. This, as Chadwick notes (65) was a matter of pastoral necessity, since a negative appraisal of Greek philosophy would ostracize the educated classes whom he sought to reach. At the same time, however, he was concerned to make it clear that this did not open the way for unorthodox gnostic speculations. (66)

In Book III of the *Miscellanies* Clement discusses the ethical consequences of the gnostic view that the world was created by an inferior, evil god, and that it is, therefore, evil. Clement notes that this view resulted in two different practical outworkings: either extreme licentiousness, or extreme asceticism. He remarks:

> "we may divide all the heresies into two groups. Either they teach that one ought to live on the principle that it is a matter of indifference whether one does right or wrong, or they set too ascetic a tone and proclaim the necessity of continence on the ground of opinions which are godless and arise from a hatred of what God has created." (s40)

In s40–44 Clement discusses the former group of gnostics against whom he maintains that it is necessary to control one's passions and carnal desires

in order to be assimilated to God and to attain knowledge of him. To continually indulge one's pleasures, Clement argues, is to become a slave to our carnal desires:

> "He who indulges his pleasure gratifies the body: but he who is controlled liberates from its passions his soul which is master of the body [*ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἡδονὰς ἐξοκείλας σώματι χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ σώφρων τὴν κυρίαν τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴν ἐλευθεροὶ τῶν παθῶν*]. For desire is nourished and invigorated if it is encouraged in indulgence, just as on the other hand, it loses strength if it is kept in check." (s41).

It is not possible, Clement argues, to become like God and to obtain knowledge of him whilst still being under the control of passion:

> "but how is it possible to become like [*ἐξομοιοῦσθαι*] the Lord and to have knowledge of God if one is subject to physical pleasures? ...We must not live as though there were no difference between right and wrong, but, to the best of our power, must purify ourselves from indulgence and lust and take care for our soul which must continually be devoted to the Deity alone. For when it is pure and set free from all evil the mind is somehow capable of receiving the power of God and the divine image [*θείας εἰκόνος*] is set up in it. 'And everyone who has this hope in the Lord purifies himself,' says the scripture, 'even as he is pure"'. (s42).
>
> "To attain knowledge of God is impossible for those who are still under the control of their passions. Therefore, they cannot attain the salvation they hope for as they have not obtained any knowledge of God. He who fails to attain this end is clearly subject to the charge of being ignorant of God, and ignorance of God is shown by a man's manner of life. It is absolutely impossible at the same time to be a man of understanding, and not to be ashamed to gratify the body." (s43)

θεοῦ
δὲ γνῶσιν λαβεῖν τοῖς ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγομένοις ἀδύνατον· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος τυχεῖν μηδεμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσιν ⟨περι⟩πεποιημένοις· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀποτυγχάνοντος τοῦδε τοῦ τέλους ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγνοια κατηγορεῖν ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἥ τοῦ | βίου πολιτεία παρίστησιν. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἅμα τε [καὶ] ἐπιστήμονα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κολακείαν ⟨μὴ⟩ ἐπαισχύνεσθαι·

In support of this argument Clement introduces a catena of quotations from Colossians (2:11; 3:1–3,5–6,8–10) which in his view collectively emphasize the need to control passion as a necessary prelude to receiving knowledge of God:

> »ἐν Χριστῷ δὲ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.« »εἰ οὖν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἀπεθάνετε γάρ, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ,« οὐχὶ δὲ πορνεία ἣν ἀσκοῦσιν. »νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν, δι' ἃ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργή.« ἀποθέσθωσαν οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ »ὀργήν, θυμόν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν, ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν | κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.«

Clement concludes that knowledge of God is the fruit of right behaviour and that true freedom is not a matter of indulging one's passions but being liberated by Christ from the controlling power of 'lusts and desires and other passions' (s44).

In order to understand the full significance of Clement's argument here it is important to set it in the wider context of Clement's thought as a whole.

Clement's anthropology is, as J. Daniélou notes, (67) somewhat eclectic in that he employs different systems in different contexts. For a full discussion of these, and their background in Greek philosophy, the reader should consult the larger treatments of Clement. (68) What is given here is intended simply as a brief outline of those aspects of Clement's thought which have a bearing upon the above extracts.

Clement employs the Stoic distinction between the *ἡγεμονικόν* or controlling spirit and the *ὑποκείμενον* or subordinate spirit (69). The *ἡγεμονικόν* is located in the rational soul that was breathed into man at creation and it is this that makes him superior to the animals (*Misc.* V:24.94). Viewed from another angle the *ἡγεμονικόν* is the *νοῦς* or rational soul, and the *ὑποκείμενον* the *ψυχή*, or animal soul. (70) However, Adam's disobedience, which, according to Clement, consisted in engaging in sexual relations prior to the divine command (*Misc.* III:14.94;17.103), resulted in the

ἡγεμονικόν being subordinated to the passions, namely anger and desire, which derive from the animal nature. The result is that man has become like the animals (cf. Psalm 49:12 and 20) because it is the animal nature which has gained supremacy (*Misc.* V: 8, 53; *Paed.* I:13, 101; *Protr.* 121,111).

Another aspect of Clement's thought that has a bearing upon the extracts under discussion is that of assimilation to God. As Daniélou notes (71) the words εἰκών and ὁμοίωσις may denote different things at different times. Clement sometimes makes a distinction between the state of being in the image of God which is received at birth, and which is the equivalent of the ἡγεμονικόν and the state of being in the likeness of God that man has to obtain later on by perfection (*Misc.* II:22.121; *Protr.* XII:120) (72) Ultimately Christ himself is the true likeness of God (*Paed.* I:12.98). The Christian life is thus a progressive assimilation to the likeness of God. Since God is passionless, to be like God, therefore, is also to be passionless (*Paed.* I:2; *Misc.* IV:23.147; VII:3.13; 14;). It is this progression of thought that Clement has in mind when he asks in s42 the rhetorical question, "how is it possible to become like God ... if one is subject to physical desires?"

It is important to note that Clement has been influenced by the negative concept of passion predominant among the Greek philosophers. (73) For the New Testament the noun πάθημα when it is used as an emotion or affection, is, as Cranfield notes, in itself neutral. (74) In 1 Thessalonians 2:17 and Philippians 1:23 for example, Paul speaks of his desires in a positive way. When it is used in an evil sense it is either qualified by an additional adjective (e.g. the addition τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in Romans 7:5; cf. the addition τῆς σαρκὸς in 1 John 2:16) or otherwise clear from the context that it is sinful passions that are in mind (e.g. the connection with σάρξ in Galatians 5:4: ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ...σώματι in Romans 6:12 etc.) For Clement, however, passion refers to the controlling power of one's animal nature. Sometimes, however, as E. F. Osborn notes, (75) "Clement does ...speak of παθητικὰ ἀγαθά, a compromise which the Stoics had formulated" (Misc. VI:74).

According to Clement, therefore, reason and passion are fundamentally opposed to one another (*Misc.* II:13.63; VI:16.133) since passion is the prod-

uct of the irrational part of the soul (*Paed.* III:11.153) which nails the soul to the body (*Misc.* II:20). Hence Clement's emphatic statement in s42 that it is impossible for those who are still under the control of their passions to attain knowledge of God.

Clement, as S. Lilla notes, (76) frequently speaks of passion in close connection with the physical body. This can be seen in the extracts under discussion. In s41, as we have seen, Clement maintains that "He who indulges his pleasures gratifies his body; but he who is controlled liberates from its passions his soul which is master of the body." In s42 Clement speaks of being "subject to physical pleasures" and in s43 he states that "it is absolutely impossible at the same time to be a man of understanding and not to be ashamed to gratify the body." However, the physical body is not the origin of passion. Clement maintained against the 'false' gnostics that the body, as well as the soul, was created by God and that it is therefore an integral part of man (IV:26.163). The soul, he argued, is better than the body (IV:26.164), for whereas the body was formed by God from the dust of the ground, the soul was breathed into man's face by God (V:14.94), but neither is the soul naturally good, nor the body naturally bad. (IV: 26,164). They are ethically neutral, and become what human freedom makes of them (ibid). The close connection in Clement between passion and the body is because passion gains expression through the body (cf. III:4.34)

We must note also that Clement sometimes uses the term $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ to refer to the physical flesh ($\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ are, for example, used interchangeably at III:17, 104) but more frequently $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ is used in an evil sense, as in the Pauline antithesis between the flesh and the Spirit, to refer to man's lower nature, as here in s41. (77)

We are now in a position to consider the relevance of the catena of quotations from Colossians to Clement's argument. First of all we must note that the catena is introduced to confirm an argument that has already been developed. It is difficult, therefore, to know whether, and if so, to what extent, the preceding argument has been based specifically upon these verses. (Indeed, whether Clement himself compiled this catena, and even if he did

so, whether it was compiled for his present purpose, is not certain). This is a complex issue, raising the wider question of Clement's theological method and the part that scripture played in that. I am inclined, to agree with R. M. Grant who is of the opinion that Clement "is not attempting to construct a theological system in the light of his interpretation of scripture, but simply to use scripture to illustrate his already formed thought", (78) and to suggest that in this instance the catena from Colossians does not provide the basis upon which Clement's argument is constructed, but is introduced to provide scriptural confirmation of an argument that has been developed independently of it. It is, therefore, difficult to draw firm conclusions from these extracts concerning the way in which Clement understood these verses. Nonetheless the following general observations may be made.

Firstly, Clement understood Colossians 3:5 and 6,8 and 9 to confirm his argument in that they speak of the need to control one's passions.

Secondly, Clement understood Colossians 3:10 to confirm his belief that it is not possible to attain knowledge of God whilst still being under the control of passion in that it speaks first of "putting off the old man with its lusts" and then of "putting on the new man which is renewed to possess full knowledge according to the image of him who created it", implying, for Clement, that they are two distinct processes, the one being a necessary prelude to the other.

Thirdly, with regard to Colossians 2:11, Clement understood the reference to the circumcision made without hands to refer to the liberation from the controlling power of passion. In Book V of the *Miscellanies* Clement uses circumcision figuratively in precisely this way:

> "Only, the consecrated—that is, those devoted to God, circumcised in the desire of the passions for the sake of love to that which is alone divine—were allowed access to them [i.e. spiritual truths]" (V:4). (79)

We have already noted that in s41 *σάρξ* is used metaphorically as the equivalent to passion, and it is probable that Clement understood *τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 in the same way. In view of the fact that s41

speaks of the liberation of the soul from the passions of the body I would suggest that Clement probably understood σαρκός to be a genitive of apposition or identity, and the whole phrase ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. to mean "the liberation [of the soul] from the passions which gain expression through the body."

In s44 Clement states that it is "the Lord [who] liberates us from lusts, desires and other passions". It is probable, therefore, that Clement understood Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive, emphasizing that this circumcision is effected in the life of the believer by Christ. There is no suggestion, as far as I am aware, in Clement's writings that Christ himself underwent a circumcision either in his death or his resurrection.

Clement does not quote Colossians 2:12, and there is nothing in the context to suggest that baptism is in mind. However, I think it probable that Clement understood this circumcision to have been effected through baptism. Elsewhere Clement speaks, for example, of baptism as a spiritual bath which "rubs off the pollution of the soul" (*Paed.* III:9) and of the soul being set free "from the body and its sins" and of the Christian having "cast off the passions of the soul in order to become assimilated to the goodness of God's providence" in baptismal contexts (*Misc.* V:8; VII:14). This suggests that although Colossians 2:12 is not quoted in III:.43 the thought of this verse is nonetheless in mind.

Finally, it is relevant to ask whether the other quotations included in the catena shed any further light on the way in which Clement understood Colossians 2:11 and 12. In Book VII of the Miscellanies Clement remarks:

> "For 'to bring themselves into captivity,' and to slay themselves, putting to death, 'the old man, who is through lusts corrupt,' and raising the new man from death, 'from the old conversation,' by abandoning the passions and becoming free of sin, both the Gospel and the apostle enjoin." (VII:3)

We have already noted that Clement believed that the Christian is set free from the controlling power of passion through baptism. In the light of this, the reference to "raising up the new man from death" may be an allusion to the rising up from the baptismal waters. This, in turn, would suggest

that Clement understood the "putting on of the new man" in Colossians 3:10 to have taken place in baptism and to be the equivalent of *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12. If this is the case, two further comments may be made.

Firstly, that Clement understood *ᾧ* in Colossians 2:12 to be neuter and to refer to baptism. Secondly, that Clement has taken seriously the aorist passive *συνηγέρθητε*, and has understood this to refer to a spiritual resurrection which has taken place in baptism rather than to a future physical resurrection that is symbolically represented in baptism.

3.2.1.2 Exhortation to the Greeks: 2:27

Whereas Clement has a high, but by no means uncritical, appreciation of the value of Greek philosophy he was much more critical of Greek religion. This is particularly apparent in his *Exhortation to the Greeks.* This, it will be recalled, was part of his trilogy written with the aim of winning over educated pagans of Alexandria to the Christian Faith. It consists of a criticism of the various forms of pagan worship and religion together with an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity to paganism.

In c2 s27 Clement argues that the various forms of pagan religion are delusions which lead men away from God and cause them to become subject to his wrath. Clement argues that becoming a Christian involves being rescued from error and being restored to truth, thereby being changed from children of wrath to sons of God:

> "These are the slippery and hurtful deviations from the truth which draw man down from heaven, and cast him into the abyss. I wish to show thoroughly what these gods of yours are, that now at length you may abandon your delusion, and speed your flight back to heaven. "For we also were once children of wrath, even as others; but God, being rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He loved us, when we were now dead in trespasses, quickened us together with Christ." For the Word is living, and having been buried with Christ, is exalted with God. But those who are still unbelieving are called children of wrath, reared for wrath. We who have been rescued from error, and restored to the truth, are no longer the nurslings of wrath. Thus, therefore,

we who were once the children of lawlessness, have through the philanthropy of the Word now become sons of God."

αὗται μὲν αἱ ὀλισθηραί τε καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς παρεκβάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας, καθέλκουσαι αὖθις τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ εἰς βάραθρον περιτρέπουσαι. ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν ἐν χρῷ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδεῖξαι ὁποῖοί τινες καὶ εἴ τινες, ἵν' ἤδη ποτὲ τῆς πλάνης λήξητε, αὖθις δὲ παλινδρομήσητε εἰς οὐρανόν. »ἦμεν γάρ που καὶ ἡμεῖς τέκνα ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί· ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, ὄντας ἤδη νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν συνεζωοποίησεν τῷ Χριστῷ.« »ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος« καὶ ⟨ὁ⟩ συνταφεὶς Χριστῷ συννυφοῦται θεῷ. οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἄπιστοι »τέκνα ὀργῆς« ὀνομάζονται, τρεφόμενα ὀργῇ· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ὀργῆς θρέμματα ἔτι; οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἀπεσπασμένοι, ἅσσοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ταύτῃ τοι ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἀνομίας υἱοί ποτε διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ λόγου νῦν υἱοὶ γεγόναμεν τοῦ θεοῦ·

There is here a possible, though by no means certain, allusion to Colossians 2:12.

Clement	*Colossians 2:12*
...συνταφεὶς Χριστῷ	*συνταφέντες αὐτῷ*
συννυφοῦται θεῷ	*ἐνῷ καὶ συνηγέρθητε*

The phrase *συνταφεὶς Χριστῷ* reflects the thought of both Romans 6:4 and Colossians 2:12, though whether Clement is consciously alluding to either of these texts rather than simply employing general baptismal language is not certain. Clement has, however, just cited Ephesians 2:3–5 and it is possible that the similarity between Ephesians 2:3–5 and Colossians 2:13 may have brought to mind Paul's comments in Colossians 2:12.

If Clement is here alluding to Colossians 2:12 then we may note firstly that he understood "burial with Christ" to involve a decisive break with one's pagan past. Secondly, the substitution of *συννυφάω* for *συνεγείρω* suggests that Clement understood *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12 to refer to a spiritual exaltation before God, that has already taken place, rather

than to a future physical resurrection. Thirdly, this extract suggests that Clement conceived of burial and resurrection primarily in terms of an intellectual transformation rather than in terms of personal union with Christ.

3.2.2 Origen (186–255 AD)

Origen studied under Clement and in 203, at the tender age of eighteen, succeeded him as head of the school in Alexandria. He remained there until 231 when, after his excommunication from the church at Alexandria, he was invited by the bishop of Caesarea to found a catechetical school at Caesarea over which he presided for almost twenty years. He suffered great tortures under the Decian persectuion, and died in Tyre in 255, his health having been broken by these sufferings.

Unfortunately, because of the condemnation of Origen at the Second Council of Constantinople in 533 much of his literary output, including a commentary on Colossians, has not been preserved. However, a few quotations of and allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 have survived from which we may go some way towards understanding how Origen interpreted these verses.

3.2.2.1 Commentary on Romans: Book 10:58

The earliest extant reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the writings of Origen is found in his comment on Romans 15:8: "Christ became a minister of the circumcision in order to confirm the promises of the fathers". Origen wrote his *Commentary on Romans* about the year 235 (80). Unfortunately only fragments of the Greek original have survived, but a substantial proportion of the commentary has been preserved in a Latin translation made by Rufinus, made about the year 405 (81), upon which we are dependent here. Origen argues that Paul's statement that Christ "became a minister of circumcision" can be taken in one of two ways: either as confirming the Jewish descent of Jesus, and thereby that through him God's promises to the fathers would be fulfilled; or as referring to the spiritual circumcision which Christ effects in the life of the believer. It is in support of this second

view that Origen cites Colossians 2:11 and 12a.

> Quomodo Christus minister fuerit circumcisionis ad stabiliendas promissiones Patrum, duplici modo intelligi potest. Sive pro eo quod circumcisionem in carne sua ipse suscepit, ut manifestissime nosceretur quod ex semine Abraham veniens, cui promiserat Deus quod in semine suo benedicerentur (19) omnes gentes [98], compleret in semetipso quæ Patribus fuerant repromissa : et ut per hoc, secundum propositum totius Epistolæ ordinem, quo nunc eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, nunc etiam eos qui ex gentibus adversum se invicem superbientes erant refrenat ac reprimit, doceret non esse penitus judicandos eos qui in legis observationibus demorantur ; quandoquidem etiam Christus in carne sua circumcisionis minister exstiterit : sive alio modo, ut illius circumcisionis Christus minister (20) fuisse dicatur, de qua idem Apostolus dicit [99] : *Non enim qui in manifesto Judæus est, neque quæ manifesta in carne est circumcisio, sed qui in occulto Judæus est*, (21) *et circumcisio cordis in spiritu, non littera, cujus laus non ex hominibus, sed ex Deo est;* et secundum quod idem Apostolus in aliis dicit [1] :(22) *In quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione non manufacta in exspoliatione corporis carnis, sed in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismo.* Per hujusmodi ergo circumcisionem certum est Patrum promissiones esse completas.

Origen here understands *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer which is here identified with the inward spiritual circumcision of the heart of Romans 2:28 and 29. There is no mention of baptism other than in the quotation of Colossians 2:12a. It is not possible on the basis of this passage to ascertain the relationship betwen circumcision and baptism in Origen's thought.

The text of Colossians 2:11, in Rufinus' Latin translation of this passage, reads the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi", which has the effect of taking "in exspoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. This addition was, as we shall see, current in the Latin church from the end of the fourth century onwards. However,

Origen nowhere reads ἀλλά before ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ and this addition is not represented in any Greek text of Colossians 2:11. Thus Rufinus has probably substituted the Latin text with which he was familiar for Origen's Greek text of Colossians 2:11 and 12, rather than making his own translation of Origen's text of these verses. According to Jean Gribomont (82) it was Rufinus' standard practice to translate Biblical translations by using the existing Latin text. Nevertheless, the addition does accord with Origen's interpretation of Colossians 2:11 in a fragment from the *Catena on Joshua* to which we shall now turn.

3.2.2.2 Selections from the Catena on Joshua

An allusion to Colossians 2:11 has been preserved in the C*atena on Joshua.* In this fragment Origen discusses the problem of why, according to Joshua 5:2, God commanded Joshua to circumcise the Israelites a second time prior to crossing the Jordan and entering into the promised land. In answer to this problem Origen maintains that the value of circumcision was as a mark of distinction, to separate the Israelites from the surrounding nations. As such it was not necessary to practise circumcision in the desert where the Israelites "were alone and separated from the Egyptians and other nations which exist in Palestine." However, it was necessary to resume the practice of circumcision before entering into the promised land because there, once again, they would be in the modst of the nations.

Having given a literal explanation of the passage, Origen proceeds to give a typological interpretation of it:

> "and the stony knife denotes to us the Lord who has given us the intelligible circumcision which refers to the mind and heart. Therefore the apostle spoke to us of the circumcision of Christ, not in the putting off of our flesh."

Ποίησόν σοι μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου. Ζητητέον διὰ τί οὐ περιετμήθησαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεχθέντες· ἢ διὰ τί τῷ Σαββάτῳ τις ξύλα συλλέξας ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως ἐκ προστάγματος Θεοῦ λιθόλευστος γέγονε. Τοσοῦτον δὲ πλῆθος ἀπερίτμητον μεμενηκὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ οὐδὲ ἐμέμφθη, καίτοι τοῦ

Θεοῦ μὲν ἀποφηναμένου ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν μὴ περιτμημένην τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, οὐκέτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν παραβαινόντων τὸ Σάββατον τοῦτο ὡρίσαντος. Ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτόθεν εὔδηλον, ὅτι περιτομὴ καὶ Σάββατον οὐκ αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ καλὰ, ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐχρησίμευσεν. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι σημείου χάριν διὰ τῆς περιτομῆς ἐβουλήθη γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχομένους ἀπὸ πίστεως φαίνεσθαι, ὡς πρόβατα ἄλογα τῷ καυτῆρι κἂν πλανηθῇ, ῥᾳδίαν ἔχει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὕρεσιν· οὕτω τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπιμιγνυμένους τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς φανεροὺς εἶναι βουληθείς. Καὶ τούτου ἀπόδειξις τὸ ἐν μὲν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ περιτέμνεσθαι αὐτοὺς, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπειδὴ μόνοι ἦσαν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων κεχωρισμένοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην, ἀπεριτμήτους μεμενηκέναι. Ὅτε δὲ παρελθόντες τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἔμελλον ἐν μέσῳ εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν, αὖθις προσετάχθησαν περιτμηθῆναι. Διόπερ ἐκ δευτέρου εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐκ ὀκταημέρους περιετέμνοντο, ἀλλ' ἀνδροθέντας ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς γῆράς τινας νενευκότας. Ἡ δὲ πετρίνη μάχαιρα τὸν Κύριον ἡμῖν δηλοῖ τὸν τὴν νοητὴν δόντα ἡμῖν περιτομὴν, τὴν εἰς νοῦν καὶ καρδίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἡμῖν ἔλεγε περιτομὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν.

It is clear from this extract that Origen understood *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to that circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer. The extract also indicates that Origen understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. That Origen omits *τοῦ σώματος* is probably the result of quoting from memory rather than a deficiency in his text of Colossians 2:11. It suggests that he understood the genitive *σαρκός* as a genitive of apposition or identity. The whole phrase *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* meaning "the fleshly body" or "that body which is flesh".

This typological interpretation of the second circumcision was not new. It had already been advanced, as we have seen, by Justin Martyr in the *Dialogue with Trypho* c113, and had probably become an established part of the Joshua-Jesus typology by the time of Origen. (It is found also in Tertullian: *Testimonies Against the Jews* c9). Origen also discusses the significance of the second circumcision in the fifth of his *Homilies on Joshua*, written from Caesarea 239–242. There Origen explicitly identifies the second circumcision

with baptism ("Sed ex quo venit Christus et dedit nobis secundam circumcisionem per baptismum regenerationis (Titus 3:5) . . . " (s6). It is probable, therefore, that here also, even though Origen does not quote Colossians 2:12 or explicitly refer to baptism, he understands the second circumcision to signify baptism.

The reference here to the intelligible circumcision of the mind, as well as to the circumcision of the heart, is also reminiscent of Justin who, as we have seen, understood circumcision to be a figure for a person's response to the Christian message. This theme is also prominent in Origen's *Homily III on Genesis, On the Circumcision of Abraham*, where his argument is based upon Old Testament testimonia, as he himself acknowledges (s5). Here he quotes Hebrews 4:12, and identifies the knives of stone with the word of God. In this Homily there is no mention of baptism. Circumcision is a figure for an inner disposition that ought to be characteristic of a person's Christian life as a whole (s5–7). This is an important reminder that reference to spiritual circumcision does not necessarily indicate that baptism is in mind. I think it possible that the typological treatment of the second circumcision of Joshua 5:2 as part of the cycle of readings from Joshua, rather than in isolation from its context in the testimonies, may have led to the identification of the second circumcision with baptism, in view of the connection between the second circumcision and the crossing of the Jordan, which was understood to be a type of baptism.

In *Homily V on Joshua* Origen also argues that the second circumcision involves "the putting off of the reproach of Egypt" (Joshua 5:9), namely the sins and vices of the flesh (s6). This suggests tha whilst Origen understood the phrase ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός in Colossians 2:11 to refer to removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, he also believed that there was a spiritual counterpart to this in the circumcision of Christ.

What is significant, however, is that in *Homily V on Joshua* Origen does not, as Justin had not before him, explicitly refer to Colossians 2:11 and 12. Indeed it was suggested above (p.90) with regard to Justin that this typological interpretation of the second circumcision may have been developed

independently of Colossians 2:11 and 12 solely on the basis of texts from the Old Testament. In this fragment from the catena Colossians 2:11 has been added to this tradition. What appears to have happened is that as the New Testament became increasingly authoritative a New Testament basis and confirmation was sought for traditions which had previously been developed solely on the basis of a typological understanding of Old Testament texts. Thus increasingly we find Colossians 2:11 and 12 added to traditions that were originally developed independently of these verses, and interpreted in the light of these traditions, which significantly effected, as we shall see, the way in which these verses were understood.

3.2.2.3 On Psalm 118 (119)

An allusion to Colossians 2:11 and 12 has been preserved in the *Palestinian Catena on Psalm 118.* This may belong to either Origen's *Homilies on the Psalms* that he preached at Caesarea betweem 239 and 242, or to his more extensive *Commentary on the Psalms*, written at Caesarea in 246–7AD.

> « Τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ[a] » ὁ ἠθικός ἐστι τόπος, περὶ ὧν καὶ διαλαμβάνει ὁ ἑκατοστὸς ὀκτωκαιδέκατος ψαλμὸς κατὰ τὰ Ἑβραίων στοιχεῖα γεγραμμένος, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτοῦ στίχους εἶναι ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αλφ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένων στοιχείων, τοὺς δὲ δευτέρους ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ βηθ καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς. Καὶ περιέχει γε ὁ ψαλμὸς οὗτος ὅλον τὸν τόπον τὸν ἠθικὸν μετὰ πάσης θεωρίας τῆς περὶ τῶν διαφόρων ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς τόποις ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ἄλλο μὲν νόμος, ἄλλο δὲ δικαίωμα, ἄλλο πρόσταγμα, ἄλλο | μαρτύριον, ἄλλο κρίμα, καὶ οὐκ οἶμαι, ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἄλλοθι διὰ πλειόνων τὰ ἠθικὰ εἰρῆσθαι περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς « νόμου » καὶ « προστάγματος » καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψαλμῷ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα προτέτακται ἵνα δηλωθῇ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὅτι τὰ στοιχεῖά ἐστιν ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ ἠθικοῦ τόπου. Μέμνημαι τηρήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑκατοστοῦ ἑνδεκάτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑκατοστοῦ δωδεκάτου ψαλμοῦ τίνα τρόπον κακεῖνοι οἱ ψαλμοὶ ἠθικοὶ ὄντες εἶχον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στίχων ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις στοιχείων. Ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν ἡ στοιχείωσις οὐκ ἐκτέτακται, ἀλλὰ διὰ βραχέων παραδίδοται ἐν δυσὶ ψαλμοῖς· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἡ στοιχείωσις διὰ πλειόνων

παραδίδοται. Ὀφείλει δέ, εἰ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ταῦτα γέγραπται, λόγον ἔχειν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν στοιχείων ὀκτάκις παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἰρῆσθαι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψαλμῷ. Ἐλθὲ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκτὼ ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἴ που ὠνομάσθη ἐν τῇ γραφῇ παραλάμβανε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι εἴρηται· καὶ ἔσται σοι χρήσιμος ὁ λόγος, πρὸς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἕκαστον στοιχεῖον τελείωσίς ἐστιν ἅμα τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς μὲν πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν οὐδέπω ἀλλὰ κατὰ μονάδα, ὅταν δὲ τελειούμεθα ἐν τοῖς στοιχείοις κατὰ τὸν ὀκτὼ ἀριθμόν, τελειούμεθα ἐν τῇ στοιχειώσει τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐλθὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ὀκτώ. Ἀκάθαρτός τίς ἐστι μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν· πρὶν ἔλθῃ ἡ ὀγδόη **τοῦ Κυρίου** Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμέρα, ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἀπερικάθαρτος ἦν καὶ ἀκρόβυστος· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀγδόη τῆς ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡμέρα, ἀθρόως πάντες ἐκαθαρίσθημεν ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες καὶ συναναστάντες[b] ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τῆς στοιχειώσεως καθαίρεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ μανθανόντων τὸν ἠθικὸν τόπον καὶ τελειουμένων | ἐν τῇ γνώσει αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ὀκτὼ ἀριθμὸς παρελήφθη καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν στοιχείων ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ.

The allusion was prompted by the poetic form of the Psalm. It consists of twenty-two verses, each beginning with successive letters of the alphabet. Each verse comprises of eight two-line units, each beginning with the same letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The eight-fold structure to each verse has, Origen maintains, a spiritual significance, the number eight signifying both the cleansing that Christ effected in his resurrection on the eighth day when the world "was purified in the circumcision of Christ", and the cleansing that he effects through baptism.

Origen does not explain here in what sense the world was purified in the circumcision of Christ, but he probably has in mind the theme of Christ's victory over the principalities and powers, which is a prominent theme in his doctrine of redemption. Origen believed that both nations and individuals were under the control of evil demons, whom Christ conquered in his death and resurrection—a view based on Colossians 2:15 which, as Daniélou notes, constantly recurs in Origen's writings as a kind of leitmotif. (83) Through baptism the effects of Christ's victory are mediated to the believer, who is

set free from the power of his demon, and entrusted to an angel. (84)

It is clear from the extract that Origen understood the genitive *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to be subjective, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer both to Christ's purification of the world in his resurrection and to the purification that he effects in the life of the believer through baptism.

It is important to note that Origen's argument here is not new: it clearly recalls that of Justin: *Dialogue with Trypho* c41 (see Section 3.1.1.3 above). Whilst Origen may not be directly dependent upon Justin, he has manifestly been influenced by a tradition stemming from him. As noted above p.90, Justin does not explicitly refer to Colossians 2:11 and 12, and it is possible that his argument was developed independently of these verses on the basis of the Joshua-Jesus typology and the analogy with the eighth day. Origen has, however, added Colossians 2:11 and 12 to provide a scriptural basis for and confirmation of this argument which had already been developed independently of these verses.

This tradition has clearly influenced the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 came to be understood. In particular, because of the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* came to be understood to refer to Christ's resurrection, rather than his death, as for St. Paul. Similarly, whereas under the influence of Colossians 2:15 Origen usually connects Christ's victory ovee the powers with his death on the cross, in his comments here on Psalm 118 the purification of the world is connected with his resurrection. This change in perspective is also largely due to the analogy with the eighth day.

However, the analogy with the eighth day also had a more positive effect in that it helped maintain a Christocentric view of baptism, since what happens in baptism is directly related to what Christ has done for us in his death and resurrection. Further, because of the analogy with the eighth day the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* although having a secondary reference to baptism, is much more than a periphrasis for baptism: the

emphasis is upon that which Christ himself effects in the life of the believer through baptism rather than simply upon the external rite of baptism itself.

In this allusion Origen uses the verb *συνανίσταμαι* rather than *συνεγείρω* as in Colossians 2:12. I do not, however, think that this verb was in Origen's text of Colossians 2:12. Origen is quoting from memory, as his omission of *αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι* and *ἐν ᾧ* indicate, as does also the form of the verb which has been assimilated to *συνταφέντες* in Colossians 2:12a. In fact *συνανίσταμαι* is found on at least six other occasions in conjunction with a clear allusion to Romans 6:4 and 5, (85) where its use may be due to the influence of *ἀναστάσεως* in Romans 6:5. If this is the case, its presence here is probably due to an assimilation in Origen's mind of both the thought and language of Colossians 2:12 and Romans 6:4 and 5.

3.2.2.4 Homily XIV on Luke: on Luke 2:21–24

Origen's *Homilies on Luke* were preached at Caesarea or Tyre in 249AD. Only fragments of the Greek transcripts of these Homilies have survived, but the Homilies have been preserved in a Latin translation made by Jerome about 389/390 AD. (86)

In *Homily XIV* Origen deals with three issues: the significance of Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy: the problem of why Luke speaks of "their purification (*τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν*)", that is, of both Mary and Jesus; and the question why, if she was a virgin at the time of giving birth to Jesus, Mary needed to be purified after Jesus' birth. The whole of this homily is extremely interesting, though it is Origen's comments on the first two issues that are of particular relevance for this study. Origen argues that Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy was, like his death and resurrection, a representative act, which has brought to an end the requirement for physical circumcision. In support of this Origen quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12.

Dę eo, quod scriptum est: ›Cum autem impleti essent dies circumcisionis eius‹, usque ad eum locum, ubi ait: ›par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum‹.

›Quod mortuus est‹ Christus, ›peccato mortuus est‹; non quia ipse peccaverit — ›neque enim peccatum fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore eius‹ — sed mortuus est, ut nos, qui mortui sumus, illo moriente ›peccatis‹, nequaquam ›peccato‹ et vitiis viveremus. Unde scribitur: ›Si commortui sumus, et convivemus‹; sicut igitur ›commortui sumus‹ tunc illo moriente et conresurreximus resurgenti, sic cum eo circumcisi sumus et post circumcisionem sollemni purgatione mundati. Unde nequaquam iam indigemus circumcisione carnali. Et ut scias propter nos illum fuisse circumcisum, audi Paulum manifestissime praedicantem: ›in quo habitat‹, inquit, ›omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter, et estis in illo repleti, qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis; in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione sine manibus, in exspoliatione corporis carnis, in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismate, in quo et conresurreximus per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis‹. Et mors igitur et resurrectio et circumcisio eius pro nobis factae sunt.

›⟨Ὁ⟩ ἀπέθανεν‹ Χριστός, ›τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν‹, οὐχ ὅτι ἥμαρτεν — ›οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ‹ — ἀλλ' [ὅτι] ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς οἱ συναποθανόντες αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος ›τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ‹, μηκέτι ζῶμεν ›τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ‹. Δι' ὃ λέγεται· ›εἰ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συνζήσομεν‹· ὥσπερ οὖν συναπεθάνομεν αὐτῷ ἀποθνήσκοντι τότε, οὕτω περιετμήθημεν αὐτῷ περιετμηθέντι τότε· καὶ μετὰ τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτὴν γέγονεν οἰκονομία ἡ διὰ τοῦ προτέρου καθαρισμοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὐκέτι περιτεμνόμεθα, ὅτι ἡ περιτομὴ αὐτοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς γεγένηται·

›ἐν ᾧ περιετμήθητε‹, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, ›περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως‹. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονεν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ περιτομή.

Origen does not discuss here in what sense Christ's circumcision was "on our behalf". However, in his comment on Romans 15:8 Origen, as we have seen, argues that Christ was circumcised in his infancy so that it would be clearly known that through him God's promises to the fathers would be fulfilled. This thought may be in mind here.

Another thought, however, may also be in mind. Origen believed that both nations and individuals were under the control of evil powers and saw

Christ's life in terms of a conflict with the powers of evil. The principalities and powers were progressively weakened from the moment of his incarnation, and Christ's victory over them culminated in his death on the cross (Colossians 2:15) (87). In his treatise *Against Celsus* Origen argues that the significance of the Jewish rite of circumcision lay in that

> "it was performed on account of the hostility of some angel towards the Jewish nation, who had the power to injure such of them as were not circumcised, but was powerless against those who had undergone the rite." (Book V:48)

He finds confirmation of, and a biblical basis for, this view in Zipporah's circumcision of Moses' son (Exodus 4:24 and 25).

However Origen argues that the power of this angel only lasted until Jesus assumed a human body:

> "But when He had done this, and had undergone the rite of circumcision in His own person, all the power of the angel over those who practise the same worship but are not circumcised, was abolished: for Jesus reduced it to naught by (the power of) His unspeakable divinity. And therefore His disciples are forbidden to circumcise themselves, and are reminded (by the apostle): 'If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.' "(Ibid.)

This theme of Christ's victory over the principalities and powers may provide the background to Origen's remarks here.

Like Clement before him, Origen first explains his argument, and, having done so, then provides the biblical basis for it. This may have been the established practice in Alexandria in the late second and early third century AD. Apart from the brief summary statement, "Therefore his death also took place for us and the resurrection and the circumcision" Origen does not give any further comment upon these verses. It is difficult, therefore, to draw firm conclusions from this passage alone concerning the way in which he interpreted Colossians 2:11 and 12.

In view of the connection that we have already seen between circumcision and baptism in Origen's thought, his meaning here is probably that

Christ's representative act in being circumcised in his infancy on our behalf is attributed to us through baptism.

The linking here of Christ's circumcision in his infancy, his death and his resurrection may be significant. Origen regards these three events in Christ's life as representative acts which are attributed to the Christian through baptism. We noted above with respect to Origen's comments on Psalm 118 that he viewed Christ's resurrection metaphorically as a circumcision. In view of the possible connection between Christ's circumcision in his infancy and his victory over the principalities and powers it is possible that Origen viewed Christ's circumcision in his infancy as a pre-figurement of the culmination of that victory in his resurrection. Elsewhere, however, Origen emphasizes the importance of Christ's death in his victory over the powers:

> "The Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ was a twofold crucifixion. Visibly the Son of God was crucified on the Cross, but invisibly, on the same Cross, it was the devil who was nailed there with his principalities and powers. Will it not be clear to you that this is true, if I adduce the testimony of Saint Paul: 'He has spoiled the principalities and powers, and made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the Cross'? The Cross of the Lord has thus a two-fold aspect: the first is that of which the Apostle Peter was speaking when he said that Christ left us an example, and the second is that of the Cross seen as the trophy of his victory over the devil, by virtue of which he was at one and the same time crucified and glorified'. (Homily VIII on Joshua s3) (88)

In his *Commentary on Romans* II.3, Origen argues that the blood of circumcision along with the various other references to blood in the Old Testament, was a type of Christ's redeeming blood:

> Fatemini sine dubio verum esse quod scriptum est in Epistola Petri : « Quia redempti » sumus « non corruptibili pretio argenti et auri, sed pretioso sanguine » Unigeniti [16]. Si ergo « pretio empti » sumus, ut etiam Paulus astipulatur [17], ab aliquo sine dubio empti sumus, cu-

jus eramus servi, qui et pretium poposcit quod voluit, ut de potestate dimitteret quos tenebat. Tenebat autem nos diabolus, cui distracti fueramus peccatis nostris. Poposcit ergo pretium nostrum sanguinem Christi. Verum donec Jesu sanguis daretur, qui tam pretiosus fuit, ut solus pro omnium redemptione sufficeret, necessarium fuit eos qui instituebantur in lege, unumquemque pro se, velut ad imitationem quamdam futuræ redemptionis, sanguinem suum dare; et propterea nos, pro quibus completum est pretium sanguinis Christi, non necesse habemus pro nobis ipsis pretium, id est, sanguinem circumcisionis offerre. Si vero culpabile vobis videtur quod Deus legis inferri jubet infantibus vulnera, et sanguinem fundi : hoc etiam in Christo factum culpatis, qui et octava die circumcisus est [18], et vulnera passionis excepit, et cum crucis pœna sanguinem suum fudit.

This suggests that Origen also viewed Christ's death metaphorically as a circumcision. This may be in mind in *Homily XIV on Luke*, though it may have been based upon Origen's typological interpretation of the various references to blood in the Old Testament rather than upon Colossians 2:11. The contrast between the blood of circumcision and the blood of Christ upon the cross was, as we have seen, previously developed by Justin: *Dialogue* c24 (see Section 3.1.1.2 above).

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Origen here understands the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to to the circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his infancy, possibly viewed as a prefigurement of a circumcision that he underwent in his death and resurrection. It is possible, however that Origen understood the phrase to refer both to what happened to Christ and to what happens to the Christian in baptism. That is not to say, however, that Origen understood the phrase as both an objective and a subjective genitive. The emphasis here is upon the Christian's union with Christ in the circumcision that he underwent and the notion of Christ effecting a circumcision in the life of the believer is absent in this passage. Neither is the phrase understood here to be a periphrasis for baptism. Although baptism is the means by which the circumcision is attributed to the believer, Origen's thought is primarily Christological rather

than sacramental: it is the circumcision that Christ himself underwent, not baptism, the means by which it is appropriated, that has brought to an end the requirement for circumcision.

The whole of Colossians 2:12 is quoted in Jerome's Latin translation of the Homily. However, in the Greek fragment of this section of the Homily the quotation is terminated at *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. That this quotation occurs in the middle rather than at the end of the fragment of this section of the Homily suggests that Origen terminated his quotation of Colossians 2:12 here, and that Jerome has added the rest of the verse himself. This suggests that Origen understood the genitive *ἐνεργείας* to be objective, and the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πιστεως κ.τ.λ.* to mean "through faith in the effectual power of God". Origen may here be thinking of a spiritual resurrection. However, in veiw of the fact that he has been referring to Christ's resurrection from death, and that, as far as I am aware from my limited reading of Origen, the connection between Christ's resurrection and the believer's spiritual resurrection is not a prominent theme in his thought, I think it more likely that Origen understood *συνηγέρθητε* to refer to the believer's final resurrection. One may assume that Origen believed that the benefits of Christ's resurrection are appropriated by the believer in virtue of his union with Christ through baptism, and that the rising from the baptismal waters is a pledge of the final resurrection, (90) which, for the present, is accepted by faith. This suggests that Origen has adult, not infant baptism primarily in mind. It need hardly be said that it would be a gross anachronism to read back into the early third century the much later belief that infants have an implicit faith that they are too young to express.

Additional Note: Origen and Infant Baptism

The real significance of this Homily, however, lies not so much in what is said, but in what is left unsaid. Origen, as the continuation of the Homily shows, believed that infants should be baptized. Indeed, he is the first Eastern writer explicitly to state this belief. Surely if Origen was aware of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism he

would have made mention of it when discussing the significance of Christ's circumcision in his infancy. Instead, however, Origen relates infant baptism not to Christ's circumcision in his infancy, but to his purification in the Temple, which he regards as two distinct rites: *καὶ μετὰ τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτὴν γέγονεν οἰκονομία ἡ διὰ τοῦ προτέρου καθαρισμοῦ.* Christ's circumcision in his infancy is not, here, viewed as having any purificatory significance.

Origen argues that it was necessary for Christ to be purified because, like every new-born child, according to Job 14:4f, Jesus was subject to the stain (*ῥῦπος*) of being clothed with a truly human body. Origen finds support for this in the reference in Zechariah 3.3 to Joshua (Jesus) being with stained garments (*ἱμάτια ῥυπαρά*). Origen is careful, however, to draw a distinction between stain (*ῥῦπος*) and sin (*ἁμαρτία*) and thereby avoid the implication that Christ was subject to sin. Similarly, Origen argues, infants are cleansed from the stain of birth through the mystery of baptism.

>Cum impleti<, inquit, >essent dies circumcidendi puerum, vocatum est nomen eius Iesus, quod vocatum fuerat ab angelo, antequam conciperetur<. Vocabulum Iesu gloriosum omni adoratu cultuque dignissimum, >nomen quod est super omne nomen<, non decuit primum ab hominibus appellari neque ab eis efferri in mundum, sed ab excellentiori quadam maiorique natura. Unde signanter evangelista addidit, dicens: >et vocatum est nomen eius Iesus, quod vocatum fuerat ab angelo, antequam conciperetur in utero<.

Ἀναγκαίως δὲ ἐπεσημήνατο ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς λέγων· >ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς τὸ κληθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου<. Οὐκ ἔδει γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων πρῶτον κληθῆναι οὐδὲ ἀπ' ⟨αὐτῶν⟩ δοξασθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κρειττόνων παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν καὶ κληθῆναι τὸ προσκυνητὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ >ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα<.

Deinde sequitur: >cum impleti essent dies purgationis eorum, secundum legem Moysi, duxerunt eum in Hierosolymam<. Propter purgationem, inquit, >eorum<. Quorum >eorum<? Si scriptum esset: propter purgationem eius, id est Mariae, quae pepererat, nihil quaestionis oriretur et audacter diceremus Mariam, quae homo erat, purgatione indiguisse post partum. Nunc vero in eo,

Εἰ δὲ ἔκειτο ὑπὲρ >τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ< Μαρίας μόνης, οὐδὲν ἐζητοῦμεν· νυνὶ δὲ >τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν< φησιν. Ἆρ' οὖν καὶ Ἰησοῦς δεῖται καθαρισμοῦ; Ἀλλ' ὅρα τὸ τόλμημα

quod ait: ›dies purgationis eorum‹, non videtur unum significare, sed alterum sive plures. Ergo Iesus purgatione indiguit et immundus fuit aut aliqua sorde pollutus? Temerarie forsitan videor dicere, sed scripturarum auctoritate commotus. Vide, quid in Iob scriptum sit: ›nemo mundus a sorde, nec si unius quidem diei fuerit vita eius‹. Non dixit: ›nemo mundus a peccato‹, sed: ›nemo mundus a sorde‹. Neque enim id ipsum significant sordes atque peccata; et ut scias aliud sordem, aliud sonare peccatum, Isaias manifestissime docet, dicens: ›lavabit Dominus sordem filiorum et filiarum Sion, et sanguinem mundabit de medio eorum, spiritu iudicii sordem et spiritu combustionis sanguinem‹.

τοῦ λόγου· μνήσθητι τῶν εἰρημένων ἐν τῷ Ἰὼβ μυστικῶς· ›οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδ' ἂν μία ἡμέρα ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς‹· οὐκ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας, ἀλλ'· ›ἀπὸ ῥύπου‹.

Ὅτι καὶ οὐ ταὐτά, λέγει Ἡσαΐας· ›ἐκπλυνεῖ κύριος τὸν ῥύπον τῶν υἱῶν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Σιών, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν‹·

Omnis anima, quae humano corpore fuerit induta, habet ›sordes‹ suas. Ut autem scias Iesum quoque sordidatum propria voluntate, quia pro salute nostra humanum corpus assumpserat, Zachariam prophetam ausculta dicentem: ›Iesus erat indutus vestibus sordidis‹. Quod quidem adversus eos facit, qui negant Dominum nostrum humanum habuisse corpus, sed de caelestibus et spiritalibus fuisse contextum. Si enim de caelestibus et, ut illi falso asserunt, de sideribus et alia quadam sublimiori spiritalique natura corpus eius fuit, respondeant, qui potuerit spiritale corpus esse sordidum aut quomodo hoc interpretentur, quod posuimus: ›Iesus erat indutus vestibus sordidis‹. Si autem fuerint necessitate compulsi, ut suscipiant spiritale corpus sordidum intellegi vestimentum, debent consequenter dicere, quoniam illud, quod in repromissionibus ponitur, completum sit, id est: ›seminatur corpus animale, surgit corpus spiritale‹, [et] quod polluti et sordidi resurgamus, quod etiam cogitare piaculum

ἐρρύπωται οὖν πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐνδεδυμένη σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον.

Ἄκουε Ζαχαρίου· ›Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ἱμάτια ῥυπαρά‹. Τὸ δὲ ῥητὸν χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι ὁ σωτὴρ οὐκ ἔλαβε σάρκα ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' ἤνεγκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πνευματικὸν σῶμα, τὸ πνευματι‹κὸν σῶμα› ἐρρυπωμένον ‹νομίζοντας.

Ἐπεὶ› γὰρ λέγειν δυνήσονται ‹ταῦτα καὶ› τοῦτο παραδέξονται, ὅρα αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις, ὅταν πληρωθῇ τό· ›σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν‹, ἐγειρόμεθα ἐρρυπωμένοι, ὅπερ μὴ δεῖ λέγειν.

est, maxime cum quis sciat scriptum esse: ›seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione; seminatur in ignobilitate, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget in fortitudine; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale‹. Oportuit ergo, ut pro Domino et Salvatore nostro, qui ›sordidis vestimentis‹ fuerat ›indutus‹ et terrenum corpus assumpserat, offerrentur ea, quae purgare sordes ex lege consueverant. Quod frequenter inter fratres quaeritur, loci occasione commotus retracto. Parvuli baptizantur ›in remissionem peccatorum‹. Quorum ›peccatorum‹? vel quo tempore peccaverunt? aut quomodo potest illa lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi iuxta illum sensum, de quo paulo ante diximus: ›nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius quidem diei fuerit vita eius super terram‹? Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis ›sordes‹ deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli: ›nisi‹ enim ›quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non poterit intrare in regnum caelorum‹.

Ἐδεήθη οὖν ὁ σωτήρ, ὡς ›ἐνδεδυμένος ἱμάτια ῥυπαρὰ‹ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ γήϊνον, τοῦ προσενεχθῆναι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καθαρισμόν.

Τὰ παιδία βαπτίζεται ›εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων‹. Ποίων; Πότε γὰρ ἥμαρτον; Ἀλλὰ μήποτε, ἐπεὶ ›οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου‹, τὸν ῥύπον δὲ ἀποτίθεταί τις διὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ βαπτίσματος, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παιδία βαπτίζεται.

Origen is, as noted above, the first Eastern writer to make explicit reference to the practice of infant baptism, and there has been some debate whether the manner in which he refers to infant baptism suggests that it was a recent innovation or an established practice. If it could be shown that the validity of the practice of infant baptism was being questioned, then the fact that Origen does not use the analogy between circumcision and baptism to defend the practice would confirm the above conclusion that Origen was not aware of this as an argument for infant baptism.

K. Aland argues that

> "When the attitudes that [Origen] adopted to infant baptism are closely examined, it is clear that they all stand on the defensive against the belief that infants do not need baptism, on the grounds that as infants have not actually committed any sins, they do not require forgiveness of sins. (91)

In his opinion

> "There must have been circles, and that not small and uninfluential, whose members held a differing opinion as to the necessity of infant baptism and who correspondingly maintained a different practice, in that they abstained from baptizing infants." (92)

He concludes that

> "Origen's statements can be explained only on the assumption that this 'custom of the Church' in Palestine (and elsewhere) *is not yet very old.* For only on this presupposition is it explicable that the voices against infant baptism are still so strong that Origen has to enter into discussion with them time and again." (93)

J. Jeremias, however, strongly opposes this view. He draws attention to the fact that in his Comment on Romans 5:9 Origen argues that "the church has received a tradition from the apostles to give baptism to infants also." Jeremias then discusses at length three passages in which Origen mentions infant baptism (*Homily XIV on Luke*; *Homily VIII on Leviticus*; *Commentary on Romans V.9* (on 6:6)) and in each case concludes that infant baptism is introduced as a supplementary confirmation of the sinfulness of infants which Origen has already established from Scripture. (94)

With respect to Origen's comments on Luke 2:23 Jeremias notes the way in which infant baptism is introduced:

> "On this occasion I should like to say another word concerning a question often discussed amongst the brethren. Infants ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$) are baptised for the remission of sins. What sins? Whenever have they sinned? In fact, of course, never. And yet; 'no one is free from defilement (even if he is only one day old)' (Job 14:4f). But the defilement is only put away because of the mystery of baptism. That is the reason why infants ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$) too are baptised."

He argues that this indicates that

> "[the] problem is not *whether* the infants should be baptised, but rather what is the *meaning* their baptism has". (95)

The problem arose, Jeremias maintains, because the loss of an eschatological understanding of baptism meant a restriction of its meaning to the forgiveness of sins, which inevitably raised the question, what then is the significance of baptizing infants? (96)

Jeremias concludes that in this Homily:

> "Origen presupposes that the practice of infant baptism is so natural and undisputed that it can provide extra support to underpin his assertion based on Scripture that new-born children are tainted with sin." (97)

Following N. P. Williams, Jeremias argues, that the practice of infant baptism came first, and that the doctrine of original sin was deduced from this:

> "It was not infant baptism which was the innovation, but the doctrine of original sin which was substantiated by it." (98)

I am not myself convinced that the unease concerning infant baptism, indicated by Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke*, was limited to the meaning of the practice, and did not extend to the validity of the practice itself.

It is significant that in his *Homily XIV on Luke* Origen does not actually answer the question that he raises. The logical answer to the question why, if infant baptism is for the forgiveness of sins, are infants, who have not actually sinned, baptized, would be to say that infants are in some sense subject to sin. In fact, as we have seen, Origen here explicitly rejects this implication, drawing a careful distinction between "stain ($\dot{\rho}\hat{\upsilon}\pi o\varsigma$)" and "sin ($\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$)", maintaining that new born infants have never actually sinned, but that they are, nonetheless, subject to the stain of birth, and thus in need of cleansing. This indicates that the question that Origen raises was not simply a rhetorical one that Origen used to develop his argument, nor, as Jeremias implies, (99) a hypothetical question, but that it was rather a question that had actually been raised.

I agree with Jeremias that Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke* indicates that there was some unease concerning the theology of infant baptism. However, I am not convinced by his explanation of this unease for at least three

reasons. First, the eschatological significance of baptism is prominent in Origen's teaching on the subject, (100) and is explicitly discussed in the continuation of the Homily. Second, the notion that baptism is effective only for the cleansing of former sins, established from the Apostolic Fathers onwards, clearly precludes any suggestion that infant baptism could be for the forgiveness of sins that the infant might commit after he had been baptized. Third that baptism is for the forgiveness of sins is an all-important aspect of New Testament teaching concerning baptism. If infants had been baptized from the first, the problem would surely have been a problem from the first.

It seems to me that the problem had, rather, arisen from the attempt to apply the thoeology of adult baptism to the baptism of infants. The statement, "Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins" appears to represent the teaching concerning the significance of infant baptism current at the time. Whilst the New Testament teaching that baptism is for the forgiveness of sins makes sense in the context of adult baptism, when applied to the baptism of infants it inevitably raises the question why do infants, who have not actually committed any sins, need to be baptized.

Clearly there were some who did not believe in the sinfulness of new born infants, and who were, therefore, uneasy about this explanation of infant baptism. That this was only now becoming a problem probably indicates that this application of the theology of adult baptism to the baptism of infants was a relatively new development.

Doubts concerning the theology of or rationale for infant baptism do not, of course, necessarily indicate that the practice itself was a recent innovation, as is evidenced, for example, by the Anabaptists' questioning of the legitimacy of infant baptism in the sixteenth century, by which time the practice was clearly not an innovation. However, unless at the time of Origen it was clearly established on other grounds that infants ought to be baptized, to have questioned the prevailing rationale for infant baptism— Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins"—was surely to question also the validity of the practice itself.

Jeremias thinks that infant baptism was clearly established on other grounds. He draws attention to the appeal in the *Commentary on Romans* (Book V:9, on Romans 6:6) to an apostolic tradition for baptizing infants, and suggests that Origen has in mind here John 3:5. (101) However, in view of the fact that there is no explicit evidence for infant baptism in the Eastern Church prior to Origen, this appeal is open to question on at least three counts.

First, it may not be original. The *Commentary on Romans* has only survived in Rufinus' Latin translation, and as P. K. Jewett notes this appeal is

> "a statement so typical of those with which Augustine and Jerome sought to confute Pelagius that it may well be a gloss of Rufinus." (102)

Second, even if this claim is original, this does not necessarily mean that it is correct. Again, as Jewett notes,

> "a claim to apostolicity can hardly be regarded as of great weight in an age when the inclination was so strong to trace back to the apostles every institution that was considered of of special importance." (103)

If this claim is original, it would at most suggest that Origen, who was probably born of Christian parents, was himself baptized as an infant.

Third, and perhaps more decisive, this claim to an apostolic tradition for baptizing infants does not accord with Origen's statements in his treatise *Against Celsus* concerning the baptism of children. As J. Warns notes, "Origen expressly emphasizes the baptism of persons of intelligence and adults". (104) Celsus had accused Christians of gaining their members by appealing only to "foolish and low individuals, and persons devoid of perception, and slaves, and women and children". In answer to this reproach Origen emphasizes that converts are only baptized after they have been instructed and given evidence of their desire to live a virtuous life:

> "Christians ...having previously, so far as possible, tested the souls of those who wish to become their hearers, and having pre-

viously instructed them in private, when they appear (before entering the community) to have sufficiently evidenced their desire towards a virtuous life, introduce them then, and not before". (Book III:51)

"We do desire to instruct all men in the word of God, so as to give to young men the exhortations that are appropriate to them, and to show to slaves how they may recover freedom of thought, and be ennobled by the word." (Book III:54).

Origen here has in mind the Church's practice concening converts to Christianity. It is possible that a different procedure was followed with regard to the baptism of children born to Christian parents. However, the treatise *Against Celsus* was written about 248/9, and thus belongs to the same period as the Homilies on Luke. In view of Origen's clear references to infant baptism in the *Commentary on Romans*: V.9, *Homily VIII on Leviticus*, and *Homily XIV on Luke*, that Origen makes no mention here of infant baptism is surprising. Had Origen been aware of an apostolic tradition for baptizing infants, he would surely have made mention of the practice here, and sought to defend it. One cannot escape the conclusion that at the very least Origen is being inconsistent, if not dishonest. Does his silence here concerning infant baptism suggest that he is conscious that infant baptism does not accord with the church's practice hitherto of only baptizing those who were capable of understanding and accepting the Christian faith for themselves?

The quotation of John 3:5 may be significant, though it should be noted that this is not found in the Greek fragments of this Homily, and could also be a gloss of Rufinus. The logion was a favourite baptismal text in the second century and in the later Patristic period became an important proof text for infant baptism. Indeed this text particularly played an important part in the development of the practice of infant baptism. (See below pages 152–154). The text is probably quoted here to confirm the view that new-born infants were subject to defilement, since this view explains why, according to one view of John 3:5, an unbaptized person would not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. If it is, instead, quoted to explain why infants need to be baptized,

other than because they are subject to defilement, this would only confirm that the unease concerning infant baptism concerned not only the meaning of the practice, but also the validity of the rite itself.

It seems to me, therefore, that those who questioned the view that "Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins" were questioning not only the meaning of infant baptism, but also the validity of the rite itself. Origen responds to this by re-affirming from scripture the view that new born infants are subject to defilement and therefore the necessity of infant baptism.

If the validity of the practice of infant baptism was disputed, not just the meaning of it, it is surely significant that Origen does not employ the analogy between circumcision and baptism to defend infant baptism, especially in view of the fact that in the preceding section of the Homily he has argued that Christians do not need to be physically circumcised since they participate in Christ's representative circumcision on our behalf through baptism. Had Origen been aware of the argument that since circumcision has been replaced by baptism, because infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized, he would surely have made mention of it here.

One would also expect Origen, had he been aware of it, to mention the relevance of the analogy between circumcision and baptism for the practice of infant baptism in *Homily VIII on Leviticus.* In s13 Origen again refers to infant baptism in relation to the need for purification after childbirth (Leviticus 12:2). Leviticus 12:3, however, repeats the commandment that male infants should be circumcised on the eighth day, which Origen argues is a type of the circumcision of the heart. However, Origen refers to circumcision simply because it is mentioned in the text of Leviticus, and significantly there is no mention even of baptism, and Origen does not in any way connect his comments regarding the spiritual significance of carnal circumcision with the preceding reference to baptism.

It would appear therefore that Origen was not aware of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. On the other hand, the analogy between circumcision and baptism was used as an argument for infant baptism in North Africa at about this

time. (See further Section 3.3.1). This does not in my opinion nullify the above conclusion. It would be a mistake to assume that the thought and practices of the Early Church developed uniformly, so that at any given time the same stage of theological development and the same practices would be found in every place. That the analogy between circumcision and baptism was used as an argument for infant baptism in North Africa in the middle of the third century AD does not necessarily mean that it was employed in this way in every area of the church at the time. On the contrary, the evidence of Origen suggests that although infant baptism was practised in Palestine in the second quarter of the first century AD the analogy between circumcision and baptism was not, as yet, used there as an argument for infant baptism.

How then do we account for the practice of infant baptism in Palestine at this time? It is theoretically possible that the Palestinian church adopted the practice of infant baptism from the African church, without being influenced by the theology of infant baptism current there. It seems to me more likely, however, and suggested by the evidence of Origen, that the rise of infant baptism in Palestine was probably due to the emergence of the belief in the sinfulness of new-born infants and possibly also the interaction of this doctrine with John 3:5.

Jeremias as we have seen, takes the opposite view and argues that the doctrine of the sinfulness of infants was an innovation which Origen sought to substantiate from the practice of infant baptism. This is surely a gross over-simplification. It is more likely that there was a more complex interaction between the emerging doctrine of the sinfulness of new-born infants and infant baptism, the doctrine being a contributory factor in the rise of the practice, and, in turn, being confirmed by it. There are several reasons why I think this to have been the case.

It is significant that the Biblical texts used by Origen to support the belief in the sinfulness of new-born infants appear in similar combinations prior to Origen. Job 14:14f and Psalm 51:5, conjoined in *Homily VIII on Leviticus* and in the *Commentary on Romans* V.9, appear together in *1 Clement* c18,

which is cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Misc.* IV:17). Jeremiah 20:14–16 is also linked with Job 14:4f in *Homily VIII in Leviticus*, and Clement of Alexandria quotes these two texts in the same context (*Misc.* III:16). It is possible therefore that Origen's grouping of these texts was not innovatory.

The extent to which the conclusions that Origen draws from these texts was an innovation is more debatable. It seems to me, however, that although certain aspects of Origen's doctrine of original sin may be innovatory, his views concerning the state of new-born infants mentioned here in connection with infant baptism were not new, and represent no substantial advance upon the teaching of Clement of Alexandria. Clement had similarly maintained that infants were not capable of actual sin (*Misc.* III:16.100) since sin is an act of the will (*Misc.* II:14), whilst maintaining that they were nonetheless born with an innate tendency to sin (*Misc.* III:16.100; VI:16.135). (105) Certainly what is embryonic and only hinted at in Clement receives a much fuller treatment by Origen, who begins to explore this idea in relation to other biblical texts, especially Leviticus 12: 6–8. but his teaching is not, in essence, new.

Indeed, Jeremias is surely wrong to conclude on the basis of Origen's comments in *Homily XIV on Luke* and in *Homily VIII on Leviticus* that he was hesitant to admit the defilement and sinfulness of new-born infants. (106) Origen is cautious in making pronouncement upon the sense in which the mother after child-birth is unclean, and why she is commanded to make a sin offering as if she herself were guity of sin—especially in *Homily XIV on Luke*, with its implications for Mary. However, he sees the clue to this in the doctrine of the sinfulness of new-born infants, concerning which he is not tentative, for he regards this as firmly established by scripture.

Jeremias is surely also wrong when he suggests that there was a development in Origen's views regarding the sinfulness of infants when he notes that in *Homily XIV on Luke*, "with the child Jesus in mind he attributed to the new-born baby only defilement, not sin", whereas in *Homily VIII on Leviticus* and the *Commentary on Romans* V.9 he attributes sin to them. (107) P. Nautin has demonstrated that the *Homilies on Luke* were preached

in 248, after the *Homilies on Leviticus* (239–242) and the *Commentary on Romans* (236). (108) Thus, rather than the notion of the sinfulness of infants being an innovation which Origen is seeking to substantiate from infant baptism, it appears, in *Homily XIV on Luke* as an established idea which Origen refines and modifies with the child Jesus in mind.

Further, Origen always mentions infant baptism in connection with the belief in the sinfulness of infants. If these were the only references to the belief in the sinfulness of infants, and there were several other instances in which Origen mentions infant baptism without reference to this belief, this would support the view that Origen is seeking to substantiate the belief from the practice. In fact, however, the reverse is the case. Not only does Origen always mention infant baptism in connection with the belief in the sinfulness of infants, he also mentions the doctrine of the sinfulness of infants without reference to infant baptism (e.g. *Commentary on Matthew* Book XV:23). (109)

Finally, that Origen defends the belief in the sinfulness of new-born infants with reference to infant baptism does not necessarily indicate that this belief was an innovation, any more than the fact that Augustine sought to substantiate the doctrine of original sin from infant baptism meant that it was an innovation in his day.

The doctrine of the sinfulness of infants was not, therefore, an innovation at the time of Origen, though clearly it was not, as yet, sufficiently established to have gained universal acceptance.

Another contributory factor in the rise of infant baptism may have been the high infant mortality rate and the Christian concern for children in the after-life. Everrett Ferguson has studied the Latin tomb-stone inscriptions (110) and discovered that "all of the inscriptions which mention a time of baptism place this near the time of death." (111) He concludes from this that:

> "The explicit inscriptional evidence is not an argument for infant baptism as the normal practice. Rather, the evidence points to the opposite conclusion. The inscriptions do not tell the whole story, but as far as they go they provide an argument that in the

> third and fourth centuries infant baptism was abnormal. All of the above cited examples may be considered cases of 'emergency baptism'. Death was near, and the person received baptism 'on his death-bed' as it were. Jeremias has pointed to the practice of the delay of baptism in the fourth century, but the third century inscriptions show the same practice. Why is baptism not mentioned except when it was administered near death? Any effort to argue from silence will be subjective. Instead of trying to fill in the silence in the archaeological record with conjectures (as has been done with the literary record), we should listen to what the existing evidence is saying. The newborn were not routinely baptized in the period of our early inscriptions. Baptism was administered before death, at whatever age." (112)

In his opinion,

> "This fact offers the most plausible explanation of the origin of infant baptism." (113)

Ferguson thinks that what was originally an emergency procedure became a regular practice:

> "If baptism was a necessary precaution before death, it would be easy to make the precautionary measure normal, especially as it gained the support of powerful theological reasons. The initiative in infant baptism, therefore, lay with parents of sick children who asked of the church that they might not die unbaptized. These parents then gratefully recorded the fact of the baptism at the burial site." (114)

He notes however, that

> "The practice of baptism before death exerted an influence in two directions. The association of baptism with the time of death might cause baptism to be put off until the end of life, so that its saving benefits could be applied to the entire life. Thus occurred the delay of baptism which became a problem in the fourth century. Baptism in adult years when there was no immediate threat of death to be observed in the lives of several prominent church leaders in the fourth century, however, was not the same thing as the death-bed baptism of Constantine and others. On the other hand, the desire to die baptized, or

> to have one's children die baptized, could exert an influence in the opposite direction. The high mortality rate of infants in the ancient world, to which the Christian inscriptions are a powerful if mournful witness, would encourage the practice of giving baptism soon after birth as insurance no matter what might happen. The inscriptions say that it was in such natural, human feelings that we are to find the real origin of a practice which later acquired such significant theological support." (115)

Ferguson suggests that John 3:5, which as he notes, is cited by Origen in *Homily XIV on Luke*, supplied the biblical basis for the Christian concen about children in the after-life since it could be understood to mean that an unbaptized person would be debarred from heaven. He notes that this logion was a favourite baptismal text in the second century (Hermas: *Sim.* IX:xvi.3; Justin, *Apol.* 1.61; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II.xvi; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III:xviii; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Str.* IV.xxv; Tertullian, *De Bapt.* 12) and that in the later Patristic period it became a proof text for infant baptism. He concludes that:

> "The universal understanding of baptism for the remission of sins, gave impetus to the doctrine of original sin, which then in turn became the theological basis for infant baptism." (116)

That is not to say, and I do not think that Ferguson intends to imply, that the doctrine of original sin was derived from John 3:5. The doctrine of original sin rather explained why infants who had not been baptized would be barred from heaven. John 3:5 probably did, however, give an added impetus to the doctrine of original sin, and the conjuction of these two themes no doubt played an important part in the development of infant baptism.

To sum up, if there were clear evidence for the practice of infant baptism and no evidence of the belief in the sinfulness of new-born infants prior to Origen one might be inclined to agree with Jeremias that the practice led to the doctrine, and that the progression of thought was that, "Infants are baptized; baptism is for the forgiveness of sins: therefore infants are subject to sin." However, the lack of clear evidence for the practice of infant

baptism in the Eastern Church prior to Origen, together with evidence of the emergence of the doctrine of the sinfulness of new-born infants suggests that the opposite was the case; that the doctrine led to the practice, and that the progression of thought was, "Baptism is for the forgiveness of sins; infants are subject to sin; therefore infants ought to be baptized."

In conclusion, Origen, the first Eastern writer explicitly to mention infant baptism, was not aware of the view that since circumcision has been replaced by baptism, because infants were circumcised, so now they ought to be baptized. It would appear, therefore, that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general and Paul's comments in Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, did not, as some Paedobaptists assume, give rise to the practice of infant baptism, in Palestine at least. It is theoretically possible that the analogy between circumcision and baptism gave rise to the practice of infant baptism, but that by the time of Origen, although infant baptism was still practised, the original rationale for infant baptism had been forgotten. To my mind, such a suggestion would stretch the limits of credulity too far. The "silence" of Origen in this respect is surely decisive against the view that the "silence" of the New Testament regarding the baptism of children is because the first Christians being Jews would naturally have assumed that the covenant membership of children and that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was, from the first, used as an argument for infant baptism.

This may at first seem surprising in view of the prominence in the Eastern church of the view that baptism is the typological counterpart to carnal circumcision. However, as we have seen, this was only one aspect of the teaching concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision. Another important element of this was that the true circumcision is of the heart and ears which involves liberation from ignorance and error, due to the deceit of demonic powers, and illumination effected by Christ's teaching, particularly the catechetical instruction given prior to baptism. Thus the teaching in the Eastern church concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision focused the attention upon the baptism of adults and those who were old

enough to understand and to accept the Christian faith for themselves, and it is this connection between circumcision and understanding that explains how Origen, who believed that infants ought to be baptized, could argue that baptism was the typological counterpart to circumcision, without extending this argument to maintain that because infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. This was, perhaps, the next logical development of thought concerning infant baptism, but Origen does not make this connection, which may be a further indication that infant baptism was a relatively recent development, the theology of which was only gradually being thought out.

3.3 EARLY AFRICAN THEOLOGY

We do not know precisely when Christianity first came to North Africa, but it is probable that there was vigorous missionary activity there in the middle of the second century.(117) H. Chadwick suggests that Christianity may have spread from the Levant with whom Carthage had close trading links. (118) The first evidence of Christianity in North Africa comes from the Latin Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs which refers to twelve Christians from Scillium who suffered martyrdom at Carthage in 180 AD. (119)

3.3.1 Tertullian: c160–c220AD

Two allusions to our text have been preserved in the extant writings of Tertullian, both of which occur in his treatise *On the Resurrection of the Flesh.* This was written about 208 AD, and is the sequel to his treatise *On the Flesh of Christ.* In it Tertullian is concerned to refute the pagan and gnostic denial of the resurrection of the flesh. The treatise is particularly noteworthy because Tertullian seeks to justify this doctrine from scripture. It includes a discussion of Genesis chapters 1–3, and a commentary on certain Pauline texts.

3.3.1.1 On the Resurrection of the Flesh: s7

In s7 of his treatise *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* Tertullian is concerned to refute the Valentinian view that the coats of skin with which God clothed Adam and Eve after the fall (Genesis 3:21) signify the flesh, and thus that man's flesh is the consequence of sin. (120)

Tertullian refutes this view on two grounds. Firstly although in Genesis, as he notes, man is at first referred to as "clay" and only later as "flesh", he is called "flesh" prior to the fall (Genesis 2:23). Man's flesh cannot, therefore, be a consequence of sin. "Clay", according to Tertullian, refers to man's inanimate physical frame before the afflation (Genesis 2:7). The clay was transformed into "flesh" when man was made into a life-giving soul by the breath of God.

Secondly, Tertullian argues that the reference to the coats of skin in Genesis 3:21 should be interpreted literally. They refer, in his opinion, to the physical skin which covers the flesh as a superstructure. Tertullian may have derived this view from a general knowledge of anatomy. However, Ezekiel 37:6 and 8 also speak of the skin as a cover over the flesh. Tertullian quotes the whole of Ezekiel 37: 1–14 in s29 of this treatise, where he argues that it refers to the personal resurrection, in opposition to to the gnostics who maintained that it referred only to the restoration of Israel. It is probable, therefore, that Tertullian's interpretation of Genesis 3:21 has been influenced by his knowledge of Ezekiel 37:6 and 8. Tertullian maintains that it is clear that the skin is not the same as the flesh since it is possible to strip off the skin and leave the flesh naked. This he argues is confirmed by the imagery that Paul uses in Colossians 2:11 when he describes circumcision as a despoiling of the flesh, indicating that he viewed the skin as a coat.

> neque enim, ut quidam volunt, illae pelliciae tunicae quas Adam et Eva paradisum exuti induerunt, ipsae erunt carnis ex limo reformatio, cum aliquanto prius et Adam substantiae suae traducem in feminae iam carne recognoverit—Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea—et ipsa delibatio masculi in feminam carne suppleta sit, limo opinor supplenda si Adam adhuc limus. obliteratus igitur et devoratus est limus in carnem. quando? cum factus est homo in animam vivam de dei flatu, vaporeo scilicet et idoneo torrere quodammodo limum in aliam qualitatem, quasi in testam ita et in carnem. sic et figulo licet argillam temperato ignis adflatu in materiam robustiorem recorporare et aliam ex alia stringere speciem, aptiorem pristina et sui iam generis ac nominis. nam etsi scriptum est, Numquid argilla dicet figulo, id est homo deo; et si apostolus In testaceis ait vasculis: tamen et argilla homo quia limus ante, et testa caro quia ex limo per adflatus divini vaporem. quam postea pelliciae tunicae, id est cutes, superductae vestierunt: usque adeo, si detraxeris cutem nudaveris carnem. ita quod hodie spolium efficitur si detrahatur,

hoc fuit indumentum cum superstruebatur. hinc et apostolus circumcisionem despoliationem carnis appellans tunicam cutem confirmavit.

"For it can not be the case, as some would have it, that those coats of skins which Adam and Eve put on when stripped of paradise, were themselves a transforming of clay into flesh: for somewhat earlier Adam had already recognized in the female's flesh the offshoot of his own substance—'This is now bone out of my bones and flesh out of my flesh'—and the transfusion from the male into the female was itself made good with flesh, though I suppose it would have had to be made good with clay if Adam had still been clay. Therefore the clay was blotted out and swallowed up into flesh. When? When man was made into a living soul by the breath of God, a fiery breath, competent as it were to bake clay into a different quality, into flesh as though into earthenware. Thus also the potter may with a tempered blast of fire re-embody potter's clay into a firmer material, and out of one species extract another, more useful than the original, and now of its own kind and designation. For although it is written, 'Shall the potter's clay say to the potter'—that is, shall man say to God -, and although the apostle says, 'In vessels of earthenware', yet man is called potter's clay because he was previously clay, and flesh is called earthenware because it was made of clay by means of the heat of the divine breathing. It was afterwards that coats of skins (that is, cuticle) were drawn on over it and clothed it: and the proof of this is, that if you strip off the skin you leave the flesh naked. Thus what today becomes spoil if it is stripped off, became a garment while it was being made a superstructure. Hence also the apostle, when he called circumcision a despoiling of the flesh, affirmed that the skin is a coat."

It is clear from this allusion to Colossians 2:11 that Tertullian understood the phrase "in expoliatione [corporis] carnis" in Colossians 2:11 to refer to to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, rather than to that which is effected in the circumcision of Christ. Since this is an allusion to Colossians 2:11 rather than an exact quotation it is not clear whether Tertullian's text read "despoliatione" or whether this was Tertullian's own paraphrase of "expoliatione". The use of "despolio" rather than "expolio"

implies a depreciation of carnal circumcision. In view of the distinction that Tertullian makes between "caro" (flesh) and "cutis" (skin), it is probable that he understood "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 to refer to our physical frame rather than to the foreskin, and the genitive "carnis" to be a genitive of separation; and the sense of Colossians 2:11 to be, be: "In Christ you have been circumcised, not with a circumcision made with hands, consisting in the stripping off of the foreskin from the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ." On this view of Colossians 2:11 no explicit reference is made in the text to the foreskin: it is thought to be self-evident, when discussing circumcision, what is meant by the despoiling of the flesh.

It should be noted that there is no mention in the context of this allusion to a spiritual counterpart, in the circumcision of Christ, to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, or of baptism.

Tertullian omits reference to "corporis". Significantly Cyprian when quoting Colossians 2:11 in s8 of his first book of Testimonies also omits "corporis" (see further p.171 below). This suggests that the Latin text of Colossians 2:11 circulating in North Africa at the beginning of the third century did not include "corporis".

Finally, with regard to s7 of this treatise it is relevant to ask precisely why Tertullian introduces Colossians 2:11 into his argument. We have already noted how he uses this to confirm the view that the skin is a "coat", but this does not necessarily mean that this was the only, or indeed the main reason why he introduces Colossians 2:11 into his argument. It is possible that Tertullian is seeking here to correct a false, gnostic interpretation of Colossians 2:11. We have already seen some evidence to suggest that in some gnostic circles baptism was, on the basis of Colossians 2:11 and 12, understood to be a prolepsis of the stripping off of the flesh at death. (See Section 3.1.3 above). This possibility is, I think, confirmed by his reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in s23 of this treatise.

3.3.1.2 On the Resurrection of the Flesh: s23

Tertullian notes, in s18 of this treatise how although the gnostics retain the Biblical language concerning the resurrection of the dead, and of dying and rising with Christ, they interpret this language in purely spiritual terms, and thereby, although appearing to be orthodox to some of the brethren, in fact deny the physical resurrection from death.

In s23, Tertullian argues that although Paul does sometimes use these terms in a present, spiritual sense, he does so without denying a future physical resurrection:

> **23** Docet quidem apostolus Colossensibus scribens mortuos fuisse nos aliquando, alienatos et inimicos sensus domini, cum in operibus pessimis agebamus, dehinc consepultos Christo in baptismate, et conresuscitatos in eo per fidem efficaciae dei qui illum suscitavit a mortuis: Et vos, cum mortui essetis in delictis et praeputiatione carnis vestrae, vivificavit cum eo, donatis vobis omnibus delictis: et rursus, Si cum Christo mortui essetis ab elementis mundi, quomodo quidam quasi viventes in mundo sententiam fertis? sed cum ita nos mortuos faciat spiritaliter ut tamen et corporaliter quandoque morituros agnoscat, utique et resuscitatos proinde spiritaliter deputans aeque non negat etiam corporaliter resurrecturos.

> "The apostle indeed teaches, when writing to the Colossians, that we were at one time dead, alienated, and enemies of the mind of the Lord, when we were engaged in evil works, but that afterwards we were buried together with Christ in baptism, and raised up together in him through the faith of the working of God who raised him from the dead: ...[Col. 2:13 and 2:20]. But since he in such sense makes us dead spiritually as yet to acknowledge that we shall also sometime die corporally, clearly, on the same principle, when he reckons us spiritually raised again he equally does not deny that we shall rise again corporally."

Although Tertullian does not comment specifically upon Colossians 2:12 it is is clear from this extract that he undersood "conresurrexistis" to refer

to a spiritual resurrection with Christ that has in some sense already taken place, though the sense in which this has already taken place is not explained here.

"in eo" and "efficaciae dei" retain the same ambiguity as in the Greek original of Colossians 2:12.

It is again relevant to ask why Tertullian refers specifically to Colossians 2:12. Given the fairly detailed description of the gnostics' teaching in s18, it is surely probable that Tertullian was aware of the passages of scripture upon which they based their views. Indeed the way in which Tertullian introduces the first four quotations from Colossians (1:21; 2:12,13 & 20) suggests that he may be agreeing with their interpretation of these specific texts. His concern is not to deny that there is a present spiritual death and resurrection, but to make clear that this is only a part of the picture, and if emphasized to the exclusion of a future physical resurrection is a gross distortion of the overall truth. I would suggest, therefore, that we have here further indirect evidence of the use of Colossians 2:12 in gnostic teaching.

Additional Note: On Baptism: s18

Tertullian was the first great figure to appear in the African Church, and we are particularly fortunate that Tertullian's writings have survived almost intact. Indeed, as Gerald Bray notes, "In his treatises we meet the entire range of ecclesiastical life". (121) We ought to be able, therefore, to build up a fairly comprehensive picture from his writings of the belief and practice of the African Church at the beginning of the third century AD.

In view of this, it is significant that Tertullian only twice alludes to Colossians 2:11 and 12, and even then possibly only to correct false gnostic teaching based on these verses. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, Tertullian nowhere explicitly develops the possible analogy between circumcision and baptism, even in his Homily *On Baptism* where in s4–9 he considers a number of types of baptism in the Old Testament. Indeed, for Tertullian the counterpart to carnal circumcision is a spiritual one (*To His Wife*: 1.2), involving an ethical transformation and change which is a characteristic of

one's whole life which is expressed in faith and love (*Against Marcion*: IV:4), modesty (*On the Apparel of Women*: II:9) and obedience (*Against the Jews*: c3). (122).

This observation is all the more significant when we recall that Tertullian was the first writer explicitly to mention infant baptism. He does so in his Homily *On Baptism*, written between 198 and 200 AD, (123), that is, before his conversion to Montanism c207 AD. His remarks are worth quoting at length:

> "Moreover, that baptism ought not to be rashly granted, is known to those whose function it is. 'Give to everyone that asketh thee', has its own application, which strictly pertains to almsgiving. One ought indeed rather to have regard to that other [injunction], 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine', and, 'Do not lay on hands easily, nor become sharers in others' sins.' But if [it is] because Philip so easily baptized the eunuch, let us reflect that the Lord's manifest and express good pleasure had intervened. The Spirit had told Philip to turn towards that road. The eunuch himself was found not uninterested, nor as one who of a sudden desired to be baptized: he had set out from home to the Temple to pray, and was intent upon divine scripture. Such is the position a man needed to be found in to whom God, without being asked, had sent an apostle, whom the Spirit a second time ordered to join himself to the eunuch's chariot. The scripture meets the man's faith just when it is wanted: [Philip] is invited and received [into the chariot]: the Lord is made known, faith makes no delay, water is there to hand: his task completed, the apostle is caught away. It is true that Paul also was speedily baptized: for Simon, his host, speedily knew that he had been appointed a vessel of election. God's good pleasure sends as herald its own privileges: any request can both disappoint and be disappointed. It follows that deferment of baptism is more profitable, in accordance with each person's character and attitude, and even age: and especially so as regards children. For what need is there, if there really is no need, for even their sponsors to be brought into peril, seeing they may possibly themselves fail of their promises by death, or be deceived by the subsequent development of an evil disposition? It is true our Lord says, 'Forbid them not to come to me.' So let them come, when they are growing up, when they are learn-

> ing, when they are being taught what they are coming to: let them be made Christians when they have become competent to know Christ. Why should innocent infancy come with haste to the remission of sins? Shall we take less cautious action in this than we take in worldly matters? Shall one who is not trusted with earthly property be entrusted with heavenly? Let them first learn how to ask for salvation, so that you may be seen to have given to one that asketh. With no less reason ought the unmarried also to be delayed until they either marry or are firmly established in continence: until then, temptation lies in wait for them, for virgins because they are ripe for it, and for widows because of their wandering about. All who understand what a burden baptism is will have more fear of obtaining it than of its postponement. Faith unimpaired has no doubt of its salvation."

Not surprisingly, Tertullian's remarks here have prompted debate, especially concerning whether the manner in which he objects to infant baptism suggests that it is a recent innovation, or an established practice of the church. For the purposes of this study our primary concern is what we may learn from Tertullian's remarks here concerning the arguments advanced for the practice of infant baptism at this time, and the reasons for Tertullian's opposition to it.

J. Jeremias argues that Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism is part of a more general concern for the postponement of baptism which stemmed from the belief that baptism was effective for the cleansing only of former sins, and the resultant fear of post-baptismal sin. This is evident, Jeremias argues, from the fact that Tertullian also urges virgins and widows to postpone their baptism "until either they marry or are firmly established in continence". This fear of post-baptismal sin he thinks also lies behind the warning of the dangers to those who act as sponsors for infants at their baptism: the sponsors may either die, and thus not be able to fulfil their promises (which, Jeremias believes, consisted in undertaking "to care for the Christian education of the child") or they may be saddled with the responsibility for an unresponsive child who develops an evil tendency. (124)

This fear of post-baptismal sin probably is a factor in Tertullian's thinking here. This is suggested by his reference to 1 Timothy 5:22, where the

point of quoting not just v22a, "Do not lay on hands easily", but also v22b, "nor become sharers in other's sins" is probably that if a person baptizes someone before he is truly prepared, with the result that he continues to sin after baptism, the person who baptized him shares some of the responsibility for his post-baptismal sin. However, fear of post-baptismal sin is surely not the only, or indeed the main reason for Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism. In fact, as P. K. Jewett notes, the belief that baptism is effective for the cleansing only of sins committed prior to baptism is clearly found in those authors who defend infant baptism, as can be seen from Cyprian's letter to Fidus (Ep. 64: see further p.172–174 below), and does not of itself, therefore, necessarily lead to the rejection of infant baptism. (125)

It seems to me, rather, that Tertullian's objections to infant baptism spring from an awareness that it is inconsistent with the traditional teaching of the church that repentance and faith are prerequisites for baptism.

In his treatise *On Repentance* Tertullian argues against those who postpone their baptism, thinking themselves to be sure of future pardon for their sins, and use the intervening time as "a holiday-time for sinning, rather than a time for learning not to sin." To counteract this view Tertullian emphasises that true repentance and faith are prerequisites for baptism.

> "How inconsistent it is," he maintains, " to expect pardon of sins (to be granted) to a repentance which they have not fulfilled! This is to hold out your hand for merchandise, but not to produce the price. For repentance is the price at which the Lord has determined to award pardon: He proposes the redemption of release from penalty at this compensating exchange of repentance." (s6)

Tertullian further argues that the baptismal washing is:

> "a sealing of faith, which faith is begun and is commended by the faith of repentance." (ibid.)

Tertullian does warn, therefore, against receiving baptism before the catechumen is truly prepared:

> "it is becoming that learners desire baptism, but do not hastily receive it; for he who desires it, honours it; he who hastily receives it, disdains it." (ibid.)

However, Tertullian does not argue for an indefinite postponement of baptism; simply for delay until the candidate is truly prepared.

It is certainly possible that this emphasis upon the need for faith and true repentance as a prerequisite for baptism received an added impetus from the belief that baptism was effective for the cleansing only of former sins. There is a significant difference between Tertullian's understanding of repentance and that of the New Testament writers. In the New Testament it primarily refers to one's initial response to the Gospel - a turning from sin to God. This has an ethical expression: turning to God has an outworking in a life of obedience to him, but the notion of a moral change from evil to righteousness is secondary. In the New Testament evidence of a moral change is not a prerequisite for baptism, as is clear, for example, from Acts 2:38–41 where the three thousand who responded to Peter's exhortation to repent were baptized on the same day. However, for Tertullian the notion of a moral change is to the fore in his teaching concerning repentance. It is easy to see how the belief that baptism is effective for the cleansing only of former sins may have contributed to this change in emphasis. Given a pastoral concern about the problem of post-baptismal sin, it was natural to seek evidence of a true repentance, expressed in a chaste life and a control over one's passions, before a person was baptized.

The belief that baptism is effective for the cleansing only of former sins was thus probably a factor in Tertullian's advice to virgins and widows that they defer their baptism until they either marry or are firmly established in continence. Nonetheless the primary reason for this advice was his awareness of the church's teaching that repentance and faith were prerequisites for baptism, not the fear of post-baptismal sin.

Tertullian's awareness of the traditional teaching of the church that repentance and faith are prerequisites for baptism is evident from his reference in s18 of his Homily *On Baptism* to the case of the Ethiopian eunuch. This

is introduced because Tertullian was conscious that this could be considered to be an exception to the general injunction: "Do not lay on hands easily" (1 Timothy 5:22) which he has just quoted. However, the reason why, according to Tertullian, Philip was able to baptize the eunuch upon first meeting him, without delay, was that he had already manifested the true repentance and faith that were prerequisites for baptism in going up to the temple to pray, and in his reading of the scriptures.

In my opinion therefore, it was Tertullian's awareness of the traditional teaching of the church that faith and repentance are prerequisites for baptism, not simply his fears concerning post-baptismal sin, that lay behind his opposition to infant baptism.

Indeed it should be pointed out that for the majority of Patristic writers repentance and faith remained prerequisites for baptism, even in cases when infants were baptized. This can be seen from the fact that the baptismal interrogations were addressed to the child in exactly the same form as they were to the candidate in adult baptism. The argument was advanced that infants were actually capable of, and had indeed actually experienced repentance and faith, but that they were too young to speak for themselves. Hence the introduction of sponsors whose primary function in the Patristic and Medieval Periods was to supply the child's lack of articulate speech. (126) There is no indication, however, that Tertullian was aware of this view. Indeed it is precisely because infants are not capable of personally understanding and responding to the Gospel in repentance and faith that he opposes the practice of infant baptism.

This is, I believe, confirmed by a consideration of Tertullian's evaluation of the arguments advanced for infant baptism. Jeremias rightly points out that Tertullian refers to Luke 6:30, and Matthew 19:14 because these were the scriptural passages that were appealed to as authorising infant baptism. (127) In each case, however, Tertullian points out how these verses, when applied to infant baptism, are inconsistent with the traditional teaching of the church that faith and repentance are prerequisites for baptism.

With respect to Luke 6:30 Tertullian points out that this is referring to

almsgiving, not baptism, and that it is clearly not applicable to the baptism of infants for how, he objects, can infants "ask" for salvation. Similarly, the "coming" to Christ mentioned in Matthew 19:14 implies an active response on the part of the person concerned, an ability to understand the Christian faith for himself, and being old enough to know Christ personally, and is obviously therefore not applicable to infant baptism.

In addition to these objections to the Biblical texts advanced in favour of infant baptism Tertullian also asks, "Why should innocent infancy come with haste to the remission of sins?" The way in which Tertullian introduces this question suggests that he is not here objecting to an actual argument that had been advanced in favour of infant baptism, but rather simply pointing out the incongruity of bringing infants, who are not guilty of any actual sin, to baptism which is for the forgiveness of sins.

The phrase "innocens aetas" probably refers to the age before puberty. In s38 of his treatise *On the Soul* Tertullian speaks of "the paradise of integrity (paradisus integritatis)" out of which a man is driven at the age of puberty. However, as Jeremias rightly notes, Tertullian "is far removed from understanding the 'innocence of childhood' in a careless, superficial sense." (128) Jeremias points out that it is clear from the continuation of the argument that Tertullian believed that infants inherited a corrupt nature from Adam, though he did not as yet believe that they shared in the guilt of Adam's sin. (129) The significance of this is that, when taken with the reference to the "innocent age" in the Homily *On Baptism*, it indicates that the view that infants shared in the guilt of Adam's sin and were therefore in need of cleansing was not used as an argument for infant baptism in North Africa at the beginning of the third century AD.

To sum up, therefore, in s18 of his Homily "On Baptism" Tertullian is not arguing for an indefinite postponement of baptism due to fear of post-baptismal sin but rather for its delay until the candidates are properly prepared, since the church requires true repentance and faith before a person is baptized. In the case of children this means waiting until they are old enough to understand the Christian faith for themselves, and ask for baptism

themselves. In the case of children, however, there is an additional reason why they should not be baptized: baptism is for the forgiveness of sins, and thus since children under the age of puberty are not guilty of any actual sin they do not need to be baptized.

What is significant for the purposes of this study is that there is no hint in Tertullian's consideration of the reasons advanced for baptizing infants of the view that because baptism has replaced the Jewish rite of circumcision, since infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. Had this view been advanced as an argument for infant baptism in North Africa at the time, Tertullian would surely have been aware of it, made reference to it, and sought to refute it as he does the other arguments advanced for infant baptism. That he does not do so is evidence that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, was not advanced as an argument for infant baptism in North Africa at the beginning of the third century AD.

3.3.2 Cyprian (died 258)

J. Quasten notes that "as a theologian Cyprian is entirely dependent upon Tertullian, whose superiority as a writer he readily recognised." (130) However, his writings are of immense value in that he frequently quotes from both the Old and New Testaments, thereby preserving numerous Old Latin versions of Biblical texts. He quotes Colossians 2:11 in his *Testimonies against the Jews*, Book I: s8, and possibly alludes to Colossians 2:12 in s14 of his treatise *On Jealousy and Envy*.

3.3.2.1 Testimonies against the Jews: Book I: s8

Cyprian's three books of *Testimonies against the Jews* were written for Quirinus some time before 249 AD. (131) Each group of testimonia is furnished with a heading, (132) and a New Testament text to confirm the point that had hitherto been demonstrated solely on the basis of Old Testament texts. The first book is basically an anti-Jewish polemical work. In s5–18 Cyprian lists privileges which have been taken from the Jews and given to

the Gentiles. In s8 he deals with circumcision:

QVOD CIRCVMCISIO PRIMA CARNALIS EVACVATA SIT ET SECVNDA SPIRITALIS REPROMISSA SIT.

Apud Hieremiam prophetam: Haec dicit Dominus uiris Iuda et qui inhabitant Hierusalem: renouate inter uos nouitatem et ne seminaueritis in spinis: circumcidite uos Deo uestro et circumcidite praeputium cordis uestri, ne exeat sicut ignis ira mea et exurat et non sit qui extinguat. Item Moyses dicit: In nouissimis diebus circumcidet Deus cor tuum et cor seminis tui ad Dominum Deum amandum. Item apud Iesum Naue: Et dixit Dominus ad Iesum: fac tibi cultellos petrinos nimis acutos et adside et circumcide secundo filios Israel. Item Paulus ad Colossenses: Circumcisi estis circumcisione non manufacta in expoliatione carnis sed in circumcisione Christi. Item quod Adam primus a Deo factus incircumcisus et Abel iustus et Enoch qui Deo placuit et translatus est et Noe qui in terris omnibus ob delicta pereuntibus solus, in quo humanum genus seruaretur, electus est, et Melchisedech sacerdos, secundum cuius ordinem Christus repromissus est: tunc quod illud signaculum feminis non proficit, signo autem Domini omnes signantur.

"8. That the first circumcision of the flesh is made void, and the second circumcision of the spirit is promised instead.

In Jeremiah: "Thus saith the Lord to the men of Judah, and to them who inhabit Jerusalem, Renew newness among you, and do not sow among thorns: circumcise yourselves to your God, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart; lest my anger go forth like fire, and burn you up, and there be none to extinguish it." Also Moses says: "In the last days God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God." Also in Jesus the son of Nave: "And the Lord said unto Jesus, Make thee small knives of stone, very sharp, and set about to circumcise the children of Israel for the second time." Paul also to the Colossians: "Ye are circumcised with the circumcision not made with hands in the putting off of the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ." Also, because Adam was first made by God uncircumcised, and righteous Abel, and Enoch, who pleased God and was translated; and Noah, who, when the world and men were

> perishing on account of trangressions, was chosen alone, that in him the human race might be preserved; and Melchizedek, the priest according to whose order Christ was promised. Then, because that sign did not avail women, but all are sealed by the sign of the Lord."

Cyprian simply quotes Colossians 2:11 without further comment. However, both his text of Colossians 2:11 and the context in which this quotation occurs enable us to reconstruct how Cyprian understood this verse.

Colossians 2:11 has here been added to an aspect of anti-Jewish polemic that was originally developed on the basis of Old Testament testimonia alone. Neither Barnabas, Justin nor Tertullian refers to Colossians 2:11 in their testimonia concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision.

We have here the first example of the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". This has the effect of making "in expoliatione [corporis] carnis" refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, which is thus contrasted with the circumcision of Christ. Whether this addition was in the earliest Latin versions of Colossians 2:11, or was a later addition, we cannot be sure. However, it is significant that Cyprian's text of Colossians 2:11 omits "corporis" before "carnis". Tertullian, it will be recalled, makes no reference to "corporis" in his allusion to Colossians 2:11. This, as was noted above (p.160) may suggest that the Early Latin version of Colossians 2:11 circulating in North Africa did not include "corporis". Tertullian, it will be recalled, also takes "in expoliatione carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. It is possible, therefore, that his text of Colossians 2:11 also read the addition "sed", and that this addition did not originate with Cyprian.

To take "in expoliatione [corporis] carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision is not the most natural interpretation of the original Greek of Colossians 2:11 which has *ἀχειροποιήτῳ*, not *οὐ χειροποιήτῳ*. (See further p.25 above). It seems to me that the context in which Colossians 2:11 is found here may give us a clue to the origin of this interpretation of Colossians 2:11, namely that it was developed in the context of anti-Jewish polemic.

It is probable that Cyprian understood "in circumcisione Christi" to refer to baptism. He concludes his consideration of circumcision in s8 by pointing out that it was not effective for women whereas "all are sealed by the sign of the Lord." The latter reference clearly implies baptism. In fact in Cyprian's letter to Fidus (Ep. 64) the circumcision of the heart is explicitly connected with baptism.

Additional Note: Epistle 64: To Fidus

Cyprian discusses the analogy between circumcision and baptism at greater length in his letter to Fidus. Fidus had put forward the view that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that infants ought not to be baptized until the eighth day. This matter was discussed at the Council of Carthage (in either 251 or 253), upon whose behalf Cyprian replies. Cyprian informs us that the council unanimously decided that, because of original sin, baptism should not be deferred until the eighth day, but that infants should be baptized directly after birth, on the second or third day.

The relevant sections of Cyprian's letter are worth quoting at length:

> "2. But as regards the case of infants who you say should not be baptized within the second or third day after their birth, and that respect should be had to the law of the ancient circumcision, whence you think that one newly born should not be baptized and sanctified within the eighth day, we all in our council thought very differently. For no one agreed in what you thought was to be done; but rather, we all judge, that the mercy and grace of God is to be denied to none born of man. For since the Lord says in His Gospel, 'The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them', as far as in us lies, if it can be, no soul should be lost. For what is wanting to one, who has been once formed in the womb by the Hands of God? For to us and to our eyes, according to the course of this world, they that are born appear to receive increase in growth; but whatsoever things are made by God, are perfected by the majesty and operation of their maker. 3. Moreover the truth of Holy Scripture declares to us that all, whether infants or elders, have the same equal participation of the Divine gift. ...all men are alike and equal, in that they have been once made by God; and our age, in the growth of our

bodies, may differ according to the world, not according to God; unless indeed the very grace also, which is given to the baptized, is granted, more or less, according to the age of the recipients; whereas the 'Holy Ghost' is 'not given by measure', but through the clemency and mercy of the Father, equally to all. For as 'God accepteth no man's person', so neither, with well-weighed equality, any age; but giveth Himself as a Father to all, for the attainment of heavenly grace.

4. For whereas you say that an infant during the first days after its birth bears traces of uncleanness, so that any one of us would still shrink from kissing it, neither should this, we think, be a hindrance to giving it the heavenly grace; for it is written, 'Unto the pure all things are pure'. Nor ought any of us to shrink from that which God hath vouchsafed to make. For although an infant is yet fresh from its birth, yet it is not such that any one should shrink from kissing it in bestowing grace and in making peace; for that, in the kiss of an infant, each of us should, for very piety, think of the recent Hands of God, which we in a manner kiss, in the lately formed and recently born man, when we embrace that which God has made. For in that in the Jewish circumcision of the flesh the eighth day was observed, a mystery was given beforehand in a shadow and in a figure; but, when Christ came, it was accomplished in reality. For because the eighth day, that is, the first after the sabbath, was to be that, whereon our Lord would rise again and quicken us and give us the spiritual circumcision, this eighth day, that is, the first after the sabbath, and the Lord's day, was promised in a figure. Which figure ceased, when the reality afterwards came, and when the spiritual circumcision was given to us. On which account we think that no one should by that law which was before ordained be hindered from obtaining grace; nor should the spiritual circumcision be hindered by the circumcision in the flesh, but every one is by all means to be admitted to the grace of Christ...

5. But if anything could hinder men from obtaining grace, much more might the more grievous sins hinder the adult and grown and elder men. If then even to the most grievous offenders, and who had before sinned much against God, when they afterwards believe, remission of sins is granted, and no one is debarred from Baptism and grace, how much more ought not an infant to be debarred, who being newly born has in no way sinned, except that being born after Adam in the flesh, he has by his first birth

> contracted the contagion of the old death; who is on this very account more easily admitted to receive remission of sins, in that not his own but another's sins are remitted to him. And therefore, dearest brother, this was our opinion in council, that no one should by us be debarred from Baptism and the grace of God Who is merciful and gracious and loving to all. Which as it is to be observed and maintained towards all, much more do we think it to be observed towards infants and the newly born, who on this very account the more deserve our aid and the Divine mercy, that, immediately on the very dawn of their birth, lamenting and weeping, they do nothing else but entreat for pardon."

It is important to note that in s4 Cyprian does not refer to the spiritual circumcision as made by the "hands of God", in contrast to carnal circumcision which, according to Cyprian's understanding of Colossians 2:11, was "made by hand". The reference to the hands of God refers to the formation of the child whilst still in the mother's womb (133). In fact, there is no clear indication here that Colossians 2:11 and 12 have played a part in the development of this argument. The argument is dependent upon Justin who, as we have seen, may have constructed his argument solely on the basis of Old Testament texts, without explicit reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 (see p.90) above).

Several things are clear from this letter. First, by the mid third century AD infant baptism was an established practice in the North African Church. There is no hint here that the validity of the practice itself was being called into question: both parties take the validity of the practice for granted. Second, that by this time, the application of the analogy between circumcision and baptism was sufficiently firmly established for the Old Testament regulations concerning circumcision to be thought to be determinative for the administration of infant baptism; and indeed sufficiently established for the Council to refute the implication of that analogy in this one respect, without calling into question the basic validity of the analogy itself. Thirdly, by this time the view that infants share in the guilt of Adam's sin and are, therefore, in need of cleansing was accepted as an argument for infant baptism. It was

the development of this doctrine, which, as we have seen, was not used as an argument for infant baptism at the time of Tertullian, that explains how infant baptism had become an established practice by the time of Cyprian. However, fourthly, the view that infants share in the guilt of Adam's sin and are, therefore, in need of cleansing took precedence over the analogy between circumcision and baptism in determining when infants were to be baptized. Fifthly, by this time the view that repentance and faith were prerequisites for baptism has been supplanted by the view that the 'grace' of baptism is not dependent upon the response of the recipient. In my opinion this was probably due more to a magical understanding of baptism than to a Biblical doctrine of grace.

The manner in which Cyprian replies to Fidus suggests that it was Fidus' view that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that infants should not be baptized before the eighth day, rather than the fear of infant mortality prior to baptism on the eighth day, that was the innovation. Jeremias maintained that Fidus arrived at this opinion that the time of baptism should be brought into line with that of circumcision from his study of the Scriptures. (134) However, had the analogy between circumcision and baptism been used from the first as an argument for infant baptism, then this issue would have been raised much earlier. The fact that it has only now been raised in an indication that the application of the analogy between circumcision and baptism to infant baptism was a fairly recent one, and that the possible implications of this analogy for the administration of infant baptism were only now being realised.

Placing the evidence of Tertullian and Cyprian side by side it would appear that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, did not give rise to the practice of infant baptism, but that it only began to be used as an argument for infant baptism after the practice was already clearly established on other grounds. This conclusion may at first appear surprising in view of the fact that from early on baptism was seen as the typological fulfilment of carnal circumcision. However, as I have already pointed out (p.155 above), this was only

one element in the traditional teaching concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision. Another important element was that of the circumcision of the heart and ears, which inevitably focused attention upon the baptism of adults and those who were old enough to understand and accept the Christian faith for themselves. The emphasis upon the circumcision of the heart and ears probably delayed the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. Only after the practice of infant baptism had been clearly established on other grounds could this important element in the church's teaching concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision be circumvented, and the argument be advanced that since baptism has replaced circumcision, because infants were circumcised, so now infants ought to be baptized.

3.3.2.2 On Jealousy and Envy: s14

There is a possible allusion to Colossians 2:12 in s14 of Cyprian's treatise *On Jealousy and Envy*, which was written in 251/2 AD. (135) Having alluded to Colossians 3:9, and quoted Colossians 3:1–4 Cyprian exhorts:

> qui ergo in baptismo secundum hominis antiqui peccata carnalia et mortui et sepulti sumus, qui regeneratione caelesti Christo consurreximus, quae sunt Christi et cogitemus pariter et geramus,
>
> "Let us, then, who have in baptism both died and been buried in respect of the carnal sins of the old man, who have risen again with Christ in the heavenly regeneration, both think upon and do the things which are Christ's ... "

This is not a certain allusion to Colossians 2:12. Cyprian speaks of both death and burial with Christ, whereas Colossians 2:12 speaks only of burial with Christ, which may suggest that he is simply using traditional baptismal language rather than consciously alluding to a specific text. Further, "Christo consurreximus" is probably due to the influence of Colossians 3:1 ("consurrexistis Christo") rather than Colossians 2:12 (Vulgate: "in quo

et resurrexistis"; cf. Tertullian: "et conresuscitatos in eo"). However, the occurrence of the phrase "in baptismo" as distinct from "per baptismum" (Romans 6:4) in a context in which other texts from Colossians are referred to suggests that Colossians 2:12 may have influenced Cyprian's thought here.

The relevance of this extract is that Cyprian here connects what happens to a person in baptism with the reference to the stripping off of the old man in Colossians 3:9. Presumably there was an interplay in his thought between Colossians 2:11 and Colossians 3:9 because of the occurrence of the rare verb "exspolio" in both these verses. We have already seen that the reading of "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi", in Cyprian's text of Colossians 2:11 has the effect of making "in exspoliatione [corporis] carnis" refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. However, Cyprian's comments here suggest that he understood there to be a spiritual counterpart to this in baptism. We do not have sufficient evidence, however, to ascertain whether this was thought to be implied in Colossians 2:11 and 12, or whether it was rather due to an interplay between Colossians 2:11 and Colossians 3:9.

3.4 EARLY ROMAN THEOLOGY

3.4.1 Novatian (died 257/8): On the Trinity: c21 s9

Novatian's treatise *On the Trinity* was written about the year 250. It is, as F. F. Bruce notes (136) the first extant Latin work produced by a member of the Roman church, Roman Christians up to the time of Hippolytus having written in Greek. Novatian does not explicitly refer to Colossians 2:11 or 12, but he does read the variant "exuens carnem" in Colossians 2:15, maintaining that Christ stripped himself of his body by his death on the cross, and clothed himself with humanity again when he rose again from the dead, thereby demonstrating both his divinity and his true humanity:

> "And when the same Apostle says of Christ: "He, having put off the flesh, (exuens carnem) dishonored the Powers, openly triumphing over them in Himself," certainly he did not intend that the phrase, "having put off the flesh," should have no meaning at all. On the contrary, he intended it to mean that He put

> on the flesh again in His Resurrection. Let the heretics, then, find out for themselves who it is that puts off and again puts on the flesh. For we know that it was the Word of God who put on the substance of flesh and that this selfsame Word divested Himself of the very same material of His body, which he took again in His Resurrection, and put on anew, as though it were a garment. If Christ had been only a man, He could neither have divested Himself of nor clothed Himself with humanity since no one is ever divested of or clothed with himself. Whatever is taken way from or put on by someone must of necessity be something other than the person himself. Consequently, it was assuredly the Word of God who put off the flesh and in His Resurrection put it on again. He discarded it because He had put it on in His Nativity. So in Christ it is God who is clothed, and it must also be God who was divested because He who is clothed must likewise be divested. He, then, puts on and puts off humanity, as though His body were a woven tunic. Therefore it was the Word of God, as we have already stated, who is found to have at one time put on and at another time to have put off the flesh."

This variant is most probably the result of a comparison of the Greek text of Colossians 2:15 with that of v11, the assumption being that since Christ is the subject of *ἀπεκδυσάμενος* the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in v11 also refers to Christ, and that the object of *ἀπεκδυσάμενος* and of the implied *ἀπεκδύω* is the same in each case, namely *τῆς σαρκός*. Presumably those who advanced this line of thought also understood the phrase to refer to a circumcision that Christ effected in his death on the cross. A similar assumption was made by some gnostic groups (see section 3.1.3.1 above).

This reasoning could only have been advanced on the basis of the Greek text of Colossians 2:11 and 15. The Latin translation of v15 has the verb "exuens" not "expolio". Indeed, this fact suggests that whilst Novatian's Latin translation has retained the conclusion from this line of thought, namely that Christ put off his flesh, he was not conversant with the reasoning behind it. Certainly the fact that Novatian nowhere describes Christ's putting off of the flesh in his death as a circumcision suggests that he was not acquainted with this line of thought. This variant does suggest, however, that

there were those in Rome, if that is where this translation was made, sometime before Novatian, who understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to Christ, and *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to a circumcision that Christ effected in his death on the cross.

3.4.2 Additional Note: The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus: s21:4f

There is important early evidence for the practice of infant baptism in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, which was written at Rome, about 215–217AD:

> "They shall take off their clothes. Baptize the little ones first. All those who can speak for themselves shall do so. As for those who cannot speak for themselves, their parents or someone from their family shall speak for them. Then baptize the men, and lastly the women". (s21.4f).

All that precedes and follows presupposes that the candidates for baptism are old enough to understand and respond to the Christian faith for themselves. Before people can "come forward ...to hear the word" (s15.1), that is, become a catechumen, they are "questioned about their reason for coming to the faith" (s15.2) and those who have brought them "bear witness about them, whether they are capable of hearing the word" (ibid). A careful scrutiny of their former life takes place to ensure that they have left their pagan way of life behind them (s15–16). Catechumens must normally "hear the word for three years" (s17) during which time they must evidence their worthiness to receive baptism by their pure conduct (s17 and 20). The unexpectedness of the reference to "the little ones ...who cannot speak for themselves" led Aland to postulate that "the section relating to the baptism of children is an interpolation from a later age and has nothing to do with Hippolytus and the usage of his time." (137) He notes that only fragments of the Greek original of the *Apostolic Tradition* have survived, and that in s24 we are dependent upon a late fourth-century Latin translation, the oldest manuscript dating from about 500 AD. The same passage, however,

also occurs in the Sahidic version of the Apostolic Tradition (translated before 500, the oldest manuscript dating from 1006) and should probably be accepted as genuine. Indeed, as Jewett notes,

> "If Tertullian knows of the sponsoring of infants in baptism as early as AD 205 in Africa, one should not be surprised that the practice is allowed in Rome about AD 217, when Hippolytus composed his *Apostolic Tradition.*" (138)

Whether Hippolytus preserves a tradition for the baptism of infants which stems back to the apostles, as Jeremias claims (139) is open to question. Jeremias rightly notes that Hippolytus had no intention of introducing new rules for church action, but is setting down an older position. (140) However, there is truth in Aland's counter-reply that "a Church Order has the intention of finally establishing the church situation of *its* time ... by means of an appeal (which is always made) back to the Apostolic Age." (141) The truth in this instance is, as Jewett notes, probably to be found somewhere between confidence and scepticism regarding Hippolytus' testimony. He points out that:

> "It must be remembered that he was the learned and obstinate champion of tradition against Callistus, Rome's innovative bishop, and that the purpose in recording these rules was to preserve his own flock in Rome, and all the true church throughout the world, from "lapse or error" which had "recently occurred" (1:4). Much of what he writes must reflect the practice of the church during his early tenure in the presbytery of Rome (he was made a presbyter under Zephyrinus sometime before AD 200) and may therefore reflect the practice of thirty to fifty years prior to his writing. In other words, infant baptism may have been known in Rome even before AD 200. It is in this period of Hippolytus' youth—AD 180 to 200— that the mists close in on the witness to infant baptism in the ancient church generally". (142)

Unfortunately it is not possible on the basis of this brief reference to infant baptism to ascertain what theological arguments were advanced for the practice at this time. It is relevant to note, however, that there were close links between Rome and Carthage, as is evidenced by the Novatianist

controversy and the controversy between Stephen and Cyprian. If, as was argued in the Additional Note to Section 3.3.2 above, Cyprian's Letter 64 to Fidus indicates that the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism was a relatively recent development in Africa in the mid-third century, it is unlikely that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was used as an argument for infant baptism in Rome nearly forty years previously.

This conclusion is possibly confirmed by the fact that Origen was not aware of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. Origen had visited Rome sometime before 217, "desiring", in his own words "to see the most ancient church of the Romans". (143) We know nothing of his actual stay in Rome except that he attended a lecture by Hippolytus, who acknowledged his presence. (144) We cannot, of course, be certain that Origen discussed the practice of infant baptism, and the rationale for it, during his stay in Rome, though this is certainly possible: he was, no doubt, keen to learn all that he could about the theology and practices of this "most ancient church". However, if he did so, as I think is probable, that he was unaware of use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism would confirm that this analogy was not used in Rome as an argument for infant baptism before 217.

We may cautiously conclude, therefore, that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was first advanced as an argument for infant baptism sometime in the second quarter of the third century.

Chapter 4

GREEK PATRISTIC EXEGESIS AFTER NICEA

Introduction

In the fourth century we see the increasing separation of the Greek speaking Eastern Church and the Latin speaking Western Church. The language barrier was also a cultural and theological barrier, and the tensions between the Greek East and Latin West, apparent in the Arian controversy, were exacerbated by the Roman claim to a superior jurisdiction. The result was that East and West gradually developed along different and diverse lines. Greek writers rarely read Latin writers, though as we shall see in the next chapter some Western theologians were much indebted to Eastern writers. We are justified, therefore, in treating Eastern and Western writers separately.

The three volumes of the Biblia Patristica, which lists quotations and allusions to Biblical texts, that have been published to date cover only writers up to and including Origen. I am, therefore, grateful to the Centre D'Analyse et de Documentation Patristiques for allowing me pre-publication access to the relevant section of the forthcoming *Biblia Patristica: 4*, which covers Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Cyril of Jerusalem. This has meant that I have included Epiphanius' references to Colossians 2:11 and 12 which I would otherwise have missed. Interestingly Eusebius, though he discusses the spiritual significance of circumcision (*Demonstration*

of the Gospel: 1:6) and argues that circumcision on the eighth day was a type of Christ's resurrection (*Commentary on Psalm 6*), does so without reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12—a reminder that even in the fourth century the spiritual significance of circumcision, and the analogy between circumcision and baptism were often developed independently of these verses.

I have traced several quotations of and allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in other Greek writers from my own, somewhat limited, reading, and from the checking of indices. Undoubtedly there will be other references that I have missed. Nonetheless, I hope to have found sufficient references to Colossians 2:11 and 12 to provide a reresentative sample of the way in which these verses were understood in each of the main exegetical traditions in the post-Nicene period, and the part that they played in the development of the rationale for infant baptism.

In the post-Nicene period I have not followed a strict chronological order, but have grouped authors together in "families", following the groupings of J. Quasten in the third volume of his *Patrology*, (1) within which chronological order generally has been followed. To some extent this is a false division since several authors, whilst clearly standing within one tradition, were aware of, and influenced by, writers of other traditions. Where appropriate I have drawn attention to this.

4.1 THE LATER ALEXANDRIANS

As J. Quasten notes, "The school of Alexandria, which reached its peak under Origen, saw a second spring in the fourth century." (2). It was during the fourth century that the differences between the Alexandrian and Antiochene traditions, both in their methods of Biblical interpretation and in their Christologies, came into sharp focus. As a broad generalization, Alexandrian writers adopted an allegorical, tropical (metaphorical), figurative and mystical interpretation of Scripture, whereas Antiochene writers adopted a more literal, historical and grammatical method of exegesis. However, there is, as Quasten notes, a difference between the elder and younger members of the school:

> "Since Arius and other heretics made every effort to prove their erroneous opinions from Scripture, the Neo-Alexandrine School in order to refute them, adopted in all polemical and theological discussions and controversies the historico-grammatical interpretation of Scripture which had always been advocated by the School of Antioch. The allegorical method had proved itself insufficient for such purposes." (3)

4.1.1 Pseudo-Athanasius: On the Sabbath and Circumcision: s.4–6

This work, attributed to Athanasius, was rejected by the Benedictine editors as spurious, along with all the other sermons attributed to Athanasius. According to Quasten, (4) K. Hoss (5) considered that it is a genuine work of Athanasius. W. Stott maintains that "The author probably wrote about the middle of the fourth century" (6). Hence it is included at this point in our study. However, Daniélou is of the opinion that "We do not need to date it before the end of the IV century." (7)

The last paragraph of this sermon indicates, as W. Stott notes, (8) that it was delivered at a baptism, probably on a Sunday.

> Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ γενόμενα συνετελέσθη, καὶ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ (11) κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων· ἐν δὲ τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ἐλθὼν ὁ Λόγος φησίν·

« Ἦλθον τελειῶσαι τὸ ἔργον. » Ὁ γὰρ ἀπὸ πάντων καταπαύων, σημαίνει τινὰ δεῖσθαι τέλους, ἅπερ ἐλθὼν ἐπετελείωσε. Φησὶ γὰρ (12) ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην· « Τὰ ἔργα ἃ δέδωκέ μοι ὁ Πατὴρ, ἵνα τελειώσω αὐτά· αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ. »

5. Ἀτελὲς μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἔργον, εἰ, ἁμαρτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἀπέθνησκεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· τέλειον δὲ γέγονε, ζωοποιηθέντος αὐτοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις κτίσιν ἀνακαινίσας, ἡμέραν τίθησι τῇ ἀνακαινίσει, ἣν διὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ προαναφωνεῖ λέγον τὸ Πνεῦμα· « Αὕτη ἡμέρα ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος. » Ἀνθ' ἡλίου γὰρ Θεὸς ἀνατέλλει, καταυγάζων τῇ ἑκάστου ψυχῇ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ (13) τῷ σωτηρίῳ πάθει οὐκ ἔφανεν ἥλιος, σημαίνων τέλος μὲν τῆς προτέρας κτίσεως, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἑτέρας, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνατέλλουσαν· ἣν ἑωρακὼς ὁ προφήτης φησίν (14)· « Ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ· » καὶ πάλιν· « Ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτὸν ἀνατελεῖ ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης. » Οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡμέρα αὕτη, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποθανόντων τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζώντων δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ περιτέμνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ νόμος· καὶ ἀπαράβατος ἦν ἡ ἐντολὴ, σημαίνουσα τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἀναγέννησιν πάντων. Ἡ γὰρ περιτομὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδήλου ἢ τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἀπέκδυσιν· τὸν γὰρ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἀποθανόντα ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα (15), καὶ ἀνακαινούμεθα τῇ Κυριακῇ, ὅτε ὁ παλαιὸς, ἀπεκδυθεὶς, ἀνεγεννήθη τῇ ἀναστάσει. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Παῦλός φησιν (16) ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς· « Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε. » Τῆς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀπεκδύσεως τύπος ἦν ἡ περιτομή· ἣν (17) ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέλεσιν ἐνετείλατο γίνεσθαι, δι' ὧν καὶ γεννᾶται τὸ σῶμα, ἵν' εἰδεῖεν οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι, ὅτι ἀπεκδύσεως παλαιότητός ἐστι σημεῖον. Πιστεύσας γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβε τὴν περιτομὴν, σημεῖον οὖσαν τῆς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγεννήσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐλθόντος τοῦ σημαινομένου, πέπαυται τὸ σημεῖον. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ περιτομὴ σημεῖον ἦν, τὸ δὲ (18) γε λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τὸ σημαινόμενον. Ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀπεκδιδυσκομένου, περιττὴ ἡ διὰ τοῦ μέρους σημασία. Καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ Κυριακὴ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεώς ἐστι, καὶ παύει τὸ Σάββατον· οὕτως ἡ αὐτὴ ἀναγεννήσασα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπαυσε τὴν περιτομήν. Ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ κατώρθωται, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως, καὶ ἡ ἀναγέννησις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ὀγδόη τὸ Σάββατον ἔλυσε, καὶ οὐ τὸ Σάββα-

τον τὴν ὀγδόην. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ Σαββάτῳ περιετέμνετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος· ἐν δὲ τῷ Σαββάτῳ οὐκ ἤργει ἡ (19) περιτομή. Ἡ γὰρ ὀγδόη, ἀρχὴ οὖσα τῆς ἀνακτίσεως, κατέπαυσε τὴν πρώτην.

6. Ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν περιτομὴν δεδόσθαι. Τοῦ γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἀκούσαντος· « Γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ, » ἔθνησκε, καὶ διεφθείρετο τὸ σῶμα· ὅθεν μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τοῦτο (20) τὸ αἴτιον τῆς τοῦ σώματος γενέσεως προσετάχθησαν ἐκτινύειν, προδιδασκόμενοι τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἀπέκδυσιν, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἀποδιδόντες τὸ καταχριθὲν, διασωθῆναι δυνηθῶσι. Καὶ ὥσπερ αἱ θυσίαι σκιαὶ ἦσαν τῶν μελλόντων, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἐκ μέρους περιτομὴ τοῦ ὅλου ἦν σκιά. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ (21) φανερῶς ὁ λόγος σημαίνει· τοῦ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ Θεοῦ περιτέμνοντος τὸν λαὸν ἐν Γαλγάλοις πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, εἶπε Κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῦ υἱῷ Ναυῆ· « Ἐν τῇ σήμερον (22) ἡμέρᾳ ἀφεῖλον τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν Αἰγύπτου ἀφ' ὑμῶν. Καὶ ἐκάλεσα, φησὶν, ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Γάλγαλα. » Εἰ γὰρ ἡ περιτομὴ ἀφαίρεσίς ἐστι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσεως, δηλονότι ἡ ἀκροβυστία, Αἰγυπτιακῆς σχέσεως καὶ γενέσεως γνώρισμά ἐστι. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀφεῖλεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἵνα μηκέτι ὡς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεννηθέντες ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, εἰς ἣν εἰσῆξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος, τέκνα λογίζωνται. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ὄντων, φαίνεται καθόλου ἡ περιτομὴ δοθεῖσα (23), ἵν' ἀφαιρεθῇ ὁ ὀνειδισμὸς τῆς γηΐνης γενέσεως ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀβραμιαίων, καὶ μηκέτι ὑπεύθυνοι ὦμεν τῷ· « Γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. » Ἀφῃρέθη γὰρ ὁ ὀνειδισμὸς τοῦ παραπτώματος. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο τότε εἰς τύπον τοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματος. Τότε γὰρ ἐκ μέρους ἐγένετο (24), ὡς ἐν σκιᾷ, νῦν δὲ, ὥσπερ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ὅλην τὴν γηΐνην γένεσιν ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀναγεννώμενοι, ἵνα μηκέτι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς ἀπεκδύσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἣν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, ζήσωμεν. Ὥσπερ δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῦ· « Ἀφεῖλον τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἀφ' ὑμῶν· » οὕτως πολλῷ πλέον λεχθείη ἂν ἑκάστῳ τῶν νῦν (24') βαπτιζομένων· Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἀφεῖλον τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τῆς γηΐνης γενέσεως, καὶ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν· τῆς τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾶς ἀπὸ σοῦ, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ.

The whole of this sermon is extremely interesting. However, for the purposes of this study we must limit our extracts to the second part of the sermon which deals primarily with the abolition, and spiritual significance of circumcision.

The subject matter of this sermon is clearly traditional. However, it is

re-worked with considerable freedom and skill by this author. Although the anti-Jewish, polemical nature of this material is present, the author re-works the material in such a way as to make it ethically instructive for his hearers.

It is interesting to note that whereas in the Testimonies the two subjects of the abolition of the sabbath and circumcision are discussed consecutively, in separate sections, in this sermon they are interlinked. The connecting link between these two subjects for this author lies, as W. Stott notes (9), in the idea of the Eighth day. Christ's resurrection on the eighth day was the beginning of the new creation, the regeneration of the world, and has therefore abolished the observance of the sabbath, which was a memorial of the old creation (s4). Circumcision on the eighth day was a sign of both the stripping off of the old creation and the regeneration which take place through baptism on the eighth day.

One of the many interesting sub-themes that the author develops is that between the sabbath rest and rest from sin. He argues that:

> "the [true] sabbath is not the seventh day, but the remission of sins, when someone ceases to fall into sin. And the Sabbath is not idleness, but confession and humility of soul. ...The Sabbath is not primarily the law of idleness, but of 'gnosis', of propitiation and abstaining from all evil." (s3)

Although the author is in this sermon re-working traditional themes, Colossians 2: 11 and 12 are not simply introduced as a proof-text to confirm an argument which has been developed independently of these verses. The numerous allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 indicate that they have deeply influenced the author's thought and language, and that they have played an integral part in the development of the argument itself. They have passed from the realm of a proof text, and are now beginning to be interpreted in their own right, and the distinctive thought and language of these verses are beginning to influence the traditional teaching concerning circumcision and baptism.

In addition to the quotation of and allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12, the author of this sermon also gives his own paraphrase of the

meaning of these verses: *ὥσπερ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ὅλην τὴν γηΐνην γένεσιν ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀναγεννώμενοι, ἵνα μηκέτι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς ἀπεκδύσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἣ διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, ζήσωμεν.* (s6) We can, therefore, build up a fairly accurate picture from this sermon of the way in which the author understood Colossians 2:11 and 12.

It is clear, firstly, that he understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to what happens to the believer, not to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. "Circumcision," he maintains, "is a type of the stripping off through baptism" (s5). The noun *ἀπέκδυσις* and the verb *ἀπεκδύομαι* are used consistently to refer to what is stripped off in baptism. Indeed, in s6 the author repeatedly contrasts the removal of the "part (*μέρος*)" in carnal circumcision, and the removal of "the whole (*τὸ ὅλον*)" in baptism. This contrast may have been suggested by St. Paul's use of *ἀπέκδυσις*, rather than simply *ἔκδυσις*, which implies a "stripping right away" (cf. Chrysostom: *Homily VI on Colossians*, Section 4.3.3.5 below). This contrast between the stripping off of the "part" in carnal circumcision and the "whole" in baptism is also made by Chrysostom, Theodore and Theodoret in their comment on Colossians 2:11. It may, therefore, suggest that there were links between this author and the school of Antioch. However, Antiochene exegetes read the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* before *τῆς σαρκός* in their texts of Colossians 2:11, as indeed do nearly all Greek writers and many Latin writers from the second half of the third century onwards. This addition is not found in this writer's text of Colossians 2:11, nor is there any hint of it in his allusions to Colossians 2:11. This tends to confirm the view, noted above, that he wrote around the middle of the fourth century.

What is "stripped off" in baptism is variously explained. In his paraphrase of Colossians 2:11 the author describes this as our "earthly birth" (*ὅλην τὴν γηΐνην γένεσιν ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα* (s6); cf. *τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἀπέκδυσιν* (s5); *ἀπεκδύσεως παλαιότητός* (*ibid*); *τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀπεκδιδ-*

υσκομένου (*ibid.*)) However, the author does not understand the "old man" in individualistic terms, referring to one's life prior to conversion, but in terms of one's identity with Adam, and the whole of the old creation which was marred by Adam's transgression (s6). The author also links what is "stripped off" in baptism with the removal of the "shame of Egypt" (Joshua 5:9). This connection was first developed by Origen (*Homily VI on Joshua*; *Commentary on John Book VI*: s26) upon whom, or a tradition stemming from whom, our author is probably dependent. The author further explains this shame (ὀνειδισμός) as "the shame of Adam's transgression" (s6). Whether he meant by this that all men share in the guilt of Adam's sin is not clear. However, he also speaks of this shame as "the shame of our earthly birth" and "the shame of the corruption of death" (ibid.) which suggests that the notion of the inheritance of a corrupt nature from Adam, not inherited guilt, is probably in mind.

In his paraphrase of Colossians 2:11 the author speaks simply of "the putting off of the body (τῆς ἀπεκδύσεως τοῦ σώματος)". There are two points to note here. First, that he makes no reference to "the flesh" suggests that he understood σαρκός to be a genitive of apposition or identity. Second, in view of the references just quoted, it is clear that he understood σώματος metaphorically, not literally. In this sense it is similar to St. Augustine's use of "massa".

The repeated emphasis upon what is "stripped off" suggests that the author has in mind the rite of stripping before descending into the baptismal waters, and that he is seeking to explain the significance of this rite to the candidates for baptism. We do not know for certain when this rite began. It was, however, clearly established by the middle of the fourth century. Cyril of Jerusalem, for example, compares the nakedness of the baptized to the nakedness of Christ on the cross (*Catechetical Lecture XX (On the Mysteries II)*: s2). Theodore of Mopsuestia, links the rite of stripping to the primaeval innocence of Adam who, prior to the fall, was "naked and not ashamed" (*Baptismal Homily III*:8). St. John Chrysostom speaks of being "stripped of the old garment which has been soiled by the multitude of our

sins" (Baptismal Homily II:10). It is possible that Colossians 2:11 and 12 contributed to the development of this rite. However, in view of the fact that hitherto *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 was taken to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, it is equally possible that this rite precipitated the view that *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* referred rather to what happens to a person in baptism. We do not have sufficient evidence to decide the issue with any certainty.

Secondly, it is clear from the author's paraphrase of Colossians 2:11 and 12 that he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to what happens in baptism: *ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς ἀπεκδύσεως τοῦ σώματος, ἣν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, ζήσωμεν* (s6). Elsewhere he emphasizes that circumcision was a type of the stripping off through baptism: *Τῆς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀπεκδύσεως τύπος ἦν ἡ περιτομή* (s5); *Ἡ μὲν γὰρ περιτομὴ σημεῖον ἦν, τὸ δέ γε λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τὸ σημαινόμενον* (*ibid.*). In s6 the author actually refers to baptism as "Christ's baptism": *Τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο τότε εἰς τύπον τοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματος. "διὰ βαπτίσματος"* suggests the influence of Romans 6:4. However, in view of the quotation of Collosians 2:11 and 12 and the importance that these verses have played in the development of the argument here, the inclusion of *τοῦ...Χριστοῦ* is clearly due to the influence of the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11. This indicates that he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to be a periphrasis for "Christ's baptism".

Thirdly, it is clear from this sermon that the author believed that through baptism a person participates in Christ's historic death, burial and resurrection. He maintains that the death that the Christian undergoes in baptism is a participation in Christ's historic death on the sixth day, and it is clear that he believed *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12 to mean a participation in Christ's historic resurrection: *Ἡ γὰρ περιτομὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδήλου ἢ τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἀπέκδυσιν· τὸν γὰρ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἀποθανόντα ἀπεκδιδυσκόμεθα, καὶ ἀνακαινούμεθα τῇ Κυριακῇ, ὅτε ὁ παλαιὸς, ἀπεκδυθεὶς, ἀνεγεννήθη τῇ ἀναστάσει* (s5). Similarly, the in-

clusion of ἐις τὸν ᾅδην in the quotation of Colossians 2:12 indicates that he understood συνταφέντες αὐτῷ to mean that through baptism a person actually participates in Christ's own descent into Hades.

In view of this, it is relevant to ask whether the author of this sermon believed that the circumcision that the Christian undergoes in baptism is a participation in a circumcision that Christ himself underwent or effected in his death or resurrection. This is difficult to determine. Part of the problem is that he argues that circumcision signified both the rebirth of the world in the resurrection of Christ, and of the Christian by participating in Christ's resurrection through baptism, and also of the stripping off of the former birth by participating in Christ's death on the cross through baptism. The former theme is a development of the traditional connection between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. However, the author nowhere explicitly states that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. The latter theme reflects a later stage in the development of the church's understanding of man's plight and of the resultant understanding of the work of Christ. Man's plight is no longer understood primarily in terms of mortality, which inevitably focused attention on Christ's resurrection from death as the remedy for this: rather, for this author man's plight is the result of Adam's transgression, as a result of which men not only die, but also are born with a corrupt nature which leads them into sin. This inevitably focused attention upon Christ's death on the cross for our sins as the remedy for man's plight. However, although the author argues that circumcision signified the putting off of the old birth, which takes place through participation in Christ's historic death on the cross, he nowhere explicitly states that Christ underwent a circumcision in his death. This may be consistent with his thought, but the author himself does not explore this idea, and there is no specific indication that he understood the phrase ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ in Colossians 2:11 in this way. Rather, as we have seen, he understood this as a periphrasis for "Christ's baptism".

Finally, with regard to this sermon, it is relevant to note that there is no mention here of infant baptism. This may be because the author is

addressing adults at their baptism. However, the omission is surprising in view of the fact that the author is here exploring the significance of the eighth day as a symbol of the re-creation of the world, and of circumcision on the eighth day as a type of the regeneration through baptism. It may be a further indication that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, were not, at first, used as an argument for infant baptism.

4.1.2 Didymus of Alexandria (c313–398): On the Trinity: Book 2: s5

Although Didymus of Alexandria lost his sight at the age of four, he was nonetheless one of the most important Alexandrian exegetes of the fourth century, becoming the head of the catechetical school under Athanasius. He was an ardent admirer of Origen, whom, according to Jerome, (10) he regarded as second only to the Apostles as a teacher of the churches. His baptismal theology was, however, also influenced by Tertullian. (11) Unfortunately, because of his condemnation as an Origenist by the Fifth General Council (553) the majority of his writings have not been preserved. He wrote commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians and Ephesians. He may also have written a commentary on Colossians, though this is by no means certain. (12)

Didymus composed his treatise *On the Trinity* between 381 and 392 (13). According to Quasten "the treatise testifies to the enormous Biblical erudition of its author" (14), though it is primarily a collection of Biblical texts "sometimes studied with real depth, but occasionally, too, distorted" (15).

In Book two of this treatise Didymus is concerned to establish the divinity of the Holy Spirit. During the first half of the fourth century, the main area of theological debate concerned the deity of Christ. In the second half of the fourth century the debate extended to the question of the deity of the Holy Spirit. This was denied not only by Arian theologians, but also by theologians who upheld the Nicene teaching concerning the deity of the Son.

(The Nicene Creed had merely stated, "And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit" without further explanation). There were a group of such theologians in Egypt in the mid 350's, whom Athanasius called "Tropici" because of their figurative exegesis of Scripture (16).

One of the arguments that he uses to demonstrate this is that the same attributes and functions which are ascribed to the Father and the Son are also ascribed to the Holy Spirit. In s5 he refers to spiritual circumcision as an example of this. In Colossians 2:11, he notes, this is an action that is ascribed to Christ, whereas in Romans 2:29, he maintains, it is ascribed to the Holy Spirit. (He assumes that *ἐν πνεύματι* is an instrumental dative, referring to the Holy Spirit as the agent of this circumcision, rather than as a locative dative, indicating the human spirit as the place where this circumcision is accomplished).

> Καὶ συνᾴδει τῷ φάναι, « Περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,» τὸ γεγράφθαι· « Περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν Πνεύματι. » Καὶ εἰ ἐμπρέπει περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι τὴν Πέτρου φωνήν· « Μετανοήσει ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ βαπτισθήτω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ σωθήσεται·» ἄρα τῷ Θεῷ ἀπαράλλακτον τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δεσπότην τοῖς μαθηταῖς, αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι φάναι· « Ἀναμείνατε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρός, ἣν ἠκούσατε, ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. » Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ἢ ὅπερ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ φώτισμα μυσταγωγία, ὅτι δὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ δύναται τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἅπερ τοὔνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, ἅτε τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπάρχον θεότητος.

The thrust of Didymus' argument here indicates that he understood *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to be a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to mean "the circumcision that Christ effects". The comparison with Acts 2:38 suggests that he understood this to take place through baptism. However, the phrase is clearly much more than a periphrasis for baptism: the emphasis is upon Christ as the active agent of

this circumcision.

Didymus omits *ἐν ᾧ καὶ* from the beginning of v11. This may be significant, indicating, perhaps, a movement from a Christological to a more sacramental understanding of this verse. This circumcision is effected by Christ, through baptism, rather than as a result of our incorporation in Christ.

Didymus omits *τῆς σαρκός*, but reads the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* after *τοῦ σώματος*. This addition excludes the possibility of taking *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. It makes clear that it is not the physical body that is stripped off. I have already suggested that the view that *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* referred to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision was probably developed in the context of anti-Jewish polemic. Origen, as we have seen, understood the phrase in this way, though he also understood there to be a spiritual counterpart to this in the circumcision of Christ (see p.131 above). Gradually, however, as the debate with the Jews became less intense, this phrase came to be understood, as here, to be descriptive of what happens in baptism.

The addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* was probably due to a conflation of *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 with *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6, precipated, perhaps, by the fact that baptism is for the forgiveness of sins, and that from earliest times sins were said to be 'put away' through baptism. There is a common link between these verses not only in that they both occur in contexts in which baptism is discussed, but also in the reference in Romans 6:6 to the "old man". It was natural to link *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 with the phrase *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον* in Colossians 3:9, and thereby with Romans 6:6 which also speaks of the "old man". Having done so it was natural to compare the phrase *ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6 with the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11. The first extant occurrence of this addition is in Book Two of Basil the Great's treatise *Concerning Baptism* (see section 4.2.2.4), and it is possible that the

addition may have originated with Basil.

The addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* effectively restricts the meaning of the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to the removal of actual sins, rather than to the removal of the fallen human nature which gives rise to them. The connection with the "old man" in Colossians 3:9 may have re-inforced the view that baptism was effective for the cleansing only of former sins.

4.1.3 Cyril of Alexandria (died 444)

Although Cyril was the most prolific Alexandrian writer after Origen, and wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, and on several New Testament books, he did not, as far as we know, write a commentary on Colossians. The comment on Colossians 2:11 and 12 cited as by Cyril in Cramer's Catena (17) is from the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom ad loc. I have, however, traced three references to these verses in Cyril's writings from which we may gain an indication of how he interpreted them.

4.1.3.1 Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke: Sermon III (on Luke 2:21–24)

Cyril's commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke is, as J. Quasten notes, "in reality a series of *Homilies on St. Luke* with practical rather than dogmatic purpose." (18) They date from the end of the year 430. Although the majority of these homilies have only survived in a Syriac version of the sixth or seventh century, we are particularly fortunate that the Greek original of the third sermon has been preserved.

Cyril quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 in his sermon on Luke 2:21–24 which is mainly given over to a consideration of Christ's circumcision in his infancy. Cyril explains both why, in his opinion, Christ submitted to the Jewish rite of circumcision, and the spiritual significance of circumcision for Christians. These two themes are interwoven throughout the sermon, and each sheds light upon the other. In what follows I have attempted to outline the former theme first, and only then discuss Cyril's more general statements about the spiritual significance of circumcision for Christians. In thus isolating

these two themes I have departed from the order in which Cyril treats this material, and I recognise that in so doing I may have obscured some of the inter-connections between these two themes in Cyril's thought. I have, therefore, included the whole of the relevant section of the Greek original of this sermon so that the reader may follow Cyril's own order should he so wish.

Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ
B *αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως.*

(A f. 53 b, E f. 89, H f. 96) Τέως οὖν ἴδομεν αὐτὸν, διὰ τῶν ἀρτίως ἀνεγνωσμένων, τοῖς διὰ Μωϋσέως εἰκοντα νόμοις· μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ θεσπίσμασιν ὑποκείμενον· καὶ διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν, διδάξει λέγων ὁ σοφώτατος Παῦλος· « Ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον (1) ἐκ γυναικὸς, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ (2). » Οὐκοῦν τῆς τοῦ νόμου κατάρας ἐξεπρίατο Χριστὸς τοὺς ὄντας μὲν ὑπὸ νόμον, οὐ μὴν ἔτι [E sine ἔτι] καὶ τετηρηκότας αὐτόν. Ἐξεπρίατο δὲ πῶς; Πληρώσας αὐτόν. Καὶ καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον· Ἵνα λύσῃ τῆς
C ἐν Ἀδὰμ παραβάσεως τὰ ἐγκλήματα, εὐπειθῆ καὶ εὐήνιον πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἑαυτὸν παρέστησεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί· γέγραπται γὰρ, ὅτι « Ὥσπερ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ, οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς, δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί. » Ἴφῃκε τοίνυν τῷ νόμῳ μεθ' ἡμῶν τὸν αὐχένα, οἰκονομικῶς καὶ τοῦτο πράττων· ἔπρεπε γὰρ αὐτῷ πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. Ἐνστάσης δὴ οὖν τῆς
D ὀγδόης, ἐν ᾗ σύνηθες ἦν τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ τελεῖσθαι περιτομὴν, κατά γε τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ νόμῳ, περιτέμνεται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τὸν νόμον δοὺς τῷ Μωϋσῇ, καὶ πρὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀβραάμ. Δέχεται καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, τουτέστι τὸ, Ἰησοῦς· ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ τοῦτο, Σωτηρία λαοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν ἴδιον Υἱὸν γεννηθέντα κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γυναικός· γέγονε γὰρ τότε σωτηρία λαοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἑνὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἔθνους, καὶ πάσης τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν· ἐν ταὐτῷ τοιγαροῦν τὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἐτελεῖτο χρῆμα, καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐδέχετο.

Καὶ τί τὸ αἴνιγμα, φέρε δὴ πάλιν ἴδωμεν. Ὁ μα- A
κάριος ἔφη Παῦλος· « Ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδέν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν. » Ἆρ' οὖν τὸ μηδὲν τηρεῖσθαι προστέταχε διὰ τοῦ πανσόφου Μωϋσέως ὁ τῶν

ὅλων Θεὸς, καὶ κόλασιν ἐπαρτήσας τοῖς παραβαίνουσιν αὐτήν; Ναὶ, φαίην ἄν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν, οὐδέν ἐστιν παντελῶς· ὠδίνει δὲ μυστηρίου τύπον· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν ἀνεβίω Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐν πνεύματι περιτομήν. Προστέταχε γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις, « Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. » Τελεῖσθαι δέ φαμεν τὴν ἐν πνεύματι περιτομὴν ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ὅτε καὶ μετόχους ἡμᾶς ἀποφαίνει Χριστὸς τοῦ ἁγίου B
Πνεύματος.—(E f. 89 b) Καὶ τούτου πάλιν εἰς τύπον ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος (1) ἐκεῖνος Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μετὰ Μωϋσέα στρατηγήσας· διεβίβασε γὰρ πρότερον τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ· εἶτα καθίσας εὐθὺς μαχαίραις περιέτεμε πετρίναις. Οὐκοῦν ὅτε διαβῶμεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην, τότε Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς περιτέμνει τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· οὐ σάρκα καθαίρων, ἀποκείρων δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν ἐν ψυχαῖς (2) μολυσμόν. (3) Ἐν ὀγδόῃ τοιγαροῦν περιτέμνεται Χριστὸς, καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν, ὡς ἔφην, λαμβάνει. Τότε γὰρ, τότε τεσώσμεθα πᾶρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ· « Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ, φησὶ, περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρ- C
θητε. » Οὐκοῦν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γέγονε, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ περιτομή· ἀπέθανε γὰρ, ἵνα ἡμεῖς οἱ συναποθανόντες αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, μηκέτι ζήσωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. Διὸ εἴρηται· « Εἰ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν » Ἀποθανεῖν δὲ λέγεται τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, οὐχ ὅτι ἥμαρτεν (« Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ »), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Ὅπερ οὖν συναπεθάνομεν αὐτῷ ἀποθνήσκοντι, καὶ συναναστῶμεν αὐτῷ.

Πάλιν ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Υἱὸς, καίτοι θεὸς ὢν φύσει καὶ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀτιμάζει μέτρον, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον γέγονε, καίτοι νομοθέτης ὢν αὐτὸς ὡς Θεός· περιτέμνεται ὀκταήμερος μετὰ Ἰου- D
δαίων, ἵνα τὴν συγγένειαν βεβαιώσῃ, ὅπως μὴ ἀρνήσωνται αὐτόν· ἐκ σπέρματος γὰρ Δαβὶδ προσεδοκᾶτο ὁ Χριστός· καὶ ἔδειξε τὸ τεκμήριον τῆς συγγενείας. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ περιτμηθέντος αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον, Τοῦτον οὐκ οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν· εἰ μὴ περιετμήθη κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφύλαξεν, ἔσχεν ἂν πρό-
A φασιν εὔλογον αὐτῶν ἡ ἄρνησις· μετὰ μέντοι τὸ περιτμηθῆναι αὐτὸν, πέπαυται ἡ περιτομὴ, εἰσαχθέντος ἡμῖν τοῦ σημαινομένου δι' αὐτῆς, ἤτοι τοῦ βαπτίσματος· διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὐκέτι περιτεμνόμεθα. Δοκεῖ γάρ μοι ἡ περιτομὴ τρία τινὰ πραγματεύεσθαι· ἓν μὲν,

οἱονεὶ σημείῳ τινὶ καὶ σφραγίσει τοὺς ἐγγόνους
Ἀβραὰμ ἀφορίζουσα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν διαστέλλουσα· δεύτερον, ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὴν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος προτυποῦσα χάριν καὶ δύναμιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ περιτεμνόμενος, εἰς λαὸν Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς σφραγῖδος πάλαι ἐχρημάτιζεν· οὕτως ὁ βαπτιζόμενος σφραγῖδα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τυπωσάμενος, εἰς υἱοθεσίαν Θεοῦ ἀναγράφεται. Καὶ τρίτον, σύμβολον
B τῶν ἐν χάριτι καθισταμένων πιστῶν, οἳ τῶν σαρκικῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ παθῶν τὰς ἐπαναστάσεις τῷ τμητικῷ τῆς πίστεως λόγῳ, καὶ πόνοις ἀσκητικοῖς ἐκτέμνουσι καὶ ἀπονεκροῦσιν, οὐ σῶμα τέμνοντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν καρδίαν καθαίροντες, καὶ πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι περιτεμνόμενοι· ὧν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον (E f. 90) οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιχρίσεως δεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐρτῆσθαι ψήφου, Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος διαμαρτύρεται.

Cyril argues that one reason why Christ was circumcised in his infancy was to confirm his Davidic descent, and thereby not give the Jews reason to doubt that he was the Messiah (PG LXXII: 497C-500A).

Another reason, which Cyril mentions first, was that Christ's circumcision was on our behalf. He maintains that Christ voluntarily submitted to the requirements of the law so that by his life of perfect obedience he might perfectly fulfil the law on our behalf and thereby redeem us from the curse that the law pronounces on all those who fail to keep its requirements. Christ's circumcision in his infancy was thus a representative act on our behalf. Indeed, Cyril maintains that it was particularly appropriate that he was given the name Jesus on this day for:

> "then especially was He made salvation of the people, and not of one only, but of many, or rather or every nation, and of the whole world." (496D)

Cyril reinforces this point by quoting Colossians 2:11 and 12 in a passage that is heavily dependent upon Origen's Homily XIV on Luke 2:21–24:

> "On the eighth day, therefore, Christ is circumcised, and receives, as I have said, His Name: for then, even then, we were saved by Him and through Him, "in Whom, it saith, ye were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands in the putting off of the fleshly body, with Christ's circumcision, having been buried

> with Him in baptism, wherein also ye were raised with Him." His death, therefore, was for our sakes, as were also His resurrection and His circumcision. For He died, that we who have died together with Him in His dying to sin, may no longer live to sin: for which reason it is said, "If we have died together with Him, we shall also live together with Him." And He is said to have died unto sin, not because He had sinned, "for He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth," but because of our sin. Like as therefore we died together with Him when He died, so shall we also rise together with Him." (497B-C)

Cyril has here copied Origen almost word for word, though he has altered the order of Origen's comments slightly. The borrowing from Origen indicates Cyril's admiration and respect for Origen, and also illustrates the influence of Origen upon later Alexandrian exegetes. It is also an indication of what was to become Cyril's theological method in the ensuing Christological controversy, namely to place Patristic testimony alongside Scriptural testimony with equal authority. (19) To what extent this was characteristic of his commentaries, as distinct from his Christological writings, I do not know.

The fact that Cyril is so heavily dependent here upon Origen makes it very difficult to ascertain how Cyril himself understood Colossians 2:11 and 12, since he does not himself explicitly comment upon these verses. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that Cyril also develops a number of other themes concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, most of which had been previously developed without specific reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12. It is difficult, therefore, to know to what extent he connected these with Colossians 2:11 and 12, and thus to what extent we may use them to determine Cyril's understanding of these verses.

Cyril's argument up to this point, however, indicates that at one level at least, he understood *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to be an objective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to the physical circumcision that Christ underwent in his infancy.

This does not, however, exhaust Cyril's understanding of the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. In the section immediately preceding the

extract cited above which includes the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 Cyril argues that whilst carnal circumcision itself effects absolutely nothing (1 Corinthians 7:19), it is nonetheless

> "pregnant with the graceful type of a mystery. For on the eighth day Christ arose from the dead, and gave us the spiritual circumcision." (497A)

He continues;

> "For He commanded the Holy Apostles: "Go and make ye disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And we affirm that the spiritual circumcision takes place chiefly in the season of holy baptism, when also Christ makes us partakers of the Holy Ghost. And of this again, that Jesus of old, who was captain after Moses, was a type. For He first of all led the children of Israel across the Jordan: and then having halted them, immediately circumcised them with knives of stone. So when we have crossed the Jordan, Christ circumcises us with the power of the Holy Ghost, not purifying the flesh, but rather cutting off the defilement that is in our souls. (*Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς περιτέμνει τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*)." (497 B)

The view that circumcision on the eighth day was a type of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day goes back to Justin who connected circumcision on the eighth day with Christ's resurrection on the eighth day (*Dialogue*: XLI). Origen, as we have seen, explicitly connected this latter theme with the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ ριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 (*On Psalm 118* s2). Cyril, however, does not explicitly refer to the view that Christ, in his resurrection circumcised the world. Instead, he moves directly from the parallel between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day to the circumcision that Christ gave us. It may be that by the time that Cyril wrote this idea was so firmly established that a reference to the parallel between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day would have been understood to include the notion that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. Indeed, it is possible that Cyril develops this theme elsewhere, and has it in mind here also. However,

he does not explicitly mention it here and therefore we cannot conclude, on the basis of this passage, that he understood *Χριστοῦ* also as a subjective genitive, referring to a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection. There is certainly no clear indication here that Cyril understood Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy to be a prolepsis of a circumcision that he effected in his resurrection.

Cyril quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 almost immediately after the reference to the crossing of the Jordan as a type of baptism, and to the second circumcision in Joshua 5:2 as a type of the circumcision that Christ effects. In his comment on John 6:35 (see below section 4.1.3.2.1) he explicitly links the second spiritual circumcision with Colossians 2:11a. This indicates that Cyril also saw in Colossians 2:11 and 12 New Testament confirmation of this typological interpretation of Joshua chapters 4 and 5, and thus that he also understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to a spiritual circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer.

It is clear from the quotation of Matthew 28:19 and the reference to the crossing of the Jordan as a type of baptism that Cyril particularly associated the spiritual circumcision that Christ effects with baptism. Cyril believed that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of both the outward rite and the inner effects of baptism, by which it has been replaced. Later in this sermon he maintains that,

> "after His [Christ's] circumcision, the rite was done away by the introduction of that which had been signified by it, even baptism: for which reason we are no longer circumcised. For circumcision seems to me to have effected three several ends: in the first place, it separated the posterity of Adam by a sort of sign and seal, and distinguished them from all other nations. In the second place, it prefigured in itself the grace and efficacy of Divine baptism; for as in old time he that was circumcised was reckoned among the people of God by that seal so also he that is baptised, having formed in himself Christ the seal, is enrolled into God's adopted family. And, thirdly, it is the symbol of the faithful when established in grace, who cut away and mortify the tumultuous risings of carnal pleasures and passions by the sharp surgery of faith, and by ascetic labours; not cutting the body,

but purifying the heart, and being circumcised in the spirit, and not in the letter" (500 A&B).

It is relevant to consider what we may learn from Cyril's comments in this sermon concerning the sense in which he interpreted ἐν ᾧ in Colossians 2:11. Origen, as we have seen, understood this as an incorporative rather than an instrumental dative: "we were circumcised in him when he was circumcised" (see p.135 above). Significantly, however, Cyril omits this statement from Origen, and gives no indication that he believed that the Christian participates in the circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his infancy. When discussing the spiritual circumcision that Christ effects, Cyril gives no indication that he believed this to be the result of personal union with Christ. It is, rather, effected with the power of the Holy Spirit. This indicates that, unlike Origen, Cyril understood ἐν ᾧ to be an instrumental rather than an incorporative dative. The notion of incorporation into Christ is lacking in Cyril's own comments in this sermon.

The third point that Cyril makes here indicates that he believed that the spiritual circumcision that Christ effects is not limited to the moment of baptism. Rather, it is, for Cyril, a figure for a moral transformation and change that is characteristic of the whole of the Christian life. This is also clear from his comment on John 15:2 where he explicitly connects the theme of spiritual circumcision with the phrase ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ in Colossians 2:11 (see further section 4.1.3.2.2 below). The connection with baptism lies in that Christ effects this spiritual circumcision "with the power of the Holy Spirit" who is given in baptism. Clearly, however, this phrase is for Cyril much more than a periphrasis for baptism.

Finally, with regard to this sermon, it is important to note that there is another, closely related, subtle but significant difference between Origen and Cyril. Origen maintained that it was Christ's representative circumcision that brought to an end the requirement for physical circumcision: "We are no longer circumcised because his circumcision took place on our behalf". Cyril omits this statement also. He maintains, rather, that circumcision was a type of baptism, and thus that "after his [Christ's] circumcision, the rite

was done away by the introduction of that which had been signified by it, even baptism."

4.1.3.2 Commentary on the Gospel of St. John

J. Quasten notes that,

> "This commentary has more of a dogmatico-polemical tendency. The introduction states that special attention will be given to the dogmatic sense of the text and the refutation of heretical doctrines." (20)

The fact that the name Nestorius is not mentioned and that neither the term *θεοτόκος* nor the terminology of Cyril's later writings occur indicate that this work wss written before the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy in 429.

4.1.3.2.1 Book III (on John 6:35) Cyril refers to Colossians 2:11 in his comment on John 6:35: "I am the Bread of Life." He notes that the Jews followed Jesus because "they had eaten of the loaves and were filled" (v26), and that their request, "Lord evermore give us this bread" (v34) indicates that they had failed to grasp that Jesus, in his discourse concerning the bread from heaven, was not speaking of physical bread, but of himself as the bread of life. The reason for this failure, Cyril argues, is that the Jews were cleaving to the typical observances, rather than looking beyond them to the realities portrayed thereby.

Cyril seeks to confirm the point that the manna in the Old Testament was a type of Christ, the true spiritual bread, by noting that when the Israelites entered the promised land they no longer ate manna, but bread. (This argument had been advanced by Origen in his *Commentary on John*: Book I: c26). Cyril maintains that,

> *ἐφ' ὅλοις μὲν ἔτεσι τὸν ἀριθ-*
> *μὸν τεσσαράκοντα τὸ τυπικὸν τοῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ἐχορηγήθη*

μάννα παρὰ Θεοῦ, συνόντος ἔτι Μωυσέως σὺν αὐτοῖς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ βίου κατήντηκε τέλος, καθηγητὴς δὲ ἤδη καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ταγμάτων κατεστάθη Ἰησοῦς, διεβίβαζε μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καθὰ γέγραπται, περιτεμὼν δὲ μαχαίραις πετρίναις, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας εἰσκεκομικὼς, ἄρτῳ λοιπὸν ἀποτρέφεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, στήσαντος ἤδη τοῦ μάννα τὴν χορηγίαν τοῦ πανσόφου Θεοῦ. οὐκοῦν· ὁ τύπος γὰρ ἤδη μετασκευασθήσεται πρὸς τὸ ἀληθέστερον· ὅτε συνεστάλη Μωυσῆς, τουτέστιν, ὅτε τῆς κατὰ νόμον λατρείας ἤργησαν οἱ τύποι, ἀνεδείχθη δὲ Χριστὸς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀληθὴς Ἰησοῦς· αὐτὸς γὰρ διέσωσε "τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ "τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν·" τότε διέβημεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην, τότε τὴν ἐν πνεύματι περιτομὴν διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν δυοκαίδεκα λίθων ἐδεξάμεθα, τουτέστι τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν, περὶ ὧν ἐν προφήταις γέγραπται, "ὅτι λίθοι ἅγιοι κυλίονται ἐπὶ τῆς "γῆς·" οἱ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν περινοστοῦντές τε καὶ καταθέοντες τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅγιοι λίθοι, αὐτοὶ δὴ πάντως εἰσὶ, δι' ὧν καὶ περιετμήθημεν περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ τῇ ἐν πνεύματι, διὰ Πνεύματος δηλαδή. ὅτε τοίνυν εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκλήθημεν βασιλείαν διὰ Χριστοῦ· τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι δηλοῦν, καὶ οὐχ ἕτερόν τι πάλιν, τὸ εἰσβῆναί τινας εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας· τότε μάννα μὲν οὐκέτι τὸ τυπικὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς Μωυσαϊκοῖς ἔτι τρεφόμεθα γράμμασιν· ἄρτος δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τουτέστι Χριστὸς, ἀποτρέφων ἡμᾶς εἰς μακραίωνα ζωὴν, διά τε τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ μεθέξει τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς, ἐντιθείσης ἡμῖν τὴν Θεοῦ μετοχὴν, καὶ νεκρότητα τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀφανιζούσης ἀρᾶς.

"for forty whole years was the typical manna supplied to them of Israel by God, while Moses was yet with them, but when he had attained the common termination of life, and Jesus was now appointed the commander and general of the Jewish ranks: he brought them over the Jordan, as it is written, and having circumcised them with knives of stone and brought them into the land of promise, he at length arranged that they should be fed with bread, the allwise God having stayed his gift of manna. Thus (for the type shall now be transferred to the truer) when

> Moses was shrouded, that is, when the types of the worship after the law were brought to nought, and Christ appeared to us, the true Jesus (for He saved His people from their sins), then we crossed the Jordan, then received the spiritual circumcision through the teaching of the twelve stones, that is of the holy disciples, of whom it is written in the Prophets that the holy stones are rolled upon the Land. For the Holy stones going about and running over the whole earth, are of a surety these, through whom we were circumcised with the circumcision made without hands in the Spirit, i.e., the [Holy] Spirit. When we were called into the Kingdom of Heaven by Christ (for this and nought else, I deem it pointeth to, that some entered into the land of promise), then the typical manna no longer belongeth to us (for not by the letter of Moses are we any longer nourished) but by the Bread from Heaven, i.e., Christ, nourishing us unto eternal life, both through the supply of the Holy Ghost, and the participation of His Own Flesh, which infuseth into us the participation of God, and effaceth the deadness that cometh from the ancient curse."

This extract confirms that Cyril connected the typological interpretation of the second circumcision in Joshua 5:2 with Colossians 2:11, and that, although it is not quoted here, he understood *Χριστοῦ* to be a subjective genitive, referring to the circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer.

Once again, Cyril connects this spiritual circumcision with the operation of the Holy Spirit. Here he explicitly links Colossians 2:11 with Romans 2:29, and makes clear that he understood *ἐν πνεύματι* in Romans 2:29 to be an instrumental dative: *διὰ Πνεύματος δηλαδή* (cf. on 6:36, and section 4.1.3.2.2 below). The connection of *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* with *ἐν πνεύματι* understood to mean the Holy Spirit, indicates that he understood *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* to emphasize the spiritual nature of the second circumcision, and thus also that he understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to explain that which is stripped off in this spiritual circumcision, rather than to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

The typological interpretation of the twelve stones (Joshua 5:8) may be traditional, though I have not come across this in earlier writers. It indicates that for Cyril, spiritual circumcision involves an active response to Christian

teaching (cf Justin: p.85 above).

4.1.3.2.2 Book X: c2 (on John 15:2) That Cyril understood spiritual circumcision to mean a moral transformation and change that is characteristic of the whole of one's life is confirmed by his comments on John 15:2 where he links spiritual circumcision with the theme of the pruning of the vine branches:

> *τῆς δὲ τοῦ γηπονοῦντος φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπείρατον ἔσεσθαι παντελῶς τὸ καρποφόρον κλῆμά φησι, διακαθαρθήσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ καὶ μειζόνως δύνασθαι καρποφορεῖν. τυῖς γὰρ ὅλως ἄριστα μὲν καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς διαζῆν ἑλομένοις, ἀγαθουργεῖν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ διὰ πάσης ἰέναι πολιτείας θεοφιλοῦς ᾑρημένοις, συνεργάζεται Θεὸς, καθάπερ τινὶ δρεπάνῃ τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ περιτέμνων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς, αἳ ἀεὶ καλοῦσιν εἰς φιλοσαρκίαν καὶ πάθη σωματικὰ, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ πάλιν τὰ ὅσα περ οἶδε ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμβαίνειν ψυχαῖς, διὰ ποικίλης κακῶν ἰδέας κατασπιλοῦντα τὸν νοῦν. ταύτην γὰρ εἶναί φαμεν τὴν ἀχειροποίητόν τε καὶ ἐν Πνεύματι νοουμένην περιτομὴν, περὶ ἧς ὁ Παῦλός φησί ποτέ μέν "Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ "ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομὴ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ "Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι· "οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ·" ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν "Ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ "ἀχειροποιήτῳ." φάσκουσί τε πρὸς ταῦτά τισιν, ὡς εἴπερ τις γένοιτο διακάθαρσις τοῖς τῆς νοητῆς ἀμπέλου κλήμασιν, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι δίχα πόνου συμβήσεται*

"the fruitful branch will not at all be left without experiencing the care of the tiller of the soil, but will be thoroughly cleansed, so as to be able to bear more fruit. For God works with those who have chosen to live the best and most perfect life, and to do good works so far as in them lies, and have elected to seek

> perfection as citizens of God. He, as it were, uses the working-power of the Spirit as a pruning-hook, and circumcising in them sometimes the pleasures which are always calling us to fleshly lusts and bodily passions, and sometimes all those temptations which are wont to assail the souls of men, defiling the mind by diverse kinds of evils. For this we say is that circumcision which is not the work of hands, but is truly that of the Spirit, of which Paul in one place says: 'For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly: neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly: and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God.' And in another place, again: 'In Whom ye also believed and were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands.' And therefore they say to some, that if the branches of the vine in the figure suffer any purging, that cannot take place, I suppose, without suffering. ... "

This extract also confirms that Cyril explicitly connected the theme of spiritual circumcision with Colossians 2:11.

The inclusion of *πιστεύσαντες* in the quotation from Colossians 2:11 is due to the influence of Ephesians 1:13, the connection between these two verses being in the description of circumcision as a seal. The linking of Colossians 2:11 with Ephesians 1:13 is significant in two respects. First, when taken with the fact that for Cyril the spiritual circumcision is effected by the Holy Spirit, it suggests that Cyril understood *ἐσφραγίσθητε* in Ephesians 1:13 similarly to refer to an ethical transformation and change that is characteristic of the whole of one's Christian life, rather than to either the rite of baptism, or to an action which is limited to the moment of baptism. Second, it suggests that Cyril understood *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12b to be an objective genitive, and the phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.* to mean "through your faith in the effectual power of God".

Cyril ends his quotation from Colossians 2:11 with *ἀχειροποιήτῳ*. In his comment on John 6:35, Cyril, as we have seen, connects *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* with *ἐν Πνεύματι*. However, T. Randell, both in the translation of the quotation from Colossians 2:11 and of the only occasion in this extract when Cyril himself uses *ἀχειροποίητος* (*ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι φαμεν τὴν ἀχειροποίητόν*

τε καὶ ἐν Πνεύματι νοουμένην περιτομὴν) translates ἀχειροποίητος "not made with hands". This indicates that he understood Cyril to be contrasting this spiritual circumcision which has been effected by Christ with carnal circumcision. This is possible. I do not think that we need assume that Cyril is necessarily consistent in his interpretation of Colossians 2:11. However, I am not convinced that Cyril is here contrasting the circumcision "made by hands" with that effected by the Spirit. τε καὶ in the extract cited above associates ἀχειροποίητόν with ἐν Πνεύματι, and ought to be translated "both ...and". τε καὶ indicates that Cyril's point is rather that spiritual circumcision is both made without hands and performed by the Spirit, ἀχειροποίητος emphasizing the spiritual nature of this circumcision, rather than introducing a contrast with carnal circumcision. It is clear that Cyril understood there to be a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in the spiritual circumcision performed by the Spirit: the Spirit circumcises from Christians,

> "sometimes the pleasures which are always calling us to fleshly lusts and bodily passions and sometimes all those temptations which are wont to assail the souls of men, defiling the mind by divers kinds of evil."

In view of the connection in Cyril's thought between Colossians 2:11 and John 15:2, it is possible to gain an indication from his comments concerning the sense in which the believer is in the vine of how he may have understood ἐν ᾧ in Colossians 2:11. Earlier in his comment on John 15:2 Cyril argues that we are united with Christ by faith, but that we maintain this union with Christ by good works. Since, he argues, faith without works is dead (James 2:20), if our faith fails to express itself in good works we shall be cut off from the vine. He continues:

> "Is it not clear that if we be a branch, and have been drawn away from the deceitfulness of a plurality of gods, and have confessed the faith of Christ, but are still barren, so far as the union which shows itself in works is concerned, we shall surely suffer the fate of the barren branches."

This suggests that Cyril may also have understood ἐν ᾧ as an incorporative dative. However, it is here used in a subjective sense, referring to what is true only at a given moment of time, since this is dependent upon the believer maintaining this relationship by good works, rather than in an objective sense in terms of God's gracious decision for us in virtue of our faith in Christ.

4.1.4 Pseudo-Chrysostom: Homilies on the Passover: III: s2

As P. Nautin points out, (21) although the Fathers of the first centuries did not write systematic treatises on redemption, Exodus chapter twelve, which deals with the regulations concerning the Passover, provided them with an opportunity to explain their doctrine of redemption. The Passover Lamb was seen as a type of Christ; the blood which the Israelites put on their doorposts a type of baptism; and the Passover meal itself a type of eucharist. (22)

The authorship and date of the Six Homilies on the Passover, preserved among the writings of St. John Chrysostom, have been discussed at length by Nautin (23). He concluded that the first three homilies were written by the same author. Although he was not able to identify this author he concluded that the Homilies were written in Alexandria towards the end of the Fourth or the beginning of the Fifth century.

The author quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 in s2 of his third homily. He argues that the requirement that a person must be circumcised before he could partake of the Passover meal is a type of the spiritual cleansing that is necessary before receiving Holy Communion:

> Τὴν μὲν ἁγιότητα τὴν Χριστοῦ τὸ θῦμα τοῦ πάσχα μετὰ τοῦ ἀμώμου ὑπεδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πάθει Χριστοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων ἡ τῶν πρωτοτόκων σωτηρία διὰ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ πάσχα δοθεῖσα, τὸν δὲ ἁγιασμὸν ἡ βρῶσις, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἤδη προείρηται· νῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐπισκεπτέον ὅπως μὲν δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι

αὐτὸν καὶ τότε φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ». Περιτομὴ δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν μερικὴ καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν αὐτόθεν οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσα, οὐδὲν γὰρ καλλίων ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀπεδείκνυτο παρὰ τὸν ἀκρόβυστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνειδος παρὰ θεοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἦν ὅτι «Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη» φησὶν «ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί, ὁ δὲ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος καρδίαις αὐτῶν»· ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς περιτομὴ καθ' ὅλης ἐστὶ σαρκός, φίλον τε καὶ οἰκεῖον ἀποδείκνυσι θεῷ τὸν περιτετμημένον τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ περιῃρημένον τὸ κάλυμμα τὸ σαρκικόν, ὅπερ ἐκ διαδοχῆς πατέρων ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ περιαιρεθῆναι χρῄζοντας ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ προϋπέδειξεν ὁ νόμος τὰ γεννητικὰ περιτέμνων μόρια, τῆς γεννήσεως τὰ σύμβολα ποιῶν διὰ τούτου καὶ τοῦ καλύμματος τοῦ κατὰ γέννησιν ἡμῖν ἀκολουθοῦντος. Οὐδεὶς οὖν μὴ περιτεμνόμενος τὸν σαρκικὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀφίξεται κοινωνίαν Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' «ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή», φησίν, οἱ Χριστοῦ μέτοχοι, «οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ μὴ πεποιθότες ἐν σαρκί»· γυμνὴ γὰρ ἡ καρδία παντὸς σαρκικοῦ λατρεύειν ἀληθινῶς θεῷ δύναται καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ συγκιρνᾶσθαι πνεύματι. Ταύτης τῆς περιτομῆς κατάρχει μὲν τὸ τοῦ κυρίου πάθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθεμένου τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτὴν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναδεξαμένου, ἐκτυποῦται δὲ τὸ μυστήριον εἰς τὸν ἁγιασθησόμενον, ὅπως δὲ προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἁγιότητος κοινωνίαν, οἷον δὲ τὸν βίον διάγειν μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦ ἁγίου μέτοχόν τε καὶ κοινωνόν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν παρασκευήν, ἣν παρασκευάσασθαι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα μετέξειν Χριστοῦ, διὰ περιτομῆς ἐπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τυπικῶς λέγων. «Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τοῦ πάσχα. Πᾶς ἀλλογενὴς οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα οἰκέτην τινὸς καὶ ἀργυρώνητον περιτεμεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐν βαπτίσματι καὶ τελεῖται τῷ βίῳ τῷ κατὰ Χριστόν· «Περιετμήθητε» γάρ φησι «περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι». Ἕως οὖν οὐκ ἀποτίθεσαι τὸ σαρκικὸν ἦθος, ἀλλογενὴς εἶ καὶ ξένος, ἀμέτοχά σοι καὶ ἀκοινώνητα πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρόντα Χριστόν· οὐράνιον γὰρ γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸν τῷ οὐρανίῳ

προσελευσόμενον, οὐράνιος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο μὴ τὰ γήϊνα περιελών.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ προαποθέμενος τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ τῶν πνευματικῶν πράξεων προσελεύσει καὶ *μεθέξεις Χριστοῦ ·

It is clear from this extract that the author believed circumcision to be a figure for a moral transformation and change that is effected in the life of the Christian. He believed the foreskin to be a symbol of the veil (*κάλυμμα*) that covers the soul as a consequence of original sin. Indeed the author, like Pseudo-Athanasius, points out the appropriateness of circumcision taking place in the genital parts since the veil comes from our fathers, and is a consequence of our birth. The author stresses the need to cut off the fleshly veil (*τὸ κάλυμμα τὸ σαρκικόν*), the fleshly manner of life (*τὸν σαρκικὸν τρόπον*), to take away from the heart everything that is fleshly (*παντὸς σαρκικοῦ*), to put off fleshly habits (*τὸ σαρκικὸν ἦθος*) and to get rid of earthly things (*τὰ γήινα*) in order to have fellowship with Christ.

The author particularly associates this with baptism. Combining the thought of Colossians 2:11 with 3:9 he maintains that "the old man is stripped off by the grace of baptism (*προαποθέμενος τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ*)". The fact that this author speaks of spiritual circumcision as a necessary prelude to participating in Holy Communion may indicate that it was for him primarily a figure for the inner effects of baptism, rather than for an on-going process of transformation and change that is characteristic of the Christian life as a whole. For this author it is the circumcised state, rather than the on-going process of circumcision itself, that ought to be a characteristic of the whole of one's Christian life.

The author's argument here suggests that he understood *σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 figuratively to mean our fallen human nature, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to what happens to the Christian rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Indeed, the author, like Pseudo-Athanasius, contrasts car-

nal circumcision which removes but a small part with the true circumcision which affects the whole flesh: *Περιτομὴ δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν μερικὴ...ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς περιτομὴ καθ' ὅλης ἐστὶ σαρκός.*

Whether the author, like Cyril, understood circumcision to be a type of both the outward rite and inner effects of baptism is not clear. However, the fact that he nowhere states that Christ himself effects this spiritual circumcision, together with the fact that he particularly associates this spiritual circumcision with baptism suggests that he may have understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, at one level at least, as a periphrasis for baptism.

This does not, however, exhaust the author's understanding of Colossians 2:11. The sentence immediately preceding the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12a indicates that the author understood circumcision to be a figure of both what happened to Christ and of what happens to the Christian in baptism. Like Cyril he believed that Christ accepted circumcision in his infancy because of us: *καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτὴν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναδεξαμένου.* This suggests that he also understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his infancy. The use of *ἀναδέχομαι* implies, as Cyril makes explicit, that Christ was not circumcised against his will but that he voluntarily submitted to this rite. However, this author does not develop this or explain the sense in which this circumcision was "because of us".

The author also believed that circumcision was a figure for the Passion of Christ. Although modern writers sometimes use the term "Passion" to cover both Christ's death and resurrection, Patristic writers generally use *πάθος* to refer to Christ's death alone. (Compare also the use of *παθόντα* in the creeds, where the reference is clearly to Christ's crucifixion and death, not to his death and resurrection taken together.) The parallel that the author draws between the sacrifice of the Passover and the Passion of Christ (s1) clearly indicates that by *πάθος* he meant Christ's death. This suggests that he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer also to Christ's death.

The statement *ἐκτυποῦται δὲ τὸ μυστήριον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν βαπτίσματι καὶ τελεῖται τῷ βίῳ κατὰ Χριστόν* indicates that the phrase *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθεμένου τὴν σάρκα* should be connected with the preceding reference to the Passion of the Lord, rather than to the subsequent reference to Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy. The mystery to which the author refers is something that is not only formed in Christians in baptism, but which is perfected in the life according to Christ and is thus a moral transformation and change, rather than the attribution to the baptized of Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy.

In view of the subsequent quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12a it is possible that the statement *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθεμένου τὴν σάρκα* is the author's own paraphrase of the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11. It is clear that the author understood this phrase to refer to both what happened to Christ in his death and what happens to the Christian in baptism.

The author uses the verb *ἐκτυπόω* to describe the relationship between what happens to the baptized in baptism and the death of Christ on the cross. In s2 he uses *τυπικῶς* to describe the figurative nature of the requirement that those who partake in the Passover must be circumcised. However, it is unlikely that by his use of *ἐκτυπόω* the author means that baptism is a mere symbolic representation of Christ's death. From the mid-Fourth century onwards, *τύπος* was used to describe both baptism and the consecrated elements at the Eucharist. The point was not simply that they were symbols that pointed over and beyond themselves to the ultimate reality of the death and resurrection of Christ, but that they were also the means by which a person participated in, or perhaps appropriated the benefits of, Christ's death and resurrection. As K. J. Woollcombe notes, with reference to Cyril of Jerusalem's use of *τύπος* to describe the consecrated elements in the Eucharist:

> "In the ancient world a symbol was not held to be a mere representation of an object, but was believed to participate in the being of an object which it symbolized. In some sense it *was* what it symbolized." (24)

Woollcombe also notes that some writers use τύπος both of the sacraments and of the Old Testament types, and concludes that,

> "The probability is that if it was considered in the ancient world that a sign or symbol actually *was*, in some sense, that which it represented, it was also considered that a type or figure *was*, in some sense, that which it prefigured." (25)

The fact that this author uses the verb ἐκτυπόω, as distinct from the noun τύπος, and that he speaks of the mystery of Christ's death being formed εἰς ἡμᾶς indicates that he believed there to be an intrinsic connection between what happens to a person in baptism and Christ's death on the cross. Whether he viewed this as a participation in Christ's death, or an appropriation of the benefits of it, is not clear. The fact that he says that Christ's death is formed in us, rather than that we are formed in Christ's death may suggest the latter. This movement of thought also suggests that the author may have understood ἐν ᾧ in Colossians 2:11a to mean a union with Christ in this one specific respect, rather than union with him in all respects.

4.2 CAPPADOCIAN WRITERS

4.2.1 Asterius the Sophist (died c341): Homily XX (on Psalm VI): s3 and s7

Asterius the Sophist (so-called because he had been a rhetorician or philosopher before he became a Christian) was a native of Cappadocia. He studied under Lucian of Antioch, and according to Quasten (26) is an example of the exegesis of the School of Antioch. However, his argument in this Homily is much closer to that of Eusebius of Caesarea and that of the Cappadocians than to that of the later Antiochenes. Hence I have included him in this section, rather than Section 4.3 below.

Asterius was, as Quasten notes, "perhaps the first Arian writer, and Arius himself made use of his works in his rejection of the doctrine of Nicea." (27).

Asterius quotes from Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the course of his discussion of the significance of the title of Psalm 6: "For the Eighth (*Ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης*)":

> 2 Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης ἐπεγράφη ὁ ψαλμός; Εἰς τὸ τέλος γάρ, ἐν ὕμνοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης· ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ. Ὀγδόην οἶδεν ἡ μὲν παλαιὰ διαθήκη τὴν περιτομήν, ἡ δὲ καινὴ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ θάνατος περιτέμνεται. Ὁ πρὸ τούτου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης ἐπεγράφη, ἐκκλησίας ἢ ψυχῆς, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν κληρονόμων ἔλεγεν· Εὐφρανθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ σοί· εἰς αἰῶνα ἀγαλλιάσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπροκληρονόμων· Οὐ παροικήσει σοι πονηρευόμενος, οὐδὲ διαμενοῦσι παράνομοι κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. Ὡς ἔμαθεν ὁ Δαυὶδ ὅτι ἄνδρα αἱμάτων καὶ δόλιον βδελύσσεται κύριος, αὐτὸς δὲ δόλῳ τὸν Οὐρίαν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ ὅτι πᾶς πόρνος ἢ ἀκάθαρτος οὐκ ἔχει κληρονομίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἀποκληρονόμος διὰ τὸ ἅγος γένηται, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ψάλλων παρεκάλει· Ἐπειδὴ μοιχεία με καὶ φόνος τῆς κληρονομίας ἐκβάλλουσι, κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς με μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς με. Μὴ ὀργισθῇς μοι διὰ τὸν Οὐρίαν, μὴ θυμωθῇς μοι διὰ

3 τὴν Βηρσάβεε. Καὶ διὰ τί ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡ περιτομή; Ἐπειδὴ τὰς πρώτας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τὸ βρέφος ἐφόρει τὰ σπάργανα, τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ λυόμενον τὴν περιτομὴν ἐλάμβανε, σημεῖον σφραγῖδος τῆς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ πίστεως, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς, κἂν τὴν ἑβδομάδα τοῦ βίου ἐφορέσαμεν τὰ τῶν κακιῶν σπάργανα σειραῖς τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων σφιγγόμενοι, εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς ταῦτα διαρρήξωμεν καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀγδόῃ τῇ ἀναστάσει τὸν θάνατον περιτεμνόμενοι τὸν ἰσάγγελον βίον ἀσπασώμεθα· Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει οὐ γαμοῦσι. Διὸ καὶ περιτομὴ εἰς τὰ γεννητικὰ ἐδίδοτο, ἵνα καὶ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μάθωσι τὰ τικτόμενα βρέφη μετὰ τῆς μήτρας σπάργανα, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν τῶν αἰσθητῶν σπαργάνων, σφραγίζειν αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, περὶ ἧς λέγει ὁ Παῦλος· Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Εἰ οὖν ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου 4
περιτομὴ πρώϊμος καὶ ταχεῖα καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ σπάργανα τῷ βρέφει ἐδίδοτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτομὴ ἡ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὀφείλει ταχινωτέρα τῷ βρέφει πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν δίδοσθαι· τοῦτο μέν, ἵνα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενον ὡς θώρακα μὴ φοβηθῇ τοὺς πολεμίους δαίμονας· τοῦτο δέ, ἵνα μὴ προδοθῇ εἰς αἵρεσιν καὶ αἰχμάλωτον γένηται — νόει ἃ λέγω· οἴδατε τὰ γινόμενα — τοῦτο δέ, ἵνα, κἂν τελευτήσῃ, μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἀσφράγιστον. Καὶ ὅτε διὰ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἑτερόδοξον τὸ βρέφος ἐβαπτίσθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἀλλὰ κατεβαπτίσθη εἰς αἵρεσιν, οὕτω τὸν βίον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἤδη ἐναυάγησε. Πρὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἱματίου τὸ βασιλικὸν Χριστοῦ ἱμάτιον τὸ βρέφος ἔνδυσον, ἵνα καυχήσῃ ὅτι τὸ παιδίον σου ὡς βασιλεὺς εἰς πορφύραν γεγέννηται. Ὁ μὴ περιτεμνόμενος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὀκταήμερος ἐπικατάρατος ἦν· ὁ μὴ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ξένος καὶ ἀλλότριος. Ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄρσην ὃς οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπε μετὰ ὅρκου ἐν τῇ χάριτι· Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ...

6 Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης. Διὰ τί δὲ ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος; Ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ὀγδοὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε, μετὰ τὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου θάνατον, νέον κόσμον εἰς γένος ἀνέστησεν. Ὅτε γὰρ ὁ κόσμος, πυρέξας τῇ πορνείᾳ, ἀπέθανε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ

ὕδασι, τότε ὀγδοὰς ἀνθρώπων, ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ φυλαχθεῖσα, διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας τὸν κόσμον ἀνέστησε. Καὶ ὅτι ἡ τεκνογονία ἀνάστασις λέγεται, ἄκουσον τῆς μητρὸς Εὔας λεγούσης, ὅτε ἔτεκε τὸν Σήθ· Ἐξανέστησε γάρ μοι ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάϊν. Καὶ ὁ νόμος· Ἐάν τις, φησίν, ἀποθάνῃ ἄτεκνος, λήψεται ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξαναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐξανάστασις σβεννυμένου καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντος γένους
7 ἀνανέωσις. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πρώτη ἀνάστασις τοῦ γένους μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν διὰ ὀγδοάδος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κύριος πρῶτος τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἄρχεται, ὅτε καθάπερ ἐν κιβωτῷ τῷ τάφῳ ὡς ὁ Νῶε ἔμεινε καὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῆς ἀσεβείας ἔπαυσε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐπέδωκεν, ἵνα συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτισμῷ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα.

The substance of Asterius' argument here is that the number eight has an eschatological significance: it is a figure for the resurrection life - the eternal "eighth day", which was made possible by Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. Asterius connects the theme of "the eighth" with circumcision on the eighth day, and argues that circumcision is a figure both for what happened in Christ's resurrection, "in which death is circumcised" (cf. Justin: *Dialogue* 41:4; Origen: *On Psalm 118*), and for what happens to the believer in his resurrection from death. This is why, he maintains, that the Psalm was given the title "For the Eighth". David was aware that his adultery with Bathsheba and murder of Uriah should exclude him from the Kingdom of God, since no fornicator or unclean man shall have an inheritance in the Kingdom. Hence he appeals to his circumcision on the eighth day as a sign of his resurrection, lest God should disinherit him because of his sin.

Asterius also argues that the swaddling bands that a Jewish infant wears for the first seven days of its life represent "the bonds of sin" with which we are bound for the seven days of our life on earth; and that circumcision was given to infants to teach Christians that they need to baptize babies since they are born with "the swaddling bands of the womb" - that is, original sin—before they put on "the swaddling bands perceived through

the senses"—that is, commit actual sins:

> "And why did circumcision take place on the eighth day? Because during the first seven, the child was wearing swaddling clothes, but on the eighth, freed [from these bonds], he received circumcision, sign of the seal of the faith of Abraham. And this also typified the fact that, when we have carried the seven days of life, that is to say, the bonds of sin, we should, at the end of time, break these bonds and, circumcising death in the resurrection, as if on the eighth day, embrace the life of angels. 'For in the resurrection they do not marry.' Therefore circumcision was also given to children in order that Christians might learn from these things to seal new born children which are born with the swaddling bands of the womb before they put on the swaddling bands perceived through the senses, by baptism in the circumcision of Christ, concerning which the apostle says: "In whom also you have been circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, having been buried with him in baptism, in the circumcision of Christ."

The connection between circumcision and baptism for Asterius lies in the notion of sealing. Circumcision in the Old Testament was a seal (*σφραγίς*) of the faith of Abraham: circumcision on the eighth day and teaches Christians to seal (*σφραγίζειν*) new born infants by baptism in the circumcision of Christ.

It is relevant to note that by "the seven days of life" Asterius means the whole of one's life on earth. This indicates that he did not believe that baptism was effective for the cleansing only of former sins. Rather, baptism is, for Asterius, a prolepsis of the eschatological circumcision that will take place in the final resurrection.

Asterius develops the analogy between circumcision and baptism to urge the necessity of infant baptism:

> "If," he maintains, "the circumcision of the Jews was early and quick and given immediately after the swaddling clothes to the baby, how much more should the circumcision of Christ, which is through baptism, be given to the new born baby for security (*πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν*)."

By "security", means three things: protection from hostile demons; a safe-guard against heresy; and security in case the child died, since an unbaptized infant would be excluded from the Kingdom of God. He argues that the statement in Genesis 17:14 that any uncircumcised male shall be cut off from God's people has a New Testament counterpart in Jesus' solemn warning in John 3:5 that unless a person is born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter the Kingdom of God. Presumably the reason why Asterius believed that an unbaptized infant would be excluded from the Kingdom of God was because he is subject to original sin, "the swaddling bands of the womb."

Asterius does not explicitly comment upon Colossians 2:11 and 12. However, his argument here enables us to ascertain how he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Significantly, in both his allusion to and his quotation from Colossians 2:11 and 12 he reverses Paul's order, placing this phrase after *τῷ βαπτίσματι*. However, although Asterius clearly believed that baptism had replaced the Jewish rite of circumcision, I do not think that in s3 the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* is a periphrasis for baptism as "Christ's circumcision". The reference in s2 to death being circumcised in the resurrection of Christ suggests rather that he understood *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, and that he understood baptism to be the means by which a person is sealed in the resurrection of Christ. His point is that in the same way that David's circumcision was a pledge of his share in the resurrection, so also baptism is a pledge of the Christian's share in the resurrection of Christ.

That Asterius understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, at one level at least, to refer to Christ's resurrection is confirmed by an allusion to Colossians 2:12 in s7 of this homily where he explicitly states that we are buried with Christ so that we may become the participants of his resurrection. This allusion occurs in the course of a further consideration of the significance of the eighth day:

"Why," he asks, "did the Lord rise again on the eighth day?

> Because the first eight men, in the time of Noe, after the destruction of the ancient world, raised up a new universe in our race." (s6).

Asterius, as Daniélou notes, "sees in these eight people from whom all the men also came after him, the figure of Christ also rising up a new race." (28) Asterius continues:

> "Just as the first resurrection of the race after the deluge took place by means of eight persons, so the Lord also inaugurated the resurrection of the dead on the eighth day, when, having dwelt in His sepulchre as Noe in the Ark, He put an end (*epausen*) to the deluge of impurity and instituted the Baptism of regeneration, so that, having been buried with Him in Baptism, we may become the participants of His Resurrection."

Asterius' argument here is, as Daniélou notes, "directly in the line of the tradition of Justin" (29) though with "some new features which bring out more precisely the typology of the Deluge, particularly the comparison of the Ark with the Sepulchre. And the theme of the cessation of evil is in harmony with the name Noe, which signifies repose (*anapausis*)." (30) We have here, therefore, a further example of Colossians 2:12 being added to a tradition that was originally developed independently of it. Further, we can see how the tradition concerning the eighth day as a symbol for the resurrection life has led Asterius to take Paul's reference to being raised with Christ in Colossians 2:12b to refer to our future physical resurrection, whereas the aorist passive *συνηγέρθητε* indicates that Paul is in fact speaking of a resurrection with Christ that has in some sense already taken place.

In s4, however, Asterius takes the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in a different sense. He speaks here of the circumcision of Christ as something that is given to infants, which precludes the possibility of it referring to the resurrection of Christ. In view of the fact that Asterius sees circumcision as a figure for eschatological renewal in the resurrection, it is unlikely that *ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτομή* refers to a circumcision which Christ effects in the life of the baptized. Rather, the contrast between *ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου περιτομή* and *ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτομή* suggests that it is a periphrasis for the Christian

rite of baptism which is termed "Christ's circumcision" not only because it has replaced the circumcision of the Jews, but also because it is the means by which a person is sealed in the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection.

Additional Note: Asterius and Infant Baptism

This Homily is extremely important for the purposes of this study since it is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest extant occurrence, of Colossians 2:11 and 12 in a context in which the analogy between circumcision and baptism is used as an argument for infant baptism. It is also to the best of my knowledge, the earliest extant occurrence of the combination of Genesis 17:14 with John 3:5 as an argument for infant baptism.

In view of Asterius' dependence upon a tradition stemming from Justin in his development of the typology of the Deluge, it is probable that his argument concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, and of the relation of this to baptism is also dependent upon a tradition stemming from Justin. However, it clealy represents a later stage in the development of this tradition. Common to both Justin and Asterius is the view that circumcision on the eighth day was a type of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. However, Asterius has combined this with the theme of the eighth as a symbol for eschatological rest in the world to come. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* the eighth is understood in this latter sense (XV.9). It is the combination of these two themes that has led Asterius to attribute an eschatological significance to circumcision which is, for him, a figure for the circumcision of death in the resurrection.

Another difference between Justin and Asterius is that Asterius explicitly argues that circumcision on the eighth day is a type of the actual rite of baptism itself. Although Justin maintains that Christ circumcises us through baptism, he does not maintain that the rite of circumcision was a type of the actual rite of baptism. Instead, due to the inclusion of such texts as Jeremiah 4:4, and 9:25f in the Testimonies, upon which, to a large extent, Justin based his argument, he understood circumcision to be a figure

for the response to Christian teaching. I suggested above (Section 3.1.1.1) that he understood this circumcision to take place *διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος* in the sense that the whole process of catechetical instruction culminates in the expression of faith given in response to the baptismal interrogations. To my knowledge the theme of the circumcision of the heart and ears is not developed by Cappadocian writers. The reason for this may be because by the fourth century the Testimonies as such were no longer used as the basis for catechetical instruction, and therefore although many traditions associated with the Testimonies continued, in both modified and developed form, to exercise an influence upon the development of Christian tradition, some themes particularly associated with the Testimonies became less current. This loss of emphasis upon the circumcision of the heart and ears prepared the way for the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism.

Another factor that contributed to the view that the rite of circumcision was a type of the actual rite of baptism was the identification of sealing with baptism. Asterius himself makes this identification in this homily. In chapter two it was argued that the verb *σφραγίζειν* and the noun *σφραγίς* do not necessarily indicate either the outward rite or the inner effects of baptism, and that in Ephesians 1:13 *ἐσφραγίσθητε* refers to the reception of the Holy Spirit at conversion. In the second century, however, baptism was described as a seal. The author of the Homily known as the *Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, writing c120–124 (31) emphasizes the need to keep one's seal pure (vii.6; viii.6). The similar reference to the need to keep one's baptism pure (vi.9) indicates that for this author "seal" means "baptism". The author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* explicitly identifies the seal with the baptismal water (*ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν*: Similitude IX.xvi.4).

Daniélou maintains the description of baptism as a seal was due to the view that baptism was the true equivalent of circumcision. In his view,

> "This equation of Baptism with circumcision in Jewish Christian society justifies the opinion that the baptism of infants is a Jewish Christian custom, which would seem normal practice since

the Jewish child was circumcised on the eighth day. The practice was to disappear in pagan environments and only reappeared at a later date." (32)

However, the view that the analogy between circumcision and baptism is the origin of the description of baptism as a seal, and the view that, on the basis of this analogy, infants were, in the second century, baptized, is highly questionable.

Although the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* describes circumcision as a seal of the covenant (IV.8) he does not, as we have seen, explicitly link circumcision with baptism. Indeed, the emphasis in Barnabas upon the circumcision of the ears and the heart suggests that he, like Justin, understood circumcision to be a figure for a person's response to the Christian message, not the actual rite of baptism. The author of *2 Clement* does not explore the possible connection between circumcision and baptism in view of their common description as seals. There is only one possible reference in *Hermas* which may imply the connection between sealing and circumcision. In Similitude IX.xxxi.2 the author refers to the need for those stones which have not yet received the seal to have this world and the vanities of their possessions cut off ("circumcidi" - this part of the similitude is only available in a Latin translation) from them before they can be fitted into the building, that is, the Kingdom of God. The connection between sealing and robing in *Hermas* (Similitude VIII.ii.1–4) suggests that the description of baptism as a seal may rather have been due to the similar connection between sealing and robing in Revelation 7, the author assuming that sealing in Revelation 7 refers to baptism because of the liturgical custom of putting on a white robe upon emergence from the baptismal waters, current in his day.

Another factor was probably the connection between the gift of the Spirit and baptism. According to St. Paul the Spirit was given in response to a person's faith; faith is expressed in and through baptism. The continual association of the word seal and the rite of baptism probably led to the application of the term seal to the rite itself. (33)

Whether or not the description of circumcision as a seal does lie behind

the description of baptism as a seal in the first half of the second century, it is by no means certain that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was understood to mean that in the same way that infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. The reference in *2 Clement* that baptism is effective for the forgiveness of former sins (13:1) and to salvation as the recovery of sight (9:2; cf. the view of baptism as "illumination") suggests that the author has in mind the baptism of adults. More clearly, the author of *Hermas* preserves the Pauline connection between sealing, hearing and faith. In Similitude VIII.vi.3 he speaks of those who, having heard the call to repentance, believed and received the seal *ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγῖδα*; cf. Ephesians 1:13). Indeed, throughout, *Hermas* presupposes repentance and faith as prerequisites for baptism (e.g. Similitude IX.xvi.4; xxxi.3; xxxiii.1 and 3). This indicates that he had in mind those who were old enough to understand and respond to the Christian faith for themselves. Tertullian, who also connects "sealing" with "baptism", similarly retains the Pauline connection between sealing and faith: "That *baptismal* washing is a sealing of faith , which faith is begun and is commended by the faith of repentance" (*On Repentance*: c6). Indeed, the connection between sealing, hearing and believing may initially have delayed rather than precipitated the extension of the analogy between circumcision and baptism to mean that because infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. It was only after the Pauline connection between sealing and faith had been lost, or after the practice of infant baptism had arisen on other grounds, that the analogy between circumcision and baptism could be extended in this way. Once this had taken place, however, the common description of circumcision and baptism as seals became an important element in the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism, as is the case here with Asterius.

Another factor that probably contributed to this development was the emergence of a more sacramental typology. Justin's typology was primarily Christological and spiritual; that is to say that the correspondences that he

developes are with the saving work of Christ, and the inward spiritual life of the believer. Circumcision is a good example of this. It is, for Justin, a type of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, and the circumcision that Christ effects, by means of his apostles (that is, Christian teaching), in the life of the believer. Asterius' typology, as evidenced by this homily is more sacramental than spiritual. Circumcision, in so far as the present life of the believer is concerned, is a type of the rite of baptism, rather than a figure for an inward transformation and change.

A further factor that probably contributed to the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the actual rite of Christian baptism was the fact that baptism took place on Sunday, the eighth day. I have already argued that it was the description of Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection, as the eighth day that led to circumcision on the eighth day being regarded as a type of Christ's resurrection (rather than, as Rordorf argues, the analogy between circumcision and baptism (which took place on Sunday), leading to the description of Sunday as the "eighth day"). Significantly, however, as we have seen, Justin Martyr, although he develops the typological significance of circumcision on the eighth day as a type of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, does not develop the possible typological connection between circumcision which took place on the eighth day and baptism which also took place on the eighth day. The reason for this is, as we have seen, because he understood circumcision to be a figure for that which is effected in the life of the believer through baptism, rather than the outward rite of baptism itself. The latter view was a later development in the tradition concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relation to baptism.

Clearly it was only after the view was advanced that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the actual rite of Christian baptism itself, that the analogy between circumcision and baptism could be extended and the argument be advanced that because infants were circumcised, so now infants ought to be baptized.

Once this development had taken place, it was natural to connect, as Asterius does here, Jesus' solemn warning in John 3:5 that except a man

be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter the Kingdom of God, which had already been used as an argument for the necessity of baptism, with the statement in Genesis 17:12 that any male who is not circumcised on the eighth day would be cut off from the people of God, and to see in this confirmation of the necessity of infant baptism.

The analogy between circumcision and baptism and the view that infants are subject to original sin and therefore in need of cleansing stand side by side here as arguments for infant baptism. Asterius also briefly refers to infant baptism in his second *Homily on Psalm XI* (Homily XXI: s10), though it is not possible to learn anything from this concerning his theology of infant baptism. However, a further reference to infant baptism in his *Homily on Psalm XIV* (Homily XXVII: s2f). (34) Here Asterius notes that Psalm 14, unlike the majority of the preceeding psalms, does not have the heading *Εἰς τὸ τέλος*. This, he argues is significant. The psalm is about righteousness and virtue, and the absence of this heading teaches that it is necessary to train children in righteousness and virtue from the beginning of their lives, which, he assumes, involves bringing them for baptism:

> Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ. Καὶ διὰ τί οὐ περιέχει 2
> εἰς τὸ τέλος; Ἐπειδὴ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν διδάσκει· ὁ δὲ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῶν διδάσκων οὐκ ὀφείλει εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς παραινεῖν ταύτας κτᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σπαργάνων καὶ ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων συναναστρέφεσθαι ταύταις. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ παραινῶν καὶ νουθετῶν αὐτῷ λέγει· Σώφρων γενοῦ εἰς τὸ τέλος· φρόνιμος γενοῦ, δίκαιος γενοῦ εἰς τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς παιδαγωγεῖ πρὸς τὸν σώφρονα βίον καὶ θεμέλιον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ παιδόθεν ἐναποτίθεται τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον. Καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ἡ πεῖρα. Προσφέρει τις παιδίον ὑπομάζιον βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἀβέβαιον ἡλικίαν ἀπαιτεῖ συνταγὰς καὶ συγκαταθέσεις, καὶ ἐγγυητὴν τοῦ ἀφήλικος τὸν ἀνάδοχον λαμβάνει καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ· Ἀποτάσσεται τῷ Σατανᾷ; Καὶ οὐ λέγει· Ἀποτάσσεται τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς τὸ τέλος; Συντάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ εἰς τὸ τέλος; Ἀλλ' εὐθέως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπαιτεῖ τὰς ἀποτάξεις καὶ συντάξεις.

This passage is, as J.-C. Didier notes, (35) extremely interesting from a liturgical point of view since it preserves the actual wording of the baptismal

interrogations. It is, also, an example of the fact, noted above p.167 that in the early church the baptismal interrogations were addressed to infants in the same form as they were to adult candidates for baptism.

What is particularly noteworthy, however, for the purposes of this study is that Asterius refers here to the necessity of infant baptism without reference to the analogy between circumcision and baptism. (The reference to the "swaddling clothes" is simply another way of emphasizing that infants need to be baptized from earliest infancy: they do not here have the significance that Asterius attributes to them in his *Homily on Psalm VI*: s4). Here infant baptism is urged on the grounds that it is necessary to practice righteousness and other virtues from the beginning of life. Underlying this is the view that new-born infants were born with a corrupt nature, and that unless they are brought under the control of God they will fall into sin and heresy. I would cautiously suggest that, although the analogy between circumcision and baptism and the argument that infants are subject to original sin and are therefore in need of cleansing stand side by side as arguments for infant baptism in the *Homily on Psalm VI*, the view that infants were subject to original sin was the main reason for Asterius, why infants ought to be baptized, and that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was seen as a secondary, confirmatory argument for infant baptism.

Finally, with regard to the evidence of Asterius. I think that Jeremias (36) and Didier (37) may perhaps be claiming too much when they maintain that Asterius provides evidence that infant baptism was a firmly established practice in the church circles in which Asterius moved. In his *Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism* Basil, as we shall see, develops the analogy between circumcision and baptism in much the same way as Asterius does here, though to argue against the postponement of baptism, not, as here, for the necessity of infant baptism. (See further section 4.2.2.3 below). Is it not possible that when Asterius argues that since the circumcision of the Jews was given early and quickly, how much more is it necessary (*πολλῷ μᾶλλον... ὀφείλει*) that infants should be baptized, he is similarly arguing rhetorically, seeking to persuade his hearers of the necessity of infant baptism? It need hardly be

said, of course, that because an argument was used in a particular context, it does not necessarily mean that it originated in that context. Asterius' language here may simply be a means of drawing out the comparison between circumcision and baptism, or be part of his concern lest an infant die unbaptized and as a result, be excluded from the Kingdom of God. There is, however, an element of uncertainty here that Jeremias and Didier have overlooked.

THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS

The Cappadocians—Basil the Great of Caesarea, his friend Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil's younger brother Gregory who became bishop of Nyssa—clearly stand together as a group. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen studied together in Athens, and all three were acquainted with and influenced by each other's thought.

Whilst, strictly speaking, the Cappadocians belong to neither of the schools of Alexandria or Antioch, they stand much closer to that of Alexandria in that they were all influenced by the theology of Origen. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen's admiration for Origen is evidenced by their compilation in 358 of the Philocalia, an anthology of Origen's works, and the influence of Origen upon Gregory Nyssen is particularly evident in his exegetical writings. Another factor that links the Cappadocians with Alexandria is that they took over from Athanasius the mantle of the defence of the Nicean faith.

4.2.2 Basil the Great.

4.2.2.1 The Morals.

Basil twice refers to our text in his Morals. This was the first of his ascetic works, and was probably written between 362 and 365. It is a collection of eighty rules or moral instructions, which, as W. K. Lowther Clarke notes, "is concerned with the duties of Christians at large, and clergy living in the world, while the *Rules* proper [a similar ascetic treatise] have in mind

the specific needs of monks." (38) Basil's method, as Clarke notes, "is to enumerate a proposition and then to buttress it with proof texts from the Scriptures." (39) Originally the scripture references only were given, but at some later stage the passages were written out in full. Whether this was by Basil himself or another is not clear. However, that the two texts of Colossians 2:11 include the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, suggests that if Basil himself wrote these texts out it was towards the end of his life, since he does not, as we shall see, include this addition in his text of Colossians 2:11 in his treatise *On the Holy Spirit* (written 374–5), or show any awareness of this addition in the allusion to Colossians 2:11 in his sermon *On Holy Baptism.*

Basil does not here comment upon these texts, but we can gain some idea of how he interpreted them from the propositions that they are intended to support. Because Basil develops these propositions at greater length in other works that we shall consider, only brief comments are made here.

4.2.2.1.1 Rule 20

Τίς ὁ λόγος ἢ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ βαπτίσματος; Τὸ ἀλλοιωθῆναι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον κατά τε νοῦν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ πρᾶξιν, καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκεῖνο κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν δύναμιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξ οὗ ἐγεννήθη.

Κεφάλ. Β'.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ. Τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστι. Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὅτι εἶπόν σοι· Δεῖ ὑμᾶς (34) γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν. Τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται, καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει. Οὕτως ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος. ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜ. Τὸ νεκρωθῆναι (35) μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῆσαι δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, Συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον· ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. Εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα· τοῦτο γινώσκοντες, ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη, ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μη-

κέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. Ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (36). ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛ. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες, αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (37). ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛ. Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος, οὐδὲ Ἕλλην· οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος, οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἓν ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησου. ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛ. Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτου, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα του κτίσαντος αὐτόν· ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός.

"What is the inner meaning or power of baptism? The change of the baptized in mind, word, and deed, and his becoming, by the power given, that very thing of which he was born." (John 3:6–8; Rom. 6:11; Rom. 6:3–11; Col. 2:11&12; Gal. 3:27&28; Col. 3:9–11).

The use of Colossians 2:11 and 12 to support this proposition suggests that Basil understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to an action that is effected in baptism.

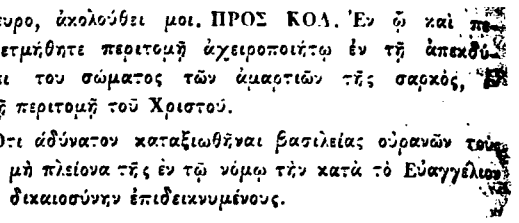
The omission of *τῶν* before *νεκρῶν* may be significant. It could imply that the concept of death, rather than the collective dead, was in mind. However, Conzelmann (40) cites Thuc. *Hist.* 4.14.5; 5.10.12; Luc. *Ver. hist.* 1.39, as examples of *νέκροι* without the article meaning "the dead". Thus the omission of *τῶν* may not be significant.

4.2.2.1.2 Rule 43

Ὅτι ὡς ὁ νόμος τὸ ἐκ μέρους, οὕτω τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ ὁλόκληρον ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν κατορθουμένων ἐπιζητεῖ.

Κεφάλ. Β'.

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ. Πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ


δευρο, ἀκολούθει μοι. ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛ. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει του σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ὅτι ἀδύνατον καταξιωθῆναι βασιλείας οὐρανῶν τοὺς μὴ πλείονα τῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τὴν κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιδεικνυμένους.

> "That as the law makes a partial, so the gospel makes a complete demand as regards every good action." (Luke 18:22; Col. 2:11).

For the thought behind this rule see section 4.2.2.3 below.

4.2.2.2 On The Holy Spirit: s35

Basil wrote his treatise "On the Holy Spirit" in the winter of 374–5 at the request of Amphilocius, bishop of Iconium, and cousin of Gregory Nazianzen, who, on the first of his annual autumn visits to Caesarea in 374, requested Basil to clear up all doubt concerning the doctrine of the Holy Spirit by writing a treatise on the subject. Ambrose drew extensively on this treatise in the writing of his own treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, and thereby Basil's thought exercised a considerable influence upon Western Theology.

Those who denied the deity of the Holy Spirit drew attention to scriptural texts which suggested the Spirit's inferiority and the silence of the Bible concerning his divinity. To counter this, as Kelly notes,

> "Basil made the liturgical custom of baptizing in the three-fold name a pivot in his argument for the coequality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, pleading that the apostolic witness was conveyed to the church in the mysteries as well as in Scripture, and that it was apostolic to abide by this unwritten tradition." (41)

In so doing he was developing a line of argument that Athanasius had advanced in his first letter to Serapion, s28.

It is his comments concerning baptism, and in particular the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12a in s35 that concern us.

In s24 Basil maintains,

> "if our Lord, when He delivered saving baptism, clearly commanded the disciples to baptize all nations 'into the name of the

> Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit,' and did not disdain fellowship with Him, is it not perfectly plain that our opponents who say that we ought not to rank Him with the Father and the Son, withstand the ordinance of God?"

Having established this point, Basil deals with a number of possible objections. In s28 he warns against being misled by the fact that Paul frequently omits the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit when he speaks of baptism. Paul, he points out sometimes appears to speak of the Holy Spirit only when he refers to baptism (1 Corinthians 12:13) as also does Jesus (Acts 1:5) and John the Baptist (Luke 3:13). He continues:

> "no one on this account would call that perfect baptism wherein the Spirit only was invoked. For the tradition which was given us as an element of the quickening grace must ever remain unchangeable. He that redeemed our life from corruption gave us a power of renewal, which power has a cause ineffably mysterious, but brings to our souls great salvation, so that to add anything or take anything away is manifestly a falling from eternal life. If, therefore, the separation in baptism of the Spirit from the Father and the Son is perilous to the baptizer, and unprofitable to him who receives baptism, where is our safety if we sever the Spirit from the Father and the Son? Faith and baptism are two modes of salvation, of kindred origin and inseparable. For on the one hand faith is perfected through baptism, and on the other baptism is founded on faith, and the same name gives full significance to both. For as we believe on the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, so also we are baptized into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. And the confession goes before, leading to salvation, while baptism after, setting the seal on our assent."

In s31 Basil deals with the objection that baptism into the Spirit no more means that the Holy Spirit is divine than baptism into Moses means that Moses is divine. Basil replies:

> "when we speak of faith in Moses and of baptism into Moses, and of baptism into Moses and the cloud, it is only a question of type and shadow (*σκιὰν καὶ τύπον*). Nor does it follow that, because things divine are foreshadowed by the petty things

of human life, the nature of things Divine is petty too. What nature is has often been prefigured by the shadowy outlines of types. For a type is a pictorial representation of things expected, and an anticipatory indication of the future (*ἔστι γὰρ ὁ τύπος προσδυκωμένων δήλωσις, διὰ μιμήσεως ἐνεικτικῶς τὸ μέλλον προϋποφαινων*).

In s34 Basil deals with a further objection:

> "They tell us," he records, "that we are baptized into water, and we should not dream of honouring the water more than all creation, nor do we make it partaker of the honour due to the Father and the Son."

The substance of Basil's reply in s35 is that it is only through the power of the Spirit that the baptismal waters have any effect. The water, he argues, is the symbolic representation of the putting off of the works of the flesh and the means by which we imitate the burial of Christ. It is to support this view that Basil quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12a.

> 35 Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία ἀνάκλησίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, καὶ ἐπάνοδος εἰς οἰκείωσιν Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν γενομένης ἀλλοτριώσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μετὰ σαρκὸς [3] ἐπιδημία Χριστοῦ· αἱ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὑποτυπώσεις· τὰ πάθη· ὁ σταυρός· ἡ ταφή· ἡ ἀνάστασις· ὥστε τὸν σωζόμενον ἄνθρωπον διὰ μιμήσεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκείνην υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολαβεῖν. Ἀναγκαία τοίνυν ἐστὶ πρὸς τελείωσιν ζωῆς, ἡ Χριστοῦ μίμησις, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ὑποδείγμασιν ἀοργησίας καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ μακροθυμίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, ὡς Παῦλός φησιν ὁ μιμητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· Συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐξανάστασιν. Πῶς οὖν γινόμεθα ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ; Συνταφέντες αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ταφῆς; καὶ τί τὸ ἐκ τῆς μιμήσεως χρήσιμον; Πρῶτον μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ προτέρου βίου διακοπῆναι. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον, μὴ ἄνωθεν γεννηθέντα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν. Ἡ γὰρ παλιγγενεσία, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τὸ ὄνομα, δευτέρου βίου ἐστὶν ἀρχή. Ὥστε [1] δὲ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ δευτέρου, πέρας χρὴ δοῦναι τῷ προλαβόντι.

Ὡς γάρ [3] ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν δίαυλον ἀνακαμπτόντων, στάσις τις καὶ ἐπηρέμησις τὰς ἐναντίας κινήσεις διαλαμβάνει· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν βίων μεταβολῆς ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη θάνατον ἀμφοτέροις μεσιτεῦσαι τοῖς βίοις, περατοῦντα μὲν τὰ προάγοντα, ἀρχὴν δὲ διδόντα τοῖς ἐφεξῆς. Πῶς οὖν κατορθοῦμεν τὴν εἰς ᾅδου [1] κατάβασιν; Μιμούμενοι τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ [2] διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Οἱονεὶ γὰρ ἐνθάπτεται τῷ ὕδατι τῶν βαπτιζομένων τὰ σώματα. Ἀπόθεσιν οὖν τῶν ἔργων τῆς σαρκὸς συμβολικῶς ὑποφαίνει τὸ βάπτισμα, κατὰ τὸν [3] ἀπόστολον λέγοντα, ὅτι Περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει [4] τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. Καὶ οἱονεὶ καθάρσιόν ἐστι ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ φρονήματος αὐτῇ προσγενομένου ῥύπου, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅτι Πλυνεῖς με, καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ μολύσματι ἀπολουόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἴσμεν τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα· ἐπειδὴ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου θάνατος, καὶ μία ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐξανάστασις, ὧν τύπος ἐστὶ τὸ βάπτισμα. Τούτου χάριν ὁ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν οἰκονομῶν Κύριος τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡμῖν ἔθετο διαθήκην, θανάτου τύπον καὶ ζωῆς περιέχουσαν· τὴν μὲν τοῦ θανάτου εἰκόνα τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκπληροῦντος, τὸν δὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἀρραβῶνα παρεχομένου τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ὥστε σαφὲς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε τὸ ζητούμενον, διὰ τί τῷ Πνεύματι τὸ ὕδωρ συμπαρελήφθη. Ὅτι δύο σκοπῶν ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι προκειμένων, καταργῆσαι μὲν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι αὐτὸ καρποφορεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ, ζῆν δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ· τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ, τοῦ θανάτου τὴν εἰκόνα παρέχει, ὥσπερ ἐν ταφῇ τὸ σῶμα παραδεχόμενον· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὴν ζωοποιὸν ἐνίησι δύναμιν, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν νεκρότητος εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ζωὴν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀνακαινίζον. Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος· ὃς τῆς μὲν νεκρώσεως ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τελουμένης· τῆς δὲ ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐνεργουμένης διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἐν τρισὶν οὖν καταδύσεσι, καὶ ἰσαρίθμοις ταῖς ἐπικλήσεσι, τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ βαπτίσματος τελειοῦται, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τοῦ θανάτου τύπος ἐξεικονισθῇ, καὶ τῇ παραδόσει τῆς θεογνωσίας τὰς ψυχὰς φωτισθῶσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι. Ὥστε εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι χάρις, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος παρουσίας. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὸ βάπτισμα ῥύπου σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν.

ἀναστάσεως βίον καταρτίζων ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν πᾶσαν ἐκτίθεται πολιτείαν, τὸ ἀόργητον, τὸ ἀνεξίκακον, τὸ φιλησυχίας [1] ἀρρύπωτον, τὸ ἀφιλάργυρον τοῦ τρόπου νομοθετῶν· ὥστε ἅπερ ὁ αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κέκτηται, ταῦτα προλαβόντας ἡμᾶς ἐκ προαιρέσεως κατορθοῦν. Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὀργιζόμενος εἴποι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἶναι τοῦ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως βίου προδιατύπωσιν, οὐκ ἂν μοι [2] δοκῇ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἁμαρτεῖν.

"The dispensation of our God and Saviour relating to man consists in a restoration from the effects of the fall, and in returning to intimate relations with God after the alienation which resulted from disobedience. Hence the coming of Christ in the flesh, the pattern life of the gospels, our Lord's sufferings, His cross, burial, and resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through the imitation of Christ receives the adoption of the days of old. Now for the perfection of life we must not only copy the patterns of gentleness, lowliness, and long suffering which Christ set us in His life, but we must also follow the example of His death. Paul, the imitator of Christ, speaks of 'being conformed to His death, if by any means I may attain to the resurrection from the dead.' How then do we come to be in the likeness of His death? By being buried with Him through baptism. But how are we buried? And what advantage is derived from the imitation? In the first place, the course of the former life must be interrupted. But this is impossible for one who has not been born again, as our Lord said. For regeneration, as the very name shows, is the beginning of a second life. So that before we begin the second, we must put an end to the first. Just as when runners in the double course turn the post there is a sort of pause and rest between the contrary movements, so in changing our lives it seemed necessary that death should separate the two, ending what goes before, but beginning that which comes after. How, then, do we accomplish the descent into Hades? By imitating the burial of Christ by means of baptism. It is as if the bodies of the baptized were buried in the water. Baptism symbolically represents the putting away of the works of the flesh, according to the Apostles words, 'Ye were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ, being buried with Him in baptism.' And there is, as it were, a cleansing of the soul from the filth attaching to it through the fleshly mind, according as it is written, 'Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.' Hence it is that we

do not, like the Jews, wash ourselves for every defilement, but we know one saving baptism; for there is one death on behalf of the world, and one resurrection from the dead, and of these baptism is the type. Wherefore the Lord, who ordereth our life, made with us the covenant of baptism, which involves a figure of life and death: for the water adequately represents death, while the Spirit gives the earnest of life. And this clearly answers the question, Why was the water conjoined with the Spirit? Because there are two ends proposed in baptism: on the one hand, the destruction of the body of sin, that it may no longer bear fruit unto death; on the other, that it may live to the Spirit, and have its fruit in sanctification. Now the water expresses the likeness of death, for it receives, as it were, the body into a tomb, but the Spirit is the source of the quickening power, by renewing our souls and bringing them from the deadness of sin into the life which was originally theirs. This, then, is to be born again of water and of the Spirit, for death is effected in the water, but our life is wrought through the Spirit. The great mystery of baptism is therefore celebrated with three immersions, and the same number of invocations, that death may typically be fully represented, and the baptized by the delivery of the Divine knowledge may have their souls enlightened. So that if there be any grace in the water, it is not from the nature of the water, but from the presence of the Spirit. For baptism is not 'the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience toward God.' Therefore, by way of fitting us for the resurrection life, our Lord describes the whole of our conversation under the Gospel, and commands that our character be gentle, forbearing, undefiled by the love of pleasure, free from avarice; so that we may by anticipation and deliberate choice attain the natural endowments of the world to come. Therefore, if anyone were to maintain that the Gospel prefigures the resurrection life, I should not think them far wrong."

It is clear from the way in which Basil introduces the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12a that he understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to refer to an action that is effected in baptism, rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. The subsequent reference to the "fleshly mind" (*σαρκικόν φρόνημα*) suggests that Basil understood *σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 figuratively to mean our fallen human nature.

The preceding reference to the works of the flesh (*τῶν ἔργων τῆς σαρκός*; cf. Galatians 5:19) suggests that Basil believed also that our fleshly mind expresses itself in specific acts of sin. It would appear, therefore, that Basil believed that both our fallen human nature, and the actual sins which derive from this are cleansed through baptism.

The allusion to Romans 6:6 suggests that Basil understood *σώματος* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body. Romans 6:6 is introduced to explain further the spiritual effects of baptism, and thus Colossians 2:11 and Romans 6:6 are, for Basil, speaking of the same action. We may, therefore, use his understanding of Romans 6:6 to shed light upon his interpretation of Colossians 2:11. Basil links Romans 6:6 with Romans 6:22, which suggests that he understood *τὸ σῶμα* in Romans 6:6 to refer to the physical body. We may compare Book II s2 of his treatise "Concerning Baptism" where he links Romans 6:6 with Romans 12:1 and Romans 6:12 and 13. The physical body was, for Basil, in itself neutral, and could thus either be controlled and dominated by sin, or bear fruit unto sanctificaion. It is probable, therefore, that Basil understood the genitive *σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 to be a genitive of separation, and the whole phrase *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* to mean the freeing of the body from the controlling power of sin. However, I recognise that this may be crediting Basil with a more precise interpretation of this phrase than he himself actually had in mind.

In his introduction to the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12a Basil uses *ἀποτίθημι*. This suggests that he understood *ἀπεκδύσις* in Colossians 2:11 to mean simply "putting away" rather than "stripping right away".

We have already noted that Basil understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπέκδυσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to an action that is effected in baptism. This is confirmed by his subsequent comments, that "there is in baptism, as it were, a cleansing of the soul from the filth attaching to it from the fleshly mind", and the later comment that one of the ends of baptism is "the destruction of the body of sin". However, Basil nowhere suggests either that Christ himself effects this circumcision, or that it is dependent upon a circumcision that Christ himself either underwent or effected in his death or resurrection. This suggests that

he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* as a periphrasis for baptism.

It is relevant to ask what we may learn from Basil's comments here concerning the way in which he understood the phrase *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι*. In particular, what is the nature of this burial, and to what extent is burial, according to Basil, "with Christ"? This question is bound up with the problem of what Basil means by imitation (*μίμησις*).

In the New Testament *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* are used exclusively in an ethical sense. Paul speaks of imitating his own example as an imitator of Christ (1 Corinthians 11:1; cf. 4:16 Philippians 3:17; 1 Thessalonians 1:6), of the churches of God (1 Thessalonians 2:14), of Christ himself (1 Thessalonians 1:6), and of God the Father (Ephesians 5:1). Peter also speaks of imitating what is good (1 Peter 3:13), and the writer to the Hebrews speaks of imitating those who through faith and patience inherit the promises (Hebrews 6:12).

Basil, however, extends the language of imitation to cover also Christ's death: "...we must not only copy the patterns of gentleness, lowliness, and long suffering which Christ set us in His life, but we must also follow the example of His death." In so doing he has in mind Paul's reference in Romans 6:5 to "the likeness of his death (*τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*)" to which he alludes, and his reference to being "conformed to his death (*συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ*)" in Philippians 3:10.

It is relevant to ask whether the fact that Basil uses *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* to refer to both the ethical imitation of Christ's life, and also to imitation of his burial in baptism means that, for him, "imitation" is a mere copying or symbolic representation of Christ's death. If this is the case, he may be criticized for having failed to appreciate the sense in which this burial is "with" Christ.

Certainly, with the objection raised by his opponents in mind, Basil emphasizes the symbolic nature of the water. ("For the bodies are, as it were [*οἱονεί*], buried in the water"; "Baptism symbolically represents [*συμβωλικῶς ὑποφαίνει*] the putting off of the works of the flesh"; "there

is, as it were [*οἱονεί*], a cleansing of the soul..."; baptism is the type [*τύπος*] of the one death on behalf of the world, and the resurrection from the dead; "baptism...involves a type [*τύπος*] of life and death"; "water expresses the likeness [*εἰκόνα*] of death"; "water expresses the likeness [*εἰκόνα*] of death, for it receives, as it were, the body into a tomb".) Only once does Basil use realistic language to describe "death" in baptism: "This, then, is to be born of water and of the Spirit, for death is effected [*τελουμένης*] in the water, but our life is wrought through the Spirit." This, however, is carefully qualified: "if there is any grace in the water, it is not from the nature of the water, but from the presence of the Spirit". However, in stressing the symbolic nature of the water Basil is not implying that baptism is an empty symbol. His point is, rather, that the efficacy of baptism does not lie in the water, but in the presence of the Holy Spirit. (Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem: *Catechetical Lecture III*: s4, cited Section 4.3.1.3 below.)

Indeed, in Book I of his treatise *Concerning Baptism*, in which Basil outlines his understanding of baptism at greater length, he makes clear that he believed that a real death and burial with Christ is effected in baptism, in that through baptism a person is separated from all sin and defilement. For example, in s14 he remarks:

> "He [Paul] says: 'Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed to the end that we may serve sin no longer. By these words we are taught that he who is baptized in Christ is baptized in His death, and is not only buried with Christ and planted together with Him, but is first of all crucified with Him. Thus we are instructed that as he who is crucified is separated from the living, so also he who has been crucified with Christ in the likeness of His death is completely set apart from those who live according to the old man; ...The 'old man' mentioned by the Apostle signifies, as if they represented his own members, all sin and defilement taken individually and together."

At the same time, however, Basil also describes the baptismal waters as the "likeness" (*ὁμοίωμα*) of the Cross (s15; cf. s16). Thus, whatever precisely Basil means by "imitation", he does not wish to imply that bap-

tism is an empty symbol. According to Basil baptism effects that which it symbolizes.

I think it probable that, at one level at least, Basil uses *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* to emphasize the spiritual nature of the death and burial that is effected through baptism, in that when a person is baptized he does not physically die. Cyril of Jerusalem, with whose *Catechetical Lectures* Basil was almost certainly familiar (he had visited the Holy Land in 357, and in s5 of his Homily *On Holy Baptism* he gives, with some additions, Cyril's rehearsal of the praises of baptism in the Procatechesis s16), uses *μίμησις* in this way:

> *Ὦ ξένου καὶ παραδόξου πράγματος· οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀπεθάνομεν, οὐδ' ἀληθῶς ἐτάφημεν, οὐδ' ἀληθῶς σταυρωθέντες ἀνέστημεν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι ἡ μίμησις, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἡ σωτηρία.*
>
> "What a strange and astonishing situation! We did not really die, we were not really buried, we did not really hang on a cross and rise again. Our imitation was symbolic, but our salvation a reality." (*Mystagogical Catechesis II*: s5).

Gregory Nyssen similarly spoke of imitating the burial of Christ in baptism in the same sense that whereas Christ died physically, we do not physically die (*Catechetical Oration*: s35), and Ambrose similarly spoke of baptism as,

> "a means ...for making a living man die and a living man rise again." (*Lectures on the Sacraments II*: s19; cf. also s23).

This is, I would suggest, what Basil means in Book I: s13 of his treatise *Concerning Baptism* where he maintains that:

> "dying ...in the likeness of his death and being buried with Christ ...we do not experience the corruption of death and our burial is only in a semblance (*ταφὴν δε καὶ ὥσπερ φυτείαν σπερμάτων μιμούμεθα*)."

At a deeper level, it is probable that by "imitation" Basil also meant "participation". Cyril certainly understood *μίμησις* in this way. The passage cited above continues:

> *Χριστὸς ὄντως ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ὄντως ἐτάφη καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, καὶ πάντα ἡμῖν ταῦτα κεχάρισται, ἵνα τῇ μιμήσει τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ κοινωνήσαντες ἀληθείᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν κερδήσωμεν. ὦ φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβαλλούσης· Χριστὸς ἐδέξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν ἥλους καὶ ἤλγησε, κἀμοὶ ἀναλγητὶ καὶ ἀπονητὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἄλγους κοινωνίας χαρίζεται τὴν σωτηρίαν.*

"Christ truly hung from a cross, was truly buried and truly rose again. All this he did gratuitously for us, so that we might share his sufferings by imitating them, and gain salvation in actuality. What transcendent kindness! Christ endured nails in his innocent hands and feet, and suffered pain: and by letting me participate in the pain without anguish or sweat, he freely bestows salvation on me."

Further, Cyril argues that Romans 6:3 and 4 were addressed,

> *ταῦτα ἔλεγε πρὸς διατεθέντας, ὡς ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ υἱοθεσίας προξενητικὸν τὸ βάπτισμα, οὐκ ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων ἐν μιμήσει ἔχει τὴν κοινωνίαν.*

"to those who had assented to the view that baptism confers remission of sins and adoption, but not that it further implies a share by imitation in the true suffering of Christ." (s6)

Commenting on Romans 6:5 Cyril remarks:

> *καλῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ "σύμφυτοι"· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πεφύτευται ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἡμεῖς κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῦ θανάτου σύμφυτοι αὐτοῦ γεγόναμεν. ἐπίστησον δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προσοχῆς τὸν νοῦν τοῖς τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγοις. οὐκ εἶπεν, εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ θανάτῳ, ἀλλά, τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου. ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ θάνα-*

τος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἐχωρίζετο τοῦ σώματος ἡ ψυχή· καὶ ἀληθινὴ ταφή, ἐν σινδόνι γὰρ καθαρᾷ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα εἱλεῖτο, καὶ πάντα ἀληθῶς ἐν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν. ἐπὶ δὲ ὑμῶν θανάτου μὲν καὶ παθημάτων ὁμοίωμα, σωτηρίας δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίωμα, ἀλλὰ ἀλήθεια.

> "He [Paul] does well to say 'planted together'. For since 'the true vine' has been planted here in Jerusalem, we have been planted with him by partaking of the baptism of his death. Pay close attention to the words of the apostle. He did not say 'If we have been planted together with him in his death', but 'in a death like his death'. For Christ really died, his soul really was separated from his body, he was really buried, for his holy body was wrapped in pure linen. In his case all these events really occurred; but in your case there was a likeness of death and suffering, but the reality, not the likeness of salvation." (s7)

A comparison between Cyril's comments in s7 and his comments in s5 suggest that *μίμησις* and *ὁμοίωμα* were, for Cyril, interchangeable terms.

Ambrose similarly interprets *ὁμοίωμα* in Romans 6:5 to mean that, although we participate in the historic death of Christ, we not physically die:

> "So the Apostle exclaims . . . 'Whoever is baptized, is baptized in the death of Jesus'. What does 'in the death' mean? It means that just as Christ died, so you will taste death; that just as Christ died to sin and lives to God, so through the sacrament of baptism you are dead to the old enticements of sin and have risen again through the grace of Christ. This is a death, then, not in the reality of death, but in likeness. When you are immersed, you receive the likeness of death and burial, you receive the sacrament of his cross; because Christ hung on the cross and was fastened to it by nails. So you are crucified with him, you are fastened to Christ, you are fastened by the Lord Jesus Christ lest the devil pull you away. May Christ's nail continue to hold you, for human weakness seeks to pull you away." (ibid. s23)

Further, Gregory Nyssen clearly believed that our imitation involves a death to sin:

> "But as regards those who follow this Leader, their nature does not admit of an exact and entire imitation, but it received now as much as it is capable of receiving, while it reserves the remainder

> for the time that comes after. In what sense, then, does this imitation consist? It consists in the effecting and the suppression of that admixture of sin, in the figure of mortification that is given by the water, not certainly a complete effacement, but a kind of break in the continuity of evil, two things concurring to this removal of sin—the penitence of the transgressor and his imitation of the death. ...But had it been possible for him in his imitation to undergo a complete dying, the result would not be imitation but identity. ...But since ...we only so far imitate the transcendent Power as the poverty of our nature is capable of, by having the water thrice poured on us and ascending again up from the water, we enact that saving burial and resurrection which took place on the third day." (ibid.)

Finally, it is relevant to quote the opinion of Daniélou who maintains that in the references of Gregory Nyssen (*On Psalm 22s33*; PG 46 692B) and Cyril of Alexandria (*On Psalm 22s33*; PG 80 841B):

> "We recognise here the sacramental typology of Baptism, a ritual imitation of the death of Christ, accomplished by the immersion in the water, which produces the real effect of that Death." (42)

It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that when used in relation to baptism "imitation", for Basil, includes the notion of "participation".

This is, I think, confirmed by his reference to the descent into Hades. This is an allusion to the belief that between his death and resurrection Christ himself descended into Hades. (43) The fact that Basil speaks of accomplishing the descent into Hades (*κατορθοῦμεν τὴν εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασιν*) by imitating the burial of Christ through baptism, rather than imitating the descent into Hades through baptism, indicates that "imitation" is the means by which we "participate" in Christ's descent into Hades.

To sum up, *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* emphasize both that the baptized does not physically die when he is buried beneath the baptismal water, and that by so doing a person actually participates in Christ's historic death and burial. Baptism, for Basil, thus both symbolizes and effects a participation in Christ's historic death and burial. The fact that Basil describes baptism, rather than circumcision, as a type (*τύπος*), and also an image (*εἰκών*)

suggests that his use of *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* may be due to the influence of Neo-Platonism. (44)

There is clearly a parallel between this understanding of baptism and the way in which the Eucharist was understood in the second half of the fourth century. Cyril (*Catechetical Lecture V*: s19–23), Theodore (*Baptismal Homily IV*: s8–11) and Ambrose (*Lectures on the Sacraments IV*: 14, 21–16) use symbolic language to describe the bread and the wine, whilst at the same time believing that at the consecration the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of Christ. Indeed Theodore, in a somewhat Neo-Platonic fashion, describes the whole liturgy of the Eucharist as an image (*εἰκών*: *Baptismal Homily IV*: s20; cf. s15–24 passim; Ambrose: *Lectures on the Sacraments IV*: s7). The Liturgy of St. Basil also speaks of "the antitypes of the holy body and blood of your Christ".

Basil, therefore, understands *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ* in Colossians 2:12 to mean that through baptism a person participates in the historic death and burial of Christ. However, two further comments need to be made. First, Basil understands this death and burial in subjective, ethical terms. The participation in Christ's death effects, as we have seen, an ethical transformation and change in the life of the baptized, that is, a death to sin. Second, and closely related to this, there is no hint that Basil understood the participation in Christ's death and burial through baptism to be part of a more general union with Christ in all respects. It is not, for Basil, an objective reality, characteristic of the Christian life as a whole, but is rather limited to the experience of baptism. Basil emphasises that, having participated in the death and burial of Christ through baptism, in the same way that Christ died once and for all, the believer is under an obligation to be dead to sin. (Romans 6: 9–11. Cf. *Concerning Baptism* Book I: s16). Basil emphasizes that God gives us the grace to do this, but this grace is something that is given in baptism, rather than springing from our on-going relationship with Christ and union with him (ibid. s9 and 17).

Basil does not quote Colossians 2:12b. However, his reference to baptism as a type of the death and resurrection of Christ, and as a figure of life

and death suggests that he may have understood $\tilde{\varphi}$ in Colossians 2:12b to be neuter, referring to baptism, rather than masculine, referring to Christ. In s26 of Book I of his treatise "Concerning Baptism", Basil again refers to baptism as a type of the death and resurrection of Christ, and in s16 explicitly states that we are raised "in baptism".

Basil understands resurrection, like death and burial with Christ, in ethical terms, and, significantly, links this with the work of the Holy Spirit. This may be due to the fact that Basil is discussing in this treatise the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. However, the practice of "chrism" (anointing with oil, upon emergence from the baptismal waters, symbolizing the reception of the Spirit), may have been a factor in this. It is possible that we have here an indication of the gradual disintegration of baptismal theology, which has been studied at length by G. W. H. Lampe, (45) that is, the association of particular benefits of baptism with particular aspects of the baptismal ritual, rather than with the process as a whole.

Additional Note: Martyrdom as the Imitation of the Passion of Christ In the above discussion of *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις*, no mention was made of the fact that martyrdom, which came to be understood as a participation in Christ's sufferings, is sometimes spoken of as an imitation of the Passion of Christ.

In his letter to the Romans, s6, Ignatius speaks of his desire to "imitate the Passion of my God" (an early reference to Christ as God). It is possible that Ignatius is here simply expressing the desire to die in a similar manner to that in which Christ died (that is, as a martyr), in the same way that he had sought to follow the example of Christ in the manner in which he had lived. It may be, however, that by "imitation" Ignatius means "participation". Whichever, the fact that for Ignatius imitation of Christ reached supreme expression in martyrdom suggests that he had inadequately appreciated the sense in which, according to St. Paul, the believer is "in Christ" in the course of his ordinary life. Whether or not Ignatius thought martyrdom to be a participation in the passion of Christ, he established the notion of

martyrdom as an imitation of Christ and this is developed by subsequent writers.

Tertullian does not explicitly speak of "imitating" Christ in martyrdom. However, he speaks of martyrdom as a baptism of blood, a view derived from Jesus' figurative reference to his death as a baptism (Luke 12:50) and such texts as 1 John 5:6, Matthew 22:14 and John 19:34. This Baptism of blood, he argues, stands in place of water baptism in cases where a catechumen suffered martyrdom before he was baptized in water (On Baptism: s16). The probable reason why martyrdom was regarded as a substitute for baptism was that, like baptism, it was a means of participating in the sufferings and death of Christ. However, at times, as E. Evans notes, (46) Tertullian himself almost suggests that it is the martyr's own blood that saves him (e.g. *Apology*: s50; *On Modesty*: s22; cf. also Origen: *Exhortation to Martyrdom*: s30).

Cyprian, who explicitly refers to martyrdom as the imitation of Christ, connects martyrdom with Paul's reference in Romans 8:16 and 17 to suffering with Christ (*Epistle 54*: s1). This suggests that for Cyprian to "imitate" Christ in martyrdom meant to participate in his sufferings. Origen, in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, s42, argues that martyrdom is not only a participation in Christ's sufferings but also in his triumph over the principalities and powers (Colossians 2:15). Thus, whether or not "imitation" of the Passion of Christ in martyrdom initially meant "participation" in his sufferings, it was later understood in this way.

I am not sufficiently well acquainted with Basil's writings to know whether he was aware of the use of "imitation" to mean "participation" when referring to martyrdom. Nonetheless, I note this possible connection of thought here in case it has influenced his choice of *μιμέομαι* and *μίμησις* to signify "participation" in the historic death and burial of Christ through baptism.

4.2.2.3 Concerning Baptism: Book II: s1

Basil quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12a&b in the opening section of Book Two of his Treatise *Concerning Baptism*, where he is concerned to demonstrate that those who have been baptized are under a moral obligation to be dead to sin and live to God.

In Book I he had argued, on the basis of Romans 6:9–11, that in the same way that Christ died once to sin, on our behalf, and dies no more, so also we die once and for all sin through baptism, and should therefore no more return to sin (s16). Indeed, several times he had referred to the promise or agreement that a person makes in baptism to be dead to sin and alive to God (e.g. I:1.4; 2.10,16 & 19; 3.1). Basil emphasizes that God himself gives us the grace to do this (e.g. I:1.3;2,9). However this grace is something that is given once, in baptism, rather than something that springs from our on-going relationship with Christ. This confirms the view that although Basil understood baptism to involve a participation in the historic death of Christ, he did not view baptism as effecting a union with Christ all respects.

In this opening section of Book II he employs the analogy between circumcision and baptism to emphasize that those who have been baptized are under a moral obligation to be dead to sin and alive to God. If, he argues, someone who has undergone physical circumcision, which consists only in the removal of a small part of the body, is under an obligation to keep the Law of Moses (Galatians 5:3), how much more are those who have been spiritually circumcised through baptism, in which the whole of the body of the sins of the flesh are put off (Colossians 2:11 and 12), under a moral obligation to follow the Lord in all things.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ Α'.

Εἰ πᾶς ὁ βαπτισθεὶς τὸ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ του Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶ νεκρὸς μὲν εἶναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῆν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ὁ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

1. Εἰ πάντες οἱ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντες (71) τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάριτος ὁμοίως καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἀντιποιούμεθα καὶ ἐπιδεόμεθα, κατὰ τὴν

τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόφασιν, εἰπόντος· « Ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, » πάντες ἄρα ὁμοίως ἐσμὲν ὀφειλέται τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ στοιχεῖν τοῦ βαπτίσματος, του Ἀποστόλου κοινῶς πᾶσι τοῖς βαπτισθεῖσι λέγοντος· « Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; Συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Πατρός, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν, » καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ἐντρεπτικώτερον καὶ σαφέστερον ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι τοιοῦτον δόγμα, εἰπών· « Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος, οὐδὲ Ἕλλην· οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος, οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. Πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. » Καθὼς πάλιν πρὸς πάντας φησίν· « Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός. ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι (72), ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως. » Ἆρα πᾶς ὁ βαπτισθεὶς τὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου βάπτισμα ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγελιον ζῆν καὶ δι' ὧν εἶπεν ἀλλαχοῦ· « Μαρτύρομαι πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ, ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι (73). »

2. Σαφῶς οὖν συνίσταται, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βαπτισθεὶς τὸ ἓν βάπτισμα, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἐπίσης ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐγερθέντος πληρῶσαι τὸ γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου. « Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι, εἰ εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν (74) ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι. » Εἰ γὰρ ὁ περιτμηθεὶς μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος, τὴν κατὰ Μωϋσῆν περιτομὴν, ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ περιτμηθεὶς τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν περιτομὴν ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει ὅλου τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός, καθὼς γέγραπται, ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶ πληρῶσαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου εἰρημένον, « Ἐγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐσταύρωμαι, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμοί· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστός; » ἔστι ὁ ἀληθῶς, κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἀὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, βαπτισθεὶς εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐνέκρωσε μὲν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, πολὺ δὲ πρότερον τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, κατὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ (75) Ἀποστόλου εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος λόγῳ, ὅτι « Ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη, ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. » Ἀπαράβατον δὲ συνθήκην κατέστη τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῆν τῷ Θεῷ ὁλοκλήρως, δι' ὅλου πληρῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ

Ἀποστόλου εἰρημένα· ποτὲ μὲν, « Παρακαλῶ οὖν (76) ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν, » καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ποτὲ δὲ, « Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι, εἰς τὸ ὑπακοώειν αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ· μηδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας, καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ Θεῷ· » ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις δόγμασι πάλιν λέγων· « Οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος, οὐδὲ Ἕλλην· οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος, οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν, οὐδὲ θῆλυ (77)· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, » ἵνα ἄξιοι γενώμεθα οἱ πάντες, ὡς εἷς, ἀκουσαι· « Δευρο, ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε· ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστὸς, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου. » Ἧς καταξιούμεθα, ἐὰν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη καὶ ἐκληρώθη, δι' ἐπιμελείας περισσοτέρας καὶ ἀόκνου σπουδῆς πολυπλασιάσῃ τὴν μερισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ χάριν, καθὼς γέγραπται.

"Q. 1. Whether everyone who has received Baptism according to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is obliged to be dead to sin, and to live unto God in Christ Jesus.

R. All of us who desire the kingdom of God are, by the Lord's decree, under an equal and rigorous necessity of seeking after the grace of Baptism. He said: 'Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' By the same token, we are all equally bound to hold the same doctrine regarding Baptism; for the Apostle says to all alike, who are baptized: 'Know you not, brethren, that all we who are baptized in Christ Jesus, are baptized in his death? For we are buried together with him by baptism into death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life,' and so on. In another place, he teaches this doctrine more explicitly and in a manner more calculated to arouse feelings of reverence: 'As many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew or Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male or female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And again, he says to all: 'In whom also you are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, in the putting off of the body of the sins of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism, in whom also you are risen again by the faith.' Everyone, therefore, who has received Baptism of the Gospel ought to live in accordance with the Gospel, by reason also of

what the Apostle said in yet another place: 'I testify again to every man circumcising himself, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.'

"It has been clearly demonstrated, then, that all who have received the one Baptism, as it is written, are equally bound to fulfill in the manner of Him who died for us and rose again the words of the Apostle: 'For the charity of Christ presseth us; judging this, that if one died for all, then all were dead. And Christ died for all, that they also who live may not now live to themselves but unto him who died for them and rose again.' If one who has been circumcised in any part of his body, according to the circumcision of Moses, is a debtor to the whole Law, how much greater is the obligation when one is circumcised according to the circumcision of Christ, whereby the entire body is despoiled of the sins of the flesh, as it is written, to accomplish the words of the Apoistle: 'I am crucified to the world and the world to me.' 'And I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me.' He, therefore, who is truly baptized in conformity with the teaching of the Apostle, unto the death of Christ, has rendered himself dead to the world and far more so to sin, according to the words of the Apostle with reference to Baptism: 'our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin may be destroyed to the end that we may serve sin no longer.' Such a one has indeed concluded an inviolable agreement to follow the Lord in all things, that is, to live wholly to God, in the complete fulfillment of the Apostle's words: 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God, your reasonable service,' and so on. Again: 'Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, so as to obey the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of iniquity unto sin, but present yourselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of justice unto God.' And yet again, with reference to the same doctrine, he says: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.' Thus, we all, as one, may become worthy to hear the words: 'Come, then, good servant, thou wert faithful over a few things; I will place thee over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy lord.' These words we shall be accounted worthy to hear, if every one of us, wherever called and to whatever state assigned, increases manyfold by ex-

ceptional diligence and untiring zeal the grace allotted to him, as it is written."

The most important point to note with regard to this extract is that Basil reads the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* before *τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11. This effectively precludes taking *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Basil, as we have already seen, understands this phrase to refer to an action that is effected in baptism.

This is the first extant occurrence of this addition. The fact that it was not present in the text that Basil used in his treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, and that there is no hint of it, as we shall see in his allusion to Colossians 2:11 in his Homily *On Holy Baptism*, suggests that this addition may have originated with Basil himself. I think it probable that the addition was due to the conflation of *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 with *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6. In this extract, as in s35 of his Treatise "On the Holy Spirit", Basil links Colossians 2:11 with Romans 6:6. There is a common link between these verses not only in that they both occur in contexts which discuss baptism, but also in the reference in Romans 6:6 to the "old man". It was natural to link *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 with *ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον* in Colossians 3:9, and thereby with Romans 6:6 which also speaks of the "old man". Having done so it was natural to compare the phrase *ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6 with the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11.

The addition *τῶν ἁμαρτίων* effectively restricts the meaning of Colossians 2:11 to the removal of actual sins, which arise from our fallen human nature, rather than to the removal of that fallen human nature itself.

It was noted above (p.237) that, in view of the connection in Basil's thought between Colossians 2:11 and Romans 6:6, the linking of Romans 6:6 with Romans 12:1 and 6:12 and 13 suggests that Basil understood *σάρξ* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body, and the genitive *σαρκός* to be a genitive of separation.

Here Basil makes the contrast, which we have already noted in Pseudo-

Athanasius, between the circumcision of the part (*μέρος*) and the whole (*ὅλον*). However, he develops this in a slightly different way from Pseudo-Athanasius. For Pseudo-Athanasius the contrast is between what is removed, whereas for Basil it is between the small part of the body that is circumcised in carnal circumcision and the whole body that is circumcised in the circumcision of Christ.

That Basil can describe baptism as circumcision "according to the circumcision of Christ (*τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν περιτομὴν*)" again indicates that Basil interpreted the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a periphrasis for "Christ's baptism".

Basil does not explicitly comment on Colossians 2:12b. However, that he ends his quotation at *διὰ τῆς πίστεως* suggests that he understood *ἐνεργείας* to be an objective genitive, the whole phrase meaning "our faith in the effective power of God".

4.2.2.4 Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism: s2

One of the consequences of the view that baptism was effective for the forgiveness only of former sins, and that the baptized is thus under an obligation to keep his baptism pure, was that baptism was often postponed through fear of post-baptismal sin. Indeed, as Basil notes in this homily, one consequence of the deferral of baptism was that the delay was sometimes made an occasion for license and indulgence (s5). In this sermon, which was preached at Easter-time (s1), Basil sought to counter the deferral of baptism, and in s2 he uses the analogy between circumcision and baptism to argue for the necessity of early baptism:

> Ὁ Ἰουδαῖος τὴν περιτομὴν οὐχ ὑπερτίθεται διὰ τὴν ἀπειλήν, ὅτι *Πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἥτις οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς*· σὺ δὲ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν ἀναβάλλῃ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τελειουμένην, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀκούσας· *Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ δι' ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

Κάκεῖ μὲν ὀδύνη καὶ ἕλκος· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁρόσας ψυχῆς, καὶ ἕλκους καρδίας ἴαμα.

> "A Jew does not delay circumcision because of the threat that 'every soul that is not circumcised on the eighth day shall be cut off from his people': and dost thou put off 'the circumcision made without hands in the putting off of the flesh,' which is performed in baptism, when thou hearest our Lord himself say, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter the Kingdom of God'? In the one was pain and a sore; here we have the dew of the soul and a cure of the pain of the heart."

This allusion provides further confirmation that Basil understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to an action that is effected in baptism: *ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τελειουμένην*. The use of *τελειόω* may imply either the superiority of baptism over carnal circumcision, or that Basil regarded baptism to be the typological fulfillment of the Jewish rite of circumcision. However, if either of these ideas is in mind, Basil does not develop them.

The omission of *τοῦ σώματος* also confirms that Basil understood *σῶμα* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body; the genitive *σαρκός* to be a genitive of separation; and Colossians 2:11b to mean that it is the flesh (understood metaphorically) that is stripped off from the physical body.

Basil's argument in this section is remarkably similar to that of Asterius the Sophist (see section 4.2.1 above). Not only do both maintain that the analogy between circumcision means that one should not delay baptism, they both link Genesis 17:12 with John 3:5. Unlike Asterius, however, Basil does not argue that infants are subject to original sin, and therefore, in need of cleansing. This may, perhaps, be because he is here seeking to persuade adults, who had deferred their baptism through fear of post-baptismal sin, to be baptized. Nonetheless, given that the probability was that these same people for the same reason would not have had their own children baptized, the lack of reference to infant baptism is surprising.

4.2.3 Gregory Nazianzen (c330–389/90): Oration 33: Against the Arians and Concerning Himself: s4

This Oration was delivered at Constantinople about the middle of the year 380. There is a possible, but by no means certain, allusion to Colossians 2:12 in s4:

> Τίνων ἐπισκόπων γηραιαὶ σάρκες τοῖς ὄνυξι κατεξάνθησαν, παρόντων τῶν μυηθέντων καὶ βοηθεῖν οὐκ ἐχόντων, πλὴν τοῦ δακρύειν· μετὰ Χριστοῦ κρεμασθεῖσαι τῷ παθεῖν νικήσασαι, καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τὸν λαὸν ῥαντίσασαι[b] καὶ τέλος ἀπαχθεῖσαι τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, Χριστῷ καὶ συνταφησόμεναι[b] καὶ συνδοξασθησόμεναι[c], Χριστῷ τῷ τὸν κόσμον νικήσαντι[a] διὰ τοιούτων σφαγίων τε καὶ θυμάτων;
>
> "What bishop's aged flesh have they carded with hooks in the presence of their disciples, impotent to help them save by tears, hung up with Christ, conquering by suffering, and sprinkling the people with their precious blood, and at last carried away to death, to be both [crucified and] buried and glorified with Christ, with Christ who conquered the world with such victims and such sacrifices?"

Underlying this extract is the view that martyrdom is a baptism of blood. In the Homily *On Holy Lights*, delivered on the previous day, Gregory lists five types of baptism, amongst which is the baptism "by Martyrdom and blood, which also Christ Himself underwent" which is "far more august than all the others, inasmuch as it cannot be defiled by after-stains" (*Oration 39*: s17). (47)

The significance of this extract is that it indicates that Gregory understood martyrdom to be a participation in the historic death of Christ. This in turn suggests that if Colossians 2:12 rather than Romans 6:4 is specifically in mind Gregory understood *συνταφέντες ἀυτῷ* to be a participation in the historic death of Christ. However, it is not possible on the basis of this brief passage to ascertain how Gregory understood the relationship between burial with Christ in water baptism, and burial with Christ in martyrdom, the baptism of blood.

4.2.4 Gregory Nyssen (c335–394)

4.2.4.1 Life of St. Macrina: s24

Gregory wrote the biography of his sister Macrina shortly after her death in December 379. It is a very personal portrait, based upon his own personal knowledge and information, and was written with the express purpose that the example of her "who had reached the highest summit of human virtue by true wisdom should not fall into oblivion but be of advantage for others." It is thus an early example of Christian hagiography. It provides important information concerning Basil and Gregory himself, and concerning the regimen of an early Christian community of women in the East.

There is an allusion to Colossians 2:11 in s24, in Macrina's prayer on her death-bed, in which she is reported as expressing her confidence that God will receive her, once she has put off her body, into his presence. It is probable, however, that the views that Gregory puts into the mouth of Macrina are his own. (48)

> **24.** Σύ, φησίν, ἔλυσας ἡμῖν, κύριε, « τοῦ θανάτου τὸν φόβον [a] ».
>
> Σὺ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐποίησας τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς.
>
> Σὺ πρὸς καιρὸν ἡμῶν ὕπνῳ διαναπαύεις τὰ σώματα καὶ πάλιν ἀφυπνίζεις « ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι [b] ».
>
> Σὺ δίδως παρακαταθήκην τῇ γῇ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, ἣν ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ διεμόρφωσας, καὶ πάλιν ἀνακωμίζῃ ὃ ἔδωκας, ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ χάριτι μεταμορφώσας τὸ θνητὸν [c] ἡμῶν καὶ ἄσχημον.
>
> Σὺ ἐρρύσω ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατάρας καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἀμφότερα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γενόμενος [d].
>
> Σὺ « συνέθλασας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος [e] » τοῦ διὰ τοῦ χάσματος τῆς παρακοῆς τῷ λαιμῷ διαλαβόντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
>
> Σὺ ὠδοποίησας ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, συντρίψας τὰς πύλας τοῦ ᾅδου [f] καὶ « καταργήσας τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου [g] ».
>
> Σὺ « ἔδωκας τοῖς φοβουμένοις σε σημείωσιν [h] » τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἁγίου σταυροῦ εἰς καθαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀντικειμένου καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς.

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος,

ᾧ « ἐπερρίφην ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός [l] »,
« ὃν ἠγάπησεν ἡ ψυχή μου [j] » ἐξ ὅλης δυνάμεως,
ᾧ ἀνέθηκα καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ νεότητός μου καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν,
σύ μοι παρακατάστησον φωτεινὸν ἄγγελον τὸν χειραγωγοῦντά με πρὸς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀναψύξεως, ὅπου « τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως [k] », παρὰ τοὺς κόλπους [l] τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων.
Ὁ διακόψας τὴν φλόγα τῆς πυρίνης ῥομφαίας [m], καὶ ἀποδοὺς τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν συσταυρωθέντα σοι καὶ ὑποπεσόντα τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου [n],
κάμοῦ « μνήσθητι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου [o] », ὅτι κἀγὼ σοὶ συνεσταυρώθην [p], « καθηλώσασα ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου φοβηθεῖσα [q] ».
Μὴ διαχωρισάτω με τὸ χάσμα [r] τὸ φοβερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου,
μηδὲ ἀντιστήτω ὁ βάσκανος τῇ ὁδῷ μου
μηδὲ εὑρεθείη κατενώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου ἡ ἁμαρτία μου, εἴ τι σφαλεῖσα διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἥμαρτον.
Ὁ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας [s],
« ἄνες μοι, ἵνα ἀναψύξω [t] » καὶ εὑρεθῶ ἐνώπιόν σου « ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματός [u] » μου « μὴ ἔχουσα σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα [v] » ἐν τῇ μορφῇ τῆς ψυχῆς μου, ἀλλ' ἄμωμος καὶ ἀκηλίδωτος προσδεχθείη ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου « ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου [w] ».

"She said 'O Lord, You have freed us from the fear of death; You have made the end of life here the beginning of a true life for us. For a time, You give rest to our bodies in sleep and You awaken us again with the last trumpet. The dust from which You fashioned us with Your hands You give back to the dust of the earth for safekeeping, and You who have relinquished it will recall it after reshaping with incorruptibility and grace our mortal and graceless substance. You redeemed us from the curse and from sin, having taken both upon Yourself; You crushed the head of the serpent who had seized us with his jaws in the abyss of disobedience. Breaking down the gates of hell and overcoming the one who had the empire of death, You opened up for us a path to the resurrection. For those who fear You, You gave as a token the sign of the holy cross for the destruction of the Adversary and the salvation of our life. O God everlasting, towards whom I have directed myself from my mother's womb, whom my soul has loved with all its strength, to whom I have dedicated my

> body and my soul from my infancy up to now, prepare for me a shining angel to lead me to the place of refreshment where is the water of relaxation near the bosom of the holy Fathers. You who broke the flaming sword and compassionately gave Paradise back to the man crucified with You, remember me also in Your kingdom, for I, too, have been crucified with You, having nailed my flesh through fear of You and having feared Your judgments. Let the terrible abyss not separate me from Your chosen ones; let the Slanderer not stand in my way or my sins be discovered before Your eyes if I have fallen and sinned in word or deed or thought because of the weakness of our nature. Do You who have power on earth to forgive sins forgive me so that I may be refreshed and may be found before You once I have put off my body, having no fault in the form of my soul, but blameless and spotless may my soul be taken into Your hands as an offering before Your face.'

It is clear from this extract that Gregory believed there to be a complete separation of the soul from the body at death. The body, he maintains, returns to the earth for safe-keeping until the resurrection, when it is recalled, re-shaped and re-united with the soul. In thus upholding the continuity betwen our earthly and resurrection bodies, he rejects Origen's view that the resurrection body is a different, spiritual body, rather than the transformation of our earthly bodies.

The significant point here, from our point of view, is that Gregory uses Colossians 2:11 to describe this separation of the soul from the body at death. This indicates that Gregory understood $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body. That he does not allude to $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ may suggest that he understood $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ to be a genitive of apposition or identity. However, there is no Gnostic anti-materialism here, for the soul will be re-united with the body once it has been transformed and cleansed from the consequences of Adam's sin. Rather he is thinking of the physical body subject to the effects of the fall, as the source of passion and sin.

4.2.4.1.1 Additional Note: The Christian Dead. It is significant that Gregory here states that Macrina's soul passed directly into the presence of God at her death. In the second century, the predominant view

was that the souls of Christians remained in Hades until the general resurrection. Irenaeus, for example, explicitly counters the gnostic view that the soul passed immediately into heaven at death by arguing that there is a parallel between what will happen to the believer and what happened to Christ. In the same way, he maintains, that Christ descended into Hades, the place of the dead, for three days prior to the resurrection,

> "it is manifest that the souls of His disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall go away into the invisible place alloted to them by God, and there remain until the resurrection, awaiting that event; then receiving their bodies, and rising in their entirety, that is bodily, just as the Lord arose, they shall come thus into the presence of God. For no disciple is above the Master, but everyone that is perfect shall be as his Master. (Luke 6:40)" (49)

It was generally held, however, that there was an exception to this in the case of martyrs who passed directly into the presence of God (e.g. Tertullian: *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*: s43; Pseudo-Cyprian: *On Rebaptism*: s14).

With the cessation of persecution in the fourth century, however, holiness of living replaced martyrdom as the ideal of the Christian life, and the view gradually developed that those who had lived an especially holy life passed directly into the presence of God at death. It is this belief that Gregory has in mind when he implies here that Macrina's soul passed directly into the presence of God. Elsewhere he maintains that ordinary Christians remain in Hades until the general resurrection (e.g. *On the Soul and the Resurrection*: s5; *On the Making of Man*: s27.2).

4.2.4.2 Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles

Gregory's "accurate Exposition of the Canticle of Canticles", which was written towards the end of his life, possibly in the years 390–5, was originally a course of sermons taken down by members of his congregation. Gregory then revised the fifteen sermons which we now have (on 1:1–6:8), but did not realize his intention to revise the remaining sermons. (50)

J. Quasten notes that in the preface Gregory "defends ...the necessity for, and the right to, a spiritual interpretation of Scripture, whether it might be called tropology or allegory." (51) He also records his admiration for Origen, whose mystical exegesis, Quasten notes, had beyond any doubt had a profound influence upon Gregory. (52) However, Gregory does not slavishly follow Origen. Quasten notes that for Gregory "The Song of Songs represents the union of love between God and the individual soul, under the figure of a wedding ...in contrast to Origen, who ...prefers to regard the bride of the Canticle as the Church—an interpretaion which Gregory does not neglect, but relegates to a minor role." (53)

4.2.4.2.1 Homily VI (on 3:6) and Homily XIV (on 5:13) Gregory possibly alludes to Colossians 2:12 in his comment on Canticles 3:6 ("Who is she that comes up from the desert, as a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices, of myrrh, of frankincense, and of all the powders of the perfumer?") and on Canticles 5:13 ("His lips are as lilies dropping choice myrrh."). Both these allusions may be dealt with together since Gregory's argument, in so far as it effects Colossians 2:12 is the same in each case, namely that myrrh, which is used for burying the dead, is a figure for the mortification of the flesh that is effected through burial with Christ in baptism.

> εἶτα καπνὸς ἐκ θυμιαμάτων εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κάλλους παραλαμβάνεται καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτος ἁπλοῦς ἀλλὰ σμύρνης καὶ λιβάνου συγκεκραμένων, ὡς μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀτμῶν τὴν χάριν, δι'ὧν τὸ τῆς νύμφης ὑπογράφεται κάλλος· ἄλλος ἔπαινος αὐτῆς ἡ τῶν ἀρωμάτων τούτων γίνεται μίξις· ἡ σμύρνα πρὸς τὸν ἐνταφιασμὸν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιτηδείως ἔχει, ὁ δὲ λίβανος κατά τινα λόγον ἀφιέρωται τῇ τοῦ θείου τιμῇ. ὁ τοίνυν ἑαυτὸν μέλλων ἀνατιθέναι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔσται λίβανος τῷ θεῷ θυμιώμενος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον σμύρνα γένοιτο, τουτέστιν εἰ μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτοῦ μέλη νεκρώσειε συνταφεὶς τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναδεξαμένῳ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν σμύρναν ἐκείνην τὴν εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμὸν τοῦ κυρίου παραληφθεῖσαν τῇ σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διὰ τοῦ νεκρῶσαι τὰ μέλη καταδεξάμενος.

"Next her beauty is compared to the smoke of incense; and again, it is not a simple smoke, but a mixture of 'frankincense' and 'myrrh'—as through the bride's beauty can only be expressed by the combination of each of these delightful odors. Another aspect of their praise is derived from the association of these two perfumes: myrrh is used for burying the dead, and frankinsense is, in a sense, consecrated to the divine worship. The meaning, then, is that a person who intends to dedicate himself to the divine service will not be good incense, consecrated to God, unless he first becomes myrrh: that is he must mortify his members on earth by being buried with Him Who assumed death for our sake, and he must take that myrrh which was used for the Lord's burial in order to mortify his members in his own flesh." (On 3:6)

Although this is not a certain allusion to Colossians 2:12, the occurrrence of *συνταφείς* together with a clear allusion to Colossians 3:5 suggests that Gregory may have Colossians 2:12 specifically in mind here.

Χείλη αὐτοῦ κρίνα στάζοντα σμύρναν πλήρη. δύο κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἀρετὰς μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τοῦ διπλοῦ ὑποδείγματος, ὧν ἓν μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια λαμπρά τε καὶ φωτοειδὴς ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις θεωρουμένη (τοιοῦτον γὰρ τοῦ κρίνου τὸ εἶδος, οὗ ἡ λαμπρότης αἴνιγμα τῆς τῶν λεγομένων καθαρότητός τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐστίν), ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μόνην τὴν νοητήν τε καὶ ἄϋλον ζωὴν ὑπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας προδείκνυσθαι, διὰ τῆς τῶν νοητῶν θεωρίας ἀπονεκρουμένης τῆς κάτω ζωῆς τῆς διὰ σαρκός τε καὶ αἵματος ἐνεργουμένης. ἡ γὰρ ἀπορρέουσα τοῦ στόματος σμύρνα καὶ πλήρη ποιοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὴν τοῦ δεχομένου ψυχὴν τῆς τοῦ σώματος νεκρώσεως ἔμφασις γίνεται· πολλαχῆ γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ καταχρήσει τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων παρατετήρηται τὸ τοῦ θανάτου σημαντικὸν εἶναι τῆς σμύρνης τὸ ὄνομα. ὁ τοίνυν ἔλεος καὶ καθαρὸς ὀφθαλμός, ὁ τὴν σιαγόνα φιάλην ποιῶν τὴν τὰ μύρα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς φύουσάν τε καὶ πηγάζουσαν οὗτος ἀνθεῖ τὰ κρίνα τῶν λόγων διὰ τοῦ στόματος τῶν τῇ θείᾳ κεκαλλωπισμένων λαμπρότητι· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς καθαρούς τε καὶ δι' ἀρετῆς εὐπνοοῦντας ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος, ἀφ' ὧν γίνεται ἡ τῆς σμύρνης σταγὼν ἀνελλιπῶς πληροῦσα τὴν τῶν δεχομένων διάνοιαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ὑλικῆς ζωῆς ὑπεροψία πάντων τῶν τῇδε σπουδαζομένων διὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπερκειμένων

ἀγαθῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνενεργήτων τε καὶ νεκρῶν γινομένων. τοιαύτην ὁ Παῦλός ποτε σμύρναν προέχει τοῦ στόματος μεμιγμένην τῷ καθαρῷ κρίνῳ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐν ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου (Θέκλα δὲ ἦν ἡ παρθένος), ἣ καλῶς τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς ἀπορρεούσας τοῦ κρίνου σταγόνας ἐν ἑαυτῇ δεξαμένη θανάτῳ διαλαμβάνει τὸν ἔξωθεν ἄνθρωπον πᾶσαν σαρκώδη διάνοιάν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἑαυτῆς ἀποσβέσασα. ἧς μετὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν διδασκαλίαν νεκρὰ μὲν ἦν ἡ νεότης, νεκρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενον κάλλος, νεκρὰ δὲ πάντα τὰ σωματικὰ αἰσθητήρια μόνου ζῶντος ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ λόγου, δι'οὗ τεθνήκει μὲν αὐτῇ ἅπας ὁ κόσμος, τεθνήκει δὲ καὶ ἡ παρθένος τῷ κόσμῳ. οὕτω ποτὲ παρὰ Κορνηλίῳ καὶ ὁ μέγας Πέτρος τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῦ λόγου κρίνα φθεγγόμενος πλήρεις τῆς σμύρνης τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς παρεσκεύασεν, οἳ παραχρῆμα τὸν λόγον δεξάμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος συνετάφησαν νεκροὶ τῷ βίῳ γενόμενοι. καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἔστιν τῶν ἁγίων εὑρεῖν ὑποδείγματα, πῶς τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας στόμα γενόμενοι τῆς νεκρωτικῆς τῶν παθημάτων σμύρνης πλήρεις τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἐποίουν ἀνθοφοροῦντες διὰ τῶν κρίνων τοῦ λόγου, δι' ὧν οἱ μεγάλοι τῆς πίστεως πρόμαχοι διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ὁμολογίας κατὰ τὸν τῆς μαρτυρίας καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσι κατεσμυρνώθησαν.

"'His lips are as lilies dropping choice myrrh' (Cant. 5:13). The two comparisons in the text here suggest two different qualities. One of these is truth, which shines as bright as light in all his doctrine. For the form of the Lily is such that its whiteness is an apt symbol of the purity and truth of doctrine. The other is this: His teaching sets forth only that spiritual and immaterial way of life, and the life of this world, the life of flesh and blood, must be mortified by the contemplation of spiritual reality. For myrrh flows from His body and fills the souls of those who receive Him; and this is a clear symbol of the mortificaion of the body. Indeed in the inspired word it often happens that the word myrrh is often taken as referring to death.

"And so this pure and perfect eye makes of its cheek a 'bowl' that pours forth spices from a spring [Cant 5:13]; this flower now with the lilies of doctrine which pour from His mouth adorned with a divine radiance. In this way does the divine Word refer to those who are pure and fragrant with virtue; for from them flow the drops of myrrh which endlessly fill the minds of those who

receive it. This implies complete contempt for a purely material existence; and all the things for which men exert themselves in this world are for them dead and devoid of interest.

"It was the sort of myrrh that flowed from the mouth of Paul, mingled with the pure lily of continence, to fill the ears of that holy virgin. And the virgin was Thecla, who caught these flowing drops so precious for the soul and put the outer man to death, by extinguishing every carnal thought or desire. Once she received his saving doctrine, her youth and all its beauty died along with all the faculties of her body. Alone in her was the Word; because of Him the whole world was for her dead, and she, the virgin, had died to the world.

"So too, the mighty Peter poured forth the bright lilies of the Word in the house of Cornelius, filling the souls of his listeners with myrrh. And no sooner had they received the Word when they were buried with Christ in Baptism, becoming dead to this world.

"There are countless examples I could mention from the lives of the saints, who became the common mouth of the Church, pouring on their listeners the myrrh that kills all passion, blossoming with flowers, with the lilies of the Word. Thus they became great champions of their faith in time of persecution, and by their loyal confession they were covered with myrrh in their conflicts on behalf of the true religion." (On 5:13)

Again this is not a certain allusion to Colossians 2:12. *διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος* suggests Romans 6:4 not Colossians 2:12, and *νεκροὶ τῷ βίῳ γενόμενοι* Romans 6:11 not Colossians 2:13. However, in view of the connection between Colossians 2:12 and 3:5 in the comment on 3:6, the reference to the mortification of the body may suggest that Colossians 2:12 is in mind here also.

These extracts indicate that Gregory believed that a moral transformation and change is effected in baptism: the flesh is mortified through burial with Christ in baptism.

It may be significant that Gregory connects the mortification of the flesh with burial with Christ in baptism. When Paul speaks of the need to mortify one's members (Colossians 3:5; cf. Romans 6:11–13) he is referring to the

moral obligation that is upon the person who has been buried with Christ in baptism to die daily to sin. Gregory, however, uses it, here at least, as a figure for the inner effects of baptism. It is possible that this is due to the influence of Colossians 2:11, Gregory connecting the theme of the mortification of the flesh with the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός*. If this is the case, it means that Gregory understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the inner effects of baptism rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

The fact that in the comment on 5:13 Gregory speaks both of the need to mortify the flesh and of the mortification of the body indicates that *σῶμα* and *σάρξ* were for him interchangeable terms. This suggests that if Colossians 2:11 is also in mind, Gregory understood the genitive *σαρκός* to be a genitive of apposition or identity.

4.2.4.2.2 Homily XIII: (on 5:8–12) There is also a passing allusion to Colossians 2:11 in Gregory's comment on 5:8–12, where he speaks of the taking away of the veil of the heart in the putting off of the old garment.

> Ὁ διὰ Μωϋσέως μὲν νομοθετήσας τὰ τοῦ νόμου μυστήρια, πληρώσας δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὅλον τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, καθὼς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ φησὶν ὅτι Οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, ὁ τῇ μὲν ἀναιρέσει τῆς ὀργῆς συνεξαλείψας τὸν φόνον, τῷ δὲ ἀφανισμῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας συνεξελὼν τῆς μοιχείας τὸ ἄγος, οὗτος ἐκβάλλει τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κατάραν τῇ ἀπαγορεύσει τοῦ ὅρκου πεδήσας ἐν ἀπραξίᾳ τὸ δρέπανον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι δυνατὸν ὅρκου γενέσθαι παράβασιν μὴ ὄντος ὅρκου. διό φησιν Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὅρκους σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω σοι, φησί, μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως· μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι Θρόνος ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, μήτε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὀμόσῃς, ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι ποιῆσαι τρίχα λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν. ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὒ οὔ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἄισματος τῶν Ἀισμάτων ἐπὶ τελειότητι μεμαρτυρημένη ψυχὴ καὶ περιελομένη μὲν τῆς καρδίας τὸ κάλυμμα ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ παλαιοῦ χιτῶνος,

The reference to "the veil of the heart" is an allusion to 2 Corinthians 3:5. The reference to the garment is an allusion to the coats of skin in which man was clothed after the fall (Genesis 3:21) which Gregory interprets as our mortality and our animal nature. (54) The fact that it is spoken of here as the "old" garment suggests that Gregory has in mind also Paul's reference to the putting off of the old man in Colossians 3:9. It is clear from his comment on 5:3 that these, together with the term σάρξ, are, for Gregory, overlapping terms, each describing our fallen condition.

This allusion confirms that Gregory understood ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. in Colossians 2:11 to refer to a moral transformation rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Although there is no mention here of circumcision, that Gregory is in this extract discussing how Christ did not destroy but rather fulfilled the Old Testament law suggests that he understood this "putting off" to be a spiritual circumcision.

The context here suggests that Gregory is thinking of a present putting off—either in baptism, or, perhaps, a moral transformation and change that is characteristic of the whole of one's Christian life. (In the comment on 5:3 Gregory implies that the removal of the veil of the heart, the flesh, and the old man takes place prior to baptism: it is something that he who is about to (τοῦ μέλλοντος) wash in the laver must do). In his Commentary on the Beatitudes, however, he argues, though without specific reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12, that circumcision on the eighth day symbolizes the striping off of the coats of skin in the resurrection. Before considering the meaning of the eighth beatitude he writes:

> "I think it good to consider what the mystery of the octave means to the prophet, the octave which is a part of the title of two psalms; what also are the Purification [Ezekiel 44:26 & 27] and the Law of Circumcision, both being observed by the Law on the eighth day. This number has perhaps a certain relationship to the eighth beatitude, which, as being the summit of the beatitutdes, is placed at the peak of the ascending virtues. Indeed by the symbol of the octave, the Prophet describes the Day of Resurrection: the Purification expresses the return to purity of man's nature stained by sin, the Circumcision symbolizes the

> stripping off of the dead skins with which, when we were stripped of life after our disobedience, we clothed ourselves; in the same way, the eighth beatitude contains the restoration in the heavens of those who had fallen into slavery and who have been recalled from slavery to royalty." (Homily VIII) (55)

Similarly, in his treatise "On the Ogdoad" he maintains that circumcision on the eighth day was a symbol of "the true circumcision of human nature in the taking off of biological life" which will take place in our resurrection to the eternal eighth day (56).

There is a parallel between this eschatological understanding of the stripping off of the coats of skin, and Gregory's eschatological understanding of baptism. In the *Catechetical Oration* Gregory describes baptism as a "preparatory rehearsal of the grace of the resurrection (*προμελετῆσαι τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χαριν*)" since "the great resurrection...has its beginnings and its cause here (*κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἀνάστὰσιν...τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἔχει*)" (s35). This strengthens the probability that Gregory understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.*) at one level at least, to refer to an action that is effected in an anticipatory sense in baptism.

4.2.5 Additional Note: The use of Colossians 2:11 and 12 as an argument for infant baptism in Cappadocia in the fourth century.

It is appropriate at this point to consider the part that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular, played in the rationale for infant baptism in Cappadocia in the Fourth Century.

It is clear from Asterius that infant baptism was practised, at least in the Arian circles in which he moved, in Cappadocia in the first half of the Fourth century. However, infant baptism appears to have been the exception rather than the norm. There is clear evidence that some Christian parents did not have their children baptized—despite the fact that several of them themselves came from established Christian families. (57) As Jeremias notes,

(58) Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great and his brother Gregory Nyssen, as well as John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus and Paulinus of Nola, who were all born to Christian parents, and Augustine who had a devout Christian mother, were not baptized as infants, but rather when they were well into adult life.

Jeremias, who assumes that infant baptism was universally practised from earliest times, sees this as evidence of a "great crisis in the matter of infant baptism" (59) rather than indicating that the practice only won gradual acceptance.

The usual explanation for Christian parents not having their children baptized is that they were concerned about post-baptismal sin. It was generally held, as we have seen, that baptism was for the forgiveness of former sins only, and although by the fourth century it was recognised that sins committed after baptism could be forgiven, a burdensome penitential system had developed. It is argued that since the sins of the flesh were considered unavoidable, at least in the case of a man, Christian parents chose not to have their children baptized until the "storms" of youth were passed.

Undoubtedly, the fear of post-baptismal sin was a factor in the decision of Christian parents not to have their children baptized. Jeremias rightly draws attention to the case of Augustine. (60) Although he was not baptized as an infant he was "sealed with the mark of His Cross and salted with the salt" (*Confessions*: 1.xi.17)—a process in the Western Church by which a person was enrolled as a catechumen. (61) When as a child he was dangerously ill, because he "had already heard of an eternal life, promised through the humility of the Lord our God stooping to our pride" he sought to be baptized, something which his mother would "with eager haste" have granted, but for his sudden recovery, after which his baptism was deferred "because the defilements of sin would, after that washing, bring greater and more perilous guilt." (*ibid.*) The concern over post-baptismal sin probably also lies behind Gregory Nazianzen's reference to martyrdom, the baptism of blood, as "far more august than all others, in as much as it cannot be defiled by after-stains" (Oration 39: s17).

It is clear, also, that the fear of post-baptismal sin was a factor in the decision of those who had themselves been born to Christian parents postponing their baptism. In his Homily XIII *On Holy Baptism* in which he upbraids whose who had been "from a child catechised in the Word" for repeatedly each Easter postponing their baptism, Basil speaks specifically to those concerned about post-baptismal sin:

> "If your sins are many, be not frightened because of their number: where sin has abounded, there grace will much more abound, if you will receive it. If they are small and not very heinous why are you afraid of the time to come, since you have ordered your past life well, even when you were not furnished with the Christian law? (s2. Cf. also Gregory Nazianzen: *Oration 40: On Holy Baptism* s16.)

However, it is clear from the same Homily that another factor in the postponement of baptism was a lack of commitment to the Christian way of life:

> "I know your reason [for postponing baptism]," Basil maintains, "though you think to conceal it. 'Stay a little longer,' say you, 'I will make use of the flower of my age in pleasure—and then when I have had enough of that, give it over and be baptized.' Think you," Basil continues, "that God does not see your purpose, or that he will give his grace to so wicked a heart?" (s5; cf. also Gregory Nazianzen: *Oration 40: On Holy Baptism* s17).

Jeremias, noting that the earliest explicit evidence for Christian parents not having their children baptized immediately after birth comes from the 330's, maintains that Christian parents who did not have their children baptized were influenced by converts to Christianity of whom there was a vast inflow after the "recognition" of Christianity by Constantine. He argues that these converts,

> "often brought with them a purely superstitious understanding of baptism. Because many of the pagans turning to Chritianity saw in baptism exclusively the sacrament for a complete remission of sins, they postponed it until their deathbed, if possible; for they believed that by securing baptismal purity they would be sure

> of eternal life. It was considered to be the greatest good fortune to 'die in the white [sc. baptismal robe]' (*in albis*), as inscriptions ('died in the white', *in albis decessit*) confirm. It was only secondarily that this example was followed by the community as well and that it induced Christian parents too, to postpone the baptism of their children." (62)

When Jeremias and others speak of Christian parents "postponing" the baptism of their children they are assuming that these Christian parents consciously chose not to follow what they knew to have been the traditional practice of the church hitherto. However, this assumption is open to question. K. Aland maintains that,

> "The custom that meets us in the fourth century of 'postponing' baptism could certainly not have originated *ex nihilo*. It can be satisfactorily explained only when it recognised that infant baptism was not an absolutely binding requirement everywhere in the Church, or at least that it was not compulsory in certain quarters, and that with that practice existed a practice of baptizing children of a mature age which met with no ecclesiastical objection. ...in reality this 'postponement of baptism' in the fourth century represents the last epoch of the practice of the ancient church; it is not something new and unheard of, as Jeremias would have us believe. The only new thing is the unscrupulousness observed in the Emperor Constantine and others, who waited for baptism till such time as it seemed to them to guarantee their salvation with certainty." (63)

Jeremias himself acknowledges that it is astonishing that in Cappadocia in the early part of the fourth century we have evidence from Asterius that infant baptism was practised, in Arian circles at least, whilst at the same time evidence that the parents of several leading orthodox Christians did not have their children baptized. (64) To my mind this is an indication that infant baptism had not yet become the universal practice of the church, rather than the "great crisis in the matter of infant baptism" as Jeremias maintains. (65)

Jeremias rightly notes that in their criticisms of those who go on postponing baptism neither Basil (*Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism*) nor Gregory

Nyssen (in his treatise: Against those who defer baptism) makes mention of infant baptism. (66) This, as I have already pointed out with regard to Basil (p.253 above) is surprising in view of the fact that it must have been obvious to him that these same people would also not have their own children baptized. Jeremias notes that it is reported of Basil that he was ready to baptize children *in extremis*—a point to which we shall return—and suggests that he may have been "hindered by the fact that he himself had not been baptized until he grew up" (67).

Of the three Cappadocian Fathers, only Gregory Nazianzen provides direct evidence for the practice of infant baptism. His testimony is extremely valuable in that he not only explains why he believes that, under certain circumstances, infants should be baptized, but also records the reasons why some parents did not have their children baptized. In his *Oration 40: On Holy Baptism*, having criticized those who themselves postpone baptism, he continues:

> "Have you an infant child? Do not let sin get any opportunity, but let him be sanctified from childhood; from his very tenderest age let him be consecrated by the Spirit. Fearest thou the seal on account of the weakness of nature? O what a small-souled mother, and of how little faith! Why, Anna even before Samuel was born promised him to God, and after his birth consecrated him at once, and brought him up in the priestly habit, not fearing anything in human nature, but trusting in God. You have no need of amulets or incantations, with which the Devil also comes in, stealing worship from God for himself in the minds of vainer men. Give your child the Trinity, that great and wide Guard." (s17).

The reference here to the "weakness of nature" almost certainly is a reference to the fear of post-baptismal sin. In the previous section Gregory has noted how this fear has caused some of his hearers to postpone their baptism. Here he recognises that it may also lead them not to have their children baptized. However, he maintains that this fear is ungrounded in the case of both adults and infants alike since the gift of baptism enables us to withstand the temptations of the devil.

Later on in the same Oration, however, Gregory recognises that there is another reason which may lead some parents not to have their children baptized, namely that they are too young to understand either their need for baptism, or the grace that is conveyed by it:

> " ...What have you to say about those who are still children, and conscious neither of the loss nor of the grace? Are we to baptize them too? Certainly if any danger presses. For it so better that they should be unconsciously sanctified than that they should depart unsealed and uninitiated.
>
> "A proof of this is found in the Circumcision on the eighth day, which was a sort of typical seal, and conferred on children before they had the use of reason. And so is the anointing of the door-posts, which preserved the firstborn, though applied to things which had no consciousness. But in respect of others I give my advice to wait until the end of the third year, or a little more or less, when they may be able to listen and to answer something about the Sacrament; that even though they do not perfectly understand it, yet at any rate they may know the outlines; and then to sanctify them in soul and body with the great sacrament of our consecration. For this is how the matter stands; at that time they begin to be responsible for their lives, when reason be matured, and they learn the mystery of life (for of sins of ignorance owing to their tender years they have no account to give), and it is far more profitable on all accounts to be fortified by the Font, because of the sudden assaults of danger that befall us, stronger than our helpers." (s28)

It seems to me that underlying this objection to infant baptism on the grounds that they are not conscious of what is happening to them is an awareness that faith and repentance are prerequisites for baptism. Gregory also himself appears to have been aware of this: hence his advice that infants should normally be about three years old before they are baptized since at this age they are at least capable of a partial understanding of what baptism means, and can listen and answer for themselves. Infant baptism was permissible when a child's life was in danger, but it clearly was not, even for Gregory Nazianzen, the norm.

What is of the utmost significance here, for the purposes of our study, is

that the analogy between circumcision and baptism is the means by which the traditional teaching of the church that repentance and faith are prerequisites for baptism was bypassed.

It would appear that Basil was also prepared to baptize infants "in extremis". Jeremias notes (68) that according to Theodoret (69) Basil offered to baptize the dying son (*παιδίον*) (70) of the Emperor Valens, but Valens had the baptism administered by Arius who was present; although he also notes (71) that Gregory Nazianzen (72) Rufinus (73), Socrates (74) and Sozomen (75), who also report this incident, say only that Basil offered to pray for the boy. However, as we have seen, when Basil criticizes those who, Easter by Easter, postpone their baptism, he does not say a word about infant baptism which indicates that if Basil did adhere to the practice of infant baptism, it was for him the exception rather than the rule.

Jeremias suggests that "he was hindered by the fact that he himself had not been baptized until he grew up" (76). Is it not possible, however, that the real reason for Basil's hesitancy concerning infant baptism was because he also shared the view that the traditional teaching of the church that repentance and faith were prerequisites for baptism meant that, in ordinary circumstances, a person should be old enough to make a conscious response before they are baptized?

There are indications in his *Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism* that this was in fact the case. Addressing those who had been trained in Christianity from childhood he asks:

> "Do you demur and loiter, and put it off? When you have been from a child catechised in the word, are you not yet acquainted with the truth? Having always been learning it, are you not yet come to a knowledge of it? A seeker all your life, a considerer till you are old, when will you be made a Christian? When shall we see you become one of us? Last year you were for staying till this year: and now you have a mind to stay till next." (s2)

I think that Basil is saying something more here than that since his hearers have been learning about Christianity from childhood, they ought by now to know the importance of being baptized. It would appear, rather,

that those who repeatedly postponed their baptism were arguing that they could not be baptized until they had an adequate understanding of the Christian faith. Basil accepts the validity of this argument, but points out, in somewhat sarcastic tone, that the teaching that they have had has been more than sufficient, they must stop prevaricating and make a decision to accept Christianity for themselves, and be baptized.

Later on in this sermon, Basil warns against delaying baptism until some fever overtakes you, for then

> "you will neither be able to speak the holy words, nor perhaps to hear them, the disease being got into your head". (s5)

Basil's point here is not that leaving baptism until your death bed is unwise, because you may die before you have a chance to be baptized—he has already made that point previously—but rather that baptism when a person is in the grip of fever is undesirable since the person is not able to make a conscious response to the baptismal interrogations. No doubt he would have accepted the validity of such baptisms *in extremis* as he appears also to have accepted the validity of the baptism of unconscious infants *in extremis*. However, his argument here indicates that he believed the ability to make a conscious response to the baptismal interrogations to be an important part of the baptismal service, presumably because he shared the view that baptism signifies a personal response to the Christian message.

If we consider these two points together, it is reasonable to conjecture that Basil, like Gregory Nazianzen, would similarly have preferred that children should not be baptized until they were old enough to understand something of the meaning of baptism, and to respond personally to the baptismal interrogations.

In addition to this evidence from Basil's *Homily XIII On Holy Baptism* it is relevant to note also his comments in the Treatise *On the Holy Spirit* s28 (cited above p.232) which also imply that Basil believed faith to be a prerequisite for baptism.

It seems to me, therefore, that we have evidence from both Gregory Nazianzen and Basil that the view that repentance and faith were pre-

requisites for baptism was still current in Cappadocia in the fourth century, and that this view, together with the fear of post-baptismal sin, helps explain why some Christian parents did not have their children baptized. The analogy between circumcision and baptism was the means by which this view was bypassed, to allow the baptism of infants, though only in cases where the child's life was in danger.

4.3 WRITERS OF SYRIA AND ANTIOCH

4.3.1 Cyril of Jerusalem (c315–386): Catechetical Lectures

Cyril's twenty-four *Catechetical Lectures* were delivered c348–350 AD. A personal note, recorded in several of the manuscripts after the *Procatechesis*, records that they were taken down in short-hand, which means that we are dependent upon a transcript made by one of Cyril's listeners, rather than Cyril's own notes.

J. Quasten describes these lectures as "one of the most precious treasures of Christian antiquity". (77) They are an invaluable source for our knowledge of fourth century liturgical practice.

4.3.1.1 Procatechesis: s2

This introductory lecture, unlike the *Catechetical Lectures* themselves, was addressed to the catechumens in the presence of the whole congregation. (78) After an enthusiastic welcome Cyril stresses the seriousness of the step about to be taken by the candidates, and the need to approach baptism with a worthy intention, without which the sacrament is of no avail: "for though the body be here," he maintains, "if the mind be away, it avails nothing." (s1)

To illustrate this point Cyril refers to the case of Simon Magus who, although he was baptised, was not enlightened:

> *Προσῆλθέ ποτε καὶ Σίμων τῷ λουτρῷ ὁ μάγος· ἐβαπτίσθη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφωτίσθη· καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔβαψεν ὕδατι, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν οὐκ ἐφώτισε πνεύματι· καὶ κατέβη μὲν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἀνέβη· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ οὐ συνετάφη Χριστῷ, οὐδὲ συνηγέρθη.*

> "Even Simon Magus once came to the Laver of Baptism, he was baptised, but not enlightened. His body dipped in water, but admitted not the Spirit to illuminate his heart. His body went down and came up: but his soul was not buried, together with Christ, nor with Him raised." (s2)

This is not a certain allusion to Colossians 2:12: Cyril may here simply be using traditional baptismal language, and need not, therefore, have had a specific New Testament text in mind. However, the aorist passives *συνετάφε* and *συνηγέρθη* are strongly reminiscent of the aorist passives *συνταφέντες* and *συνηγέθητε* in Colossians 2:12, and I think it probable, therefore, that Cyril is here alluding to Colossians 2:12. If this is the case, it suggests that Cyril understood ᾧ in Colossians 2:12b to be neuter, referring to baptism, and that he believed resurrection with Christ to be effected in baptism.

4.3.1.2 Catechetical Lecture IV: Introductory Reading.

Cyril prefaced his fourth *Catechetical Lecture* with the reading of Colossians 2:8–23. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing that we can learn from this concerning the way in which he understood Colossians 2:11 and 12. There are no variants in Cyril's text of these verses, and although he quotes Colossians 2:8 in s2, he does not refer to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the course of the Lecture itself, even in his consideration, "Of our rising again" (s30 and s31) and "Of the font" (s32).

4.3.1.3 Catechetical Lecture V: s6

This is the first of Cyril's Lectures on the Jerusalem Creed, the successive articles of which are discussed in the following thirteen lectures (6–18). In this lecture, on the phrase "I believe", Cyril considers the origin and nature of faith.

In s5 and s6 he refers to the example of Abraham, and draws out the parallel between his faith and that of the Christian. He makes three main points. First, that there is a parallel between the faith of Abraham and that of the Christian, in that in both cases it is faith in the power of God to raise from the dead. In the case of Abraham it was faith firstly in God's power to raise him a son "from bodies as good as dead", and secondly in that "he offered his only-begotten son to God, believing that God was able even to raise him from the dead." (s5) Christians believe that Christ was crucified, died and rose again. (s6) Second, it is those who share the faith

of Abraham, not his physical descendants, the Jews, who are the true sons of Abraham: "for according to the flesh he is no longer the father of us all: but a faith, of which he is the type, makes us all sons of Abraham." (s6 cf. s5: "we are also become his sons through his faith.") Third, Christians, like Abraham, receive circumcision as a seal of their faith, though whereas Abraham received carnal circumcision in his flesh, (s5) Christians receive the spiritual circumcision effected by the Holy Spirit through baptism. Cyril quotes from Colossians 2:11 and 12 to confirm this last point:

> Τῇ τοίνυν ὁμοιότητι τῆς πίστεως εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ἐρχόμεθα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Καὶ τότε μετὰ τὴν πίστιν· ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ τὴν πνευματικὴν λαμβάνομεν σφραγῖδα, ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ περιτεμνόμενοι, οὐ σώματος τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν καρδίαν, κατὰ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, λέγοντα· Καὶ περιτεμεῖσθε (1) τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν· καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον· Ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.
>
> "By the likeness then of faith we come to the sonship of Abraham: and then, upon our faith, like him, we receive the spiritual seal: being circumcised by the Holy Ghost through the Sacred Laver, not in the uncircumcision of the body but of the heart, as Jeremias saith, 'Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the uncircumcision of your heart'; and as the Apostle saith, 'by the circumcision of Christ, buried with Him in baptism'; and the rest." (s6).

Cyril's reference here to being circumcised "by the Holy Spirit" is due to the influence of Ephesians 1:13 (*ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ Πνεύματι...τῷ Ἁγίῳ*), and indicates that when Cyril speaks of being sealed by the Holy Spirit and being circumcised by the Holy Spirit, he is referring to the same operation of the Spirit. This means that we can use what Cyril says elsewhere concerning being sealed by the Holy Spirit to illumine his reference here to being circumcised by the Holy Spirit.

Cyril explicitly connects the circumcision effected by the Spirit with the waters of baptism: the Holy Spirit circumcises the convert *διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ*.

This is confirmed by Cyril's earlier statement in the third *Catechetical Lecture* that the seal is received *δι' ὕδατος* (s4). (79) In this third lecture Cyril also carefully distinguishes between he effect of the water, which cleanses the body, and the Holy Spirit which washes the soul:

> "since," he argues, "man is of two-fold nature, soul and body, the purification also is two-fold, the one incorporeal for the incorporeal part, and the other bodily: the water cleanses the body, and the Spirit seals the soul: that we may draw near unto God, 'having our heart sprinkled' by the Spirit" (ibid.).

Indeed, Cyril argues that whilst the seal is received *δι' ὕδατος* it is possible to be baptized with water without receiving the Spirit (*ibid.* Cf. the reference to the case of Simon Magus in the *Procatechesis*, s2, cited above, section 4.3.1.2).

This suggests that "sealing" and "circumcision" were, for Cyril, figures for the inner effects rather than the outward rite of baptism. The reference to baptism as a "holy unbreakable seal" (*σφραγὶς ἁγία ἀκαταλυτος*: Procatachesis s16) is not an exception to this. The "holy and unbreakable seal" is listed here as one of several benefits of baptism, and does not refer to the actual rite itself.

It is relevant to note here that in the Third *Mystagogical Catechesis* the gift of the Holy Spirit is explicitly connected with the post-baptismal chrismation, though, surprisingly perhaps, the term "seal" is not used in those Lectures. This might lend support to the view that the *Mystagogical Catecheses* were written by Cyril's successor, John of Jerusalem, though this difference in perspective may be explained by the view that the *Mystagogical Catecheses* belong to a later period in Cyril's life. (80) G. W. H. Lampe suggests an alternative explanation, namely that "the grace given by the Spirit's operation in Baptism is to be distinguished fron the full gift of the Spirit in chrismation". (81)

Cyril here speaks of being circumcised by the Holy Spirit, whereas Colossians 2:11 speaks of "the circumcision of Christ". This raises the question whether Cyril understood the circumcision effected by the Spirit and the

circumcision of Christ to refer to the same action. Does Cyril mean that we are circumcised by the Holy Spirit "in the circumcision of Christ", that is, "in baptism"? I think not. The parallelism between the statement *ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ περιτεμνόμενοι* and the quotation from Colossians 2:11 and 12, *Ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι* (the limitation of the quotation to these two phrases means that the parallelism is particularly close) indicates that Cyril understood the circumcision effected by the Holy Spirit, and the circumcision of Christ to refer to the same action. It is probable that Cyril, like Didymus and Cyril of Alexandria, believed that spiritual circumcision was a joint operation of both Christ and the Spirit. In s24 of the *Sixteenth Catechetical* Lecture he maintains that,

> "it is he [Christ] who in the sacrament seals the souls of those who are baptized. The Father gives to the Son, and the Son imparts to the Holy Spirit. ... Every grace is given by the Father, through the Son, with the Holy Spirit."

The phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* thus refers to a circumcision that is effected in the life of the believer by burial with Christ in baptism, not to the outward rite of baptism itself.

Two further conclusions may be drawn from this extract concerning Cyril's understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12. First, although he does not quote the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11, the fact that this spiritual circumcision is said to be "not in the uncircumcision of the body but of the heart" suggests that he may have understood this phrase to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Second, the parallel between circumcision and baptism as seals of faith in the power of God to raise from the dead indicates that Cyril understood the genitive *ἐνεργείας* as an objective genitive, the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστωες κ.τ.λ.* referring to the convert's faith in the effectual power of God.

4.3.2 Epiphanius of Salamis (c315–403): Ancoratus (The Firmly Anchored Man)

Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (present day Constantia) from 367–403 AD, was a native of Palestine. He is, according to Quasten, "the earliest representative of the school of thought that has been called realistic-traditionalistic." (82) He was strongly opposed to all mystical speculation; hence his condemnation of Origen, and his rigorous opposition to those, including Chrysostom, he considered to be tainted with Origenism. He was, as Frances Young notes, (83) more concerned with hunting out error than expounding the truth believing that bad belief (*κακοπιστία*) was worse than lack of belief (*ἀπιστία*) (84). This concern is reflected in his two main works, the *Ancoratus* and *Panarion.*

Epiphanius wrote the *Ancoratus* in 374 at the request of the Christian community in Syedra in Pamphilia, which felt disturbed by the Pneumatomachi. In it he pays particular attention to the doctrine of the Trinity, and particularly to the Holy Spirit. As Frances Young notes, "Epiphanius establishes the true faith, not so much by argument as by formulaic confessions, scriptural allusions or quotations, together with a heated denial of heretical suggestions." (85) This is particularly apparent in the first quotation of Colossians 2:11 in s68.

4.3.2.1 Section s68: 11

In this section Epiphanius seeks to demonstrate the divinity of the Holy Spirit by listing functions that are ascribed both to Christ and to the Holy Spirit. He does so by juxtaposing scriptural texts which speak of the operation of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. One such function is cirumcision which in Romans 2:29 is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, whereas in Colossians 2:11 it is ascribed to Christ:

> 68. »*Λέγω οὖν Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας*«, *συνδιακονεῖν δὲ*

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. παρειλήφαμεν ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἐκ θείων γραφῶν οὕτως· ἀποστέλλεται ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀποστέλλεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· λαλεῖ ἐν ἁγίοις Χριστὸς λαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἰᾶται Χριστὸς ἰᾶται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἁγιάζει Χριστὸς ἁγιάζει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ... καὶ »περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι« ὅμοιον τῷ εἰπεῖν »καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ«·

That Epiphanius is here noting actions that are ascribed both to Christ and to the Holy Spirit indicates that he understood *ἐν πνεύματι* in Romans 2:29 to be an instrumental rather than a locative dative, referring to the Holy Spirit as the agent of this inward circumcision of the heart, and *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to be a subjective genitive, referring to the circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the Christian.

Here, as in each of Epiphanius' quotations of Colossians 2:11, *τῆς σαρκός* is omitted. This indicates that he used a deficient text of Colossians 2:11 in which *τῆς σαρκός* was lacking.

This section is repeated almost verbatim in s74:5 of the Panarion.

4.3.2.2 Section 73:8

Epiphanius also refers to Colossians 2:11 in s73 of the *Ancoratus* where he refers to three types of circumcision: the circumcision of the flesh, circumcision of the heart, and the circumcision of Christ.

οὗτος ὁ θεὸς δοξαζόμενος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ· πατὴρ ἀεί, υἱὸς ἀεὶ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀεί, ὑψηλὸς ⟨ἐξ⟩ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ὕψιστος, νοερός, δόξαν ἔχων ἀμέτρητον, ᾧ ὑποβέβηκε τὰ κτιστὰ καὶ τὰ ποιητά, ἁπαξαπλῶς τὰ σύμπαντα μετρούμενα καὶ περιεχόμενα ἕκαστα. θεότης δὲ μία ἐν Μωυσῇ μάλιστα καταγγέλλεται, δυὰς δὲ ἐν προφήταις σφόδρα κηρύττεται, τριὰς δὲ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις φανεροῦται, πλεῖον κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ γενεὰς ἁρμόζουσα τῷ δικαίῳ εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ πίστιν. γνῶσις δὲ αὐτῆς ἀθανασία, ἐκ πίστεώς τε αὐτῆς υἱοθεσία γίνεται. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον δικαιώματα σαρκὸς ἐκφράζει, ὡς περίβολον ναοῦ τὸν ἔξω διεγείρουσα ἐν Μωυσῇ· δεύτερον δὲ δικαιώματα ψυχῆς ἐκδιηγεῖται, ὡς τὰ ἅγια κοσμοῦσα ἐν λοιπαῖς προφητείαις· τρίτον δὲ δικαιώματα πνεύματος, ὡς τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ῥυθμίζουσα | ἐν εὐαγγελικοῖς πρὸς κατοίκησιν ἑαυτῆς· σκηνὴν [δὲ] ἁγίαν, ναὸν ἅγιον, ⟨ὃς⟩ τὸν δίκαιον ἔχει μόνον [τὸν] συνόντα τούτοις. κατοικεῖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ

μία θεότης ἄπειρος μία θεότης ἄφθαρτος μία θεότης ἀπερινόητος. ἀκατάληπτος ἀνεκ|διήγητος ἀόρατος, ἑαυτὴν γινώσκουσα μόνη. ἑαυτὴν ἐμφανίζουσα οἷς βούλεται, μάρτυρας ἑαυτῇ διεγείρουσα καλοῦσα προορίζουσα δοξάζουσα, ἐξ Ἅιδου ὑψοῦσα, ἁγιάζουσα ἑνοποιοῦσα πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς δόξαν καὶ πίστιν τὰ τρία ταῦτα ἐπουράνια ἐπίγεια καὶ καταχθόνια, πνεῦμα ψυχὴν σάρκα, πίστιν ἐλπίδα ἀγάπην, παρελθόντα ἐνεστῶτα μέλλοντα, αἰῶνα αἰῶνος αἰῶνας αἰώνων σάββατα σαββάτων, περιτομὴν σαρκὸς περιτομὴν καρδίας ›περιτομὴν Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν‹· καθόλου δὲ καθαροποιεῖ ἑαυτῇ τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἀόρατα καὶ τὰ ὁρατά, θρόνους κυριότητας ἀρχὰς ἐξουσίας δυνάμεις· ἐν πᾶσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ φωνὴ ἁγία, ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος φωνοῦσα, πατέρα ἐν υἱῷ, υἱὸν δὲ ἐν πατρὶ ⟨δοξάζουσα⟩ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. καὶ ἐρεῖ ὁ οὕτω πιστεύων, γένοιτο γένοιτο.

This adds nothing else to our knowledge of how Epiphanius interpreted Colossians 2:11.

The passage is repeated almost verbatim in the Panarion s74:10.

In the above passages Epiphanius neither quotes Colossians 2:12, nor connects the circumcision of Christ with baptism. In the *Panarion* s8:6, however, he explicitly maintains circumcision is a figure for the inner effects of baptism. Carnal circumcision, he argues, was an interim measure, being a type of "the great circumcision which is through baptism, which circumcises us from sins and seals us in the name of God."

ANTIOCHENE WRITERS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

In conscious opposition to the allegorical interpretations of the Alexandrians, Antiochene writers of the fourth and fifth centuries advanced a literal, historical and grammatical method of exegesis. There was a sizeable Jewish community in Antioch, and it is probable that in advancing this method of scriptural interpretation, Antiochene writers were influenced by Jewish methods of exegesis. (86)

The first prominent Antiochene exegete was Lucian of Antioch, who died c311 AD. The school of Antioch again reached prominence under Diodore of Tarsus, who died before 394. Unfortunately, because of his condemnation as the originator of Nestorianism at a synod at Constantinople in 499, the greater part of his vast literary output has not been preserved. Among his lost works is a treatise *On the Difference between Typology and Allegory* in which he outlined his own hermeneutical principles. It is possible that his "commentaries on the Apostle" mentioned by Jerome may have included a commentary on Colossians, though this is by no means certain. (87)

Diodore studied with Basil at Athens, and, as J. H. Srawley notes,

> "His friendship with Basil . . .is important as marking the union between Cappadocian and Antiochene orthodoxy." (88)

However, Diodore's importance in the history of exegesis lies in the influence that he exercised upon his two most famous pupils, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. As Frances Young notes,

> "The most important thing Diodore seems to have done seems to have been to lay the foundations of biblical exegesis which enabled one pupil to develop his great work of scriptural commentary, becoming known as 'The Interpreter', and the other to earn his great name for exegetical preaching." (89)

According to Frances Young Diodore,

> "insisted primarily on the historical dimension of the text, and rejected excessive allegorizing. His main concern was elucidation

> of the actual words and sentences of scripture, providing etymologies, trying to discern the 'scriptural' sense of words by comparing texts, looking at the context and sequences of thought, paraphrasing to bring out the meaning." (90)

4.3.3 St. John Chrysostom (c344–354 – 405)

Chrysostom was the one leading Antiochene scholar of this period to remain free of any suspicion of heresy, with the result that his extensive literary output is almost entirely preserved. We are particularly fortunate that we have a detailed explanation of how Chrysostom understood Colossians 2:11 and 12 in his comment on these verses in his *Homilies on Colossians*, as well as several quotations and allusions to these verses in other works. We are thus in a position to build up a fairly accurate picture of how Chrysostom interpreted Colossians 2:11 and 12.

Frances Young notes that Chrysostom's primary aim as an exegete was

> "to indicate and elucidate the meaning of the text for his congregation, noting where the stops should come, explaining difficult words or phrases, bringing out the sense by reference to the context or other usages elsewhere. He does not shrink from accepting that much of the Old Testament refers to mundane and even immoral matters and is to be taken as history, not symbol, as literal (though interim) commandments, not spiritual directives in veiled form; indeed he regards it as a universal law of scripture that it supplies the interpretation if an allegory is intended, so as to prevent the uncontrolled passion of those bent on allegorizing from penetrating everywhere without system or principle. (91)

However, as a pastor Chrysostom was also concerned to apply the scriptural text to his hearers. Hence, his homilies on the whole fall into two sections: an exegetical first section, followed by an exhortation which, as Frances Young notes, (92) does not always bear any close relation to the former.

4.3.3.1 Homily XXXIX on Genesis: s5

Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, the oldest of his exegetical homilies were delivered in Antioch in either 386 or 388. There are in fact two series of homilies on Genesis. Quasten maintains that the first series, which consists of nine homilies, the first eight of which deal with Genesis chapters 1–3, were delivered during Lent in 386, and that the second series of sixty-seven homilies, which present a commentary on the entire book of Genesis, were preached in 388. (93) However, according to Frances Young, "In the case of the Genesis homilies, the double text is usually explained by attributing one to stenographers and the other to Chrysostom's issuing a more official literary version." (94)

Chrysostom quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 in s5 of Homily 39, on Genesis chapter 17, in which he discusses why God gave circumcision to the Jews, why Christians no longer need to be physically circumcised, and that Christians are spiritually circumcised through baptism.

There are two reasons, Chrysostom maintains, why God commanded the Jews to circumcise male infants on the eighth day:

> "firstly so that in the tender age, the pain caused by the circumcision of the flesh might be easier to bear; and secondly in order that they might be taught through these deeds that the event does not contribute anything to the soul, but is done for the sake of a sign."

Circumcision, Chrysostom maintains, served as a sign in four respects. First, it was a sign of the righteousness that was reckoned to Abraham on account of his faith whilst he was still uncircumcised. The fact that Abraham was uncircumcised when he was reckoned righteous ought, Chrysostom argues, to teach the Jews that circumcision does not make a person righteous, but was rather a sign of the righteousness which comes about through faith in God. Second, circumcision was a mark of ownership, for just as when a person acquires a domestic servant he changes the servant's name and appearance so that he may be known to belong to him, so God changed Abram's name to Abraham immediately prior to his circumcision. Thirdly,

circumcision was a sign of the promise given to Abraham that he was to be the father of many nations, signified by the change of name, and to his descendants that they were to be heirs of this promise and God's chosen people. Fourthly, circumcision served as a mark of distinction separating Abraham and his descendants from the other nations.

Chrysostom argues that Christ was circumcised in his infancy in order to annul circumcision by fulfilling the entire law, thereby establishing on our behalf the observance of the law. Hence since the coming of Christ there is no necessity to be circumcised in the flesh, and indeed, as Paul remarks. "If you are circumcised Christ will profit you nothing" (Galatians 5:6), and "Whoever of you is justified by the law is fallen from grace" (Galatians 5:4).

Chrysostom continues,

> ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς πειθώμεθα τῷ μακαρίῳ Παύλῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν καταδεχώμεθα. *Ἐν ᾧ* γὰρ, φησὶ, *περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Εἶτα διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον τί ἐστιν ἡ τοιαύτη περιτομὴ, ἐπήγαγε· *Συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι.* Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκείνους τὸ τῆς περιτομῆς σημεῖον ἐχώριζε τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐδείκνυ τὴν οἰκείωσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος περιτομὴ τὸν χωρισμὸν ἀκριβέστερον καθίστησι, καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πιστῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ τοιούτων. *Ἐν ᾧ* γὰρ, φησὶ, *περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός.* Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐργάζεται ἡ περιτομὴ εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσιν, τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα τὸ βάπτισμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπόθεσιν. Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι γὰρ ἅπαξ τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ καθαρὸν τὸ ἔνδυμα δεξάμενοι, μένωμεν, ἀγαπητοὶ, ἐπὶ τῆς καθαρότητος, καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνώτεροι γενόμενοι, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιλαβώμεθα. Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τὸν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου, ζηλώσωμεν, ἵνα κατ' ἴχνος ἐκείνου τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν οἰκονομήσαντες, καταξιωθῶμεν εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνου κόλπους καταντῆσαι, καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Both in his text of Colossians 2:11 and in his comments upon it, Chrysostom omits *τοῦ σώματος* and reads the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* before *τῆς*

σαρκός (i.e. τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός for τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός), as does Basil in his Homily "On Holy Baptism". This clearly precludes the possibility of taking ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. to mean the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. This corruption would thus appear to have been present in Chrysostom's text of Colossions 2:11. Normally assimilation to a textual variant or corruption takes place in a writer's comment upon a text, rather in his quotation of it. Elsewhere, however, although Chrysostom consistently reads the addition τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, he does not omit τῆς σαρκός. This suggests that there may have been two different texts of Colossians 2:11 circulating in Antioch in the second half of the fourth century.

It is clear from Chrysostom's argument here that he believed baptism to have replaced circumcision as a covenantal sign. However, for Chrysostom the correspondence between circumcision and baptism is much closer than this, in that a spiritual circumcision is effected through baptism, which, like carnal circumcision, is a mark of separation, separating the believer from the non-believer, and in that baptism, like circumcision, involves a putting off of the flesh.

Several points are clear from this extract concerning the way in which Chrysostom interpreted Colossians 2:11 and 12. First, that he speaks of the need to accept the circumcision made without hands (τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν καταδεχώμεθα) indicates that he took ἀχειροποιήτῳ in Colossians 2:11 to be an adjective qualifying περιτομῇ. However, it is not clear from this extract whether he understood the phrase περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ to refer to the outward rite or the inner effects of baptism. In the subsequent homily he appears to take the phrase in the former sense. However, in his second *Baptismal Instruction*, which being delivered in 388, belongs to the same period as the *Homilies on Genesis*, and in his sixth *Homily on Colossians* (ad loc.), he takes the phrase as a figure for the inner effects of baptism. It is possible that Chrysostom called the rite of baptism "the circumcision made without hands" because a spiritual circumcision is effected in baptism. It is not clear, however, in what sense Chrysostom is using the phrase here.

Second, the parallel that Chrysostom makes between circumcision and baptism (*Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐργάζεται ἡ περιτομὴ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσιν, τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα τὸ βάπτισμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπόθεσιν*, indicates that he took *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to that which is effected in baptism. The subsequent statement implies that Chrysostom believed that baptism was effective for the cleansing only of sins committed prior to baptism: having once (*ἅπαξ*) put off the sins of the flesh and been made pure in baptism the Christian must keep his baptism pure in order to attain to eternal fellowship with God. That Chrysostom speaks also of rising above "the passions of the flesh" indicates that he shared the Stoic ideal of a passionless existence (*ἀπάθεια*). It also suggests that he believed baptism to involve a cleansing of our carnal nature as well as the specific sins that arise from this.

Third, Chrysostom believed that this circumcision was effected by being buried with Christ in baptism. He maintains that the phrase *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι* was added to teach us more accurately the precise nature of this circumcision. "Circumcision" and "burial" were for Chrysostom figures for the same process (cf. section 4.3.3.5 below). There is no emphasis here upon Christ as the active agent of this circumcision. However, that Chrysostom speaks of the circumcision "through" baptism (*διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος περιτομὴ*) suggests that he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the inner effects rather than the outward rite of baptism, and that it was not for him a periphrasis for the rite of baptism. It would appear that Chrysostom understood *Χριστοῦ* as a possessive genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to the spiritual circumcision that belongs to Christ, which is effected by being buried with him in baptism. Significantly Chrysostom does not connect the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* with his previous reference to Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy, and there is no indication here that he understood the phrase to refer to the circumcision that Christ underwent in his infancy, or to a circumcision that he underwent or effected in either his death or his resurrection.

Fourth, although Chrysostom does not quote Colossians 2:12b, that he speaks of becoming "above" the passions of the flesh (*καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνώτεροι γενόμενοι*) suggests that he understood the aorist passive *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12b to refer to a spiritual resurrection effected in baptism rather than to the future physical resurrection from the dead. (See further section 4.3.3.3 below). The reference to receiving a pure garment is an allusion to the rite of stripping prior to baptism, symbolizing the removal of sins, and the reception of a white garment upon emergance from the baptismal waters, symbolizing purity and inner renewal. (See further *Baptismal Instruction* II: s24 and s25). It indicates that Chrysostom is not here simply referring to what it means to have been buried with Christ in baptism, but also the significance of emergence from the baptismal waters, and suggests that Colossians 2:12b, though not quoted, is also in mind.

4.3.3.2 Homily XL on Genesis: s4

Chrysostom also alludes to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in s4 of his fortieth homily on Genesis, in which he emphasizes the superiority of baptism to the Jewish rite of circumcision:

> Ἀλλὰ σκόπει μοι, ἀγαπητὲ, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ τὴν ἄφατον περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐεργεσίαν. Ἐκεῖ καὶ ὀδύνη καὶ πόνος ἐκ τοῦ γινομένου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς ὄφελος ἦν, ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, τὸ διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν κεχωρίσθαι. Ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα περιτομὴ, ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος λέγω χάρις, ἀνώδυνον ἔχει τὴν ἰατρείαν, καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν πρόξενος γίνεται ἡμῖν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡμᾶς ἐμπίπλησι χάριτος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὡρισμένον ἔχει καιρὸν, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι καὶ ἐν ἀώρῳ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ ἐν μέσῃ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ γήρᾳ γενόμενόν τινα ταύτην δέξασθαι τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔστι μόνον ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτημάτων φορτία ἀποθέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ πλημμελημάτων τὴν συγχώρησιν εὑρέσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδεν ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ ὅτι ἀνίατα νοσοῦντες μεγάλης δεόμεθα τῆς ἰατρείας, καὶ ἀφάτου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, οἰκονομῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν τὴν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἀνακαίνισιν, ἵνα ἀποθέμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὰς πράξεις τὰς πονηρὰς, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον, ἐπὶ

τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν βαδίζωμεν. Ἀλλά, παρακαλῶ, μὴ τῶν ἀγνωμόνων, τῶν ἀναισθήτων χείρους γενώμεθα Ἰουδαίων. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ δεχόμενοι τὸ σημεῖον [410] τοῦτο τῆς περιτομῆς, εἶχον ἱκανὴν ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι συναναμίγνυσθαι τοῖς ἔθνεσι κατὰ τὸν τῆς κοινωνίας λόγον· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀσέβειαν πολλάκις αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερηκόντισαν ἀγνώμονες γεγονότες. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἅπαξ δεχόμενοι τὴν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος περιτομήν, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς οἰκονομήσωμεν. Θὺ λέγω ἵνα μὴ συναναμιγνυώμεθα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς μένοντες, καὶ ἐκείνοις συναναμιγνύμενοι ἕλκωμεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων πολιτείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῖς ὑπόθεσις γινώμεθα.

This passage confirms that Chrysostom took *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* as an adjective, qualifying *περιτομῇ*. In view of the contrast that he draws here between the pain involved in carnal circumcision and the painlessness of baptism, that he maintains that there is no suffering to endure in this circumcision made without hands, save to throw off the loads of sins, suggests that *τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομήν* is here a periphrasis for the rite of baptism. Chrysostom also, however, states that Christians have once (*ἅπαξ*) received "the circumcision through baptism" (*τὴν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος περιτομὴν*). A comparison with the previous homily where he refers to having once (*ἅπαξ*) put off the sins of the flesh through baptism (see above section 4.3.3.1), indicates that in this statement Chrysostom is using circumcision as a figure for the inner effects of baptism.

Chrysostom maintains here that baptism, unlike circumcision, had no determinative time. His point is probably simply that one may turn to Christ at any age and be baptized. It is clear from his remarks here that he believed that the analogy between circumcision and baptism meant that infants may be baptized. What is significant here, however, is that Chrysostom does not argue that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that infants ought to be baptized; nor, significantly, does he argue against the deferral of baptism, which he tacitly sanctions. Chrysostom believed that newly born infants were exempt from sin (*Homily 28 on Matthew*, s3; cf. *Homily 10* and *Homily 16 on Romans*; and also the statement quoted by Augustine: *Against Julian*: I:21). It was probably for this reason that whilst he accepts, on the basis of the analogy between circumcision and baptism,

that infants may be baptized, he does not appear to regard it as obligatory that infants be baptized.

4.3.3.3 Against the Hebrews and concerning the Resurrection: s4

Chrysostom alludes to Colossians 2:12 in an Easter Sermon, which may have been delivered in Antioch in 387. (95)

> Ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἁπλοῦς ὁ θάνατος· οὐ γὰρ ἥμαρτεν ὁ Χριστός· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἁπλοῦς θάνατος δι' ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ ὤφειλε τὸν θάνατον ἐκεῖνος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ἁμαρτίᾳ, διὸ οὐδὲ θανάτου· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀνέστη τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ θανάτου· ἡμεῖς δὲ διπλοῦν ἀποθανόντες θάνατον, διπλῆν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀνιστάμεθα· μίαν μὲν ἀνέστημεν τέως τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας· συνετάφημεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ συνηγέρθημεν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Μία αὕτη ἀνάστασις ἀπαλλαγὴ ἁμαρτημάτων· δευτέρα δὲ ἀνάστασις ἡ τοῦ σώματος· ἔδωκε τὴν μείζονα, προσδόκα καὶ τὴν ἐλάττονα· αὕτη γὰρ πολὺ μείζων ἐκείνης· πολὺ γὰρ μεῖζον ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἢ σῶμα ἰδεῖν ἀνιστάμενον. Διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεσε τὸ σῶμα, ἐπειδὴ ἥμαρτεν· οὐκοῦν εἰ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀναστῆναι τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Ἀνέστημεν λοιπὸν τὴν μείζονα ἀνάστασιν, τὸν χαλεπὸν θάνατον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ῥίψαντες, καὶ ἀποδυσάμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἱμάτιον· μὴ τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλάττονος ἀπαγορεύσωμεν. Ταύτην καὶ ἡμεῖς πάλαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀνέστημεν, ὅτε ἐβαπτίσθημεν· καὶ οἱ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος δὲ νῦν ἑσπέραν [444] καταξιωθέντες, τὰ καλὰ ταῦτα ἀρνία[a]. Πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, ἀλλ' ἀνέστη τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτί· καὶ οὗτοι πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατείχοντο, ἀλλὰ συνανέστησαν· ἐκεῖνος σώματι ἀπέθανε, καὶ σώματι ἀνέστη· οὗτοι ἁμαρτίᾳ ἦσαν τεθνηκότες, καὶ ἀπὸ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνέστησαν ἐλευθερωθέντες.

"In Christ there was but one death; for He sinned not, and that one death was for us; for He owed no death since He was not subject to sin, and so neither to death; wherefore He arose from that one death; that we, having died a double death, arise by double resurrection: one at that time from sin, for we were buried with Him in Baptism and 'raised with Him' by Baptism. This one resurrection, the delivery from sin; the second is the resurrection of the body. He hath given the greater: await the lesser also; for

this is far greater than that; for it is far greater to be freed from sins, than to see a body raised. The body therefore fell, because it sinned: if then the beginning of falling is sin, the beginning of rising again is to be free from sin. We have risen the greater resurrection, having cast away the sharp death of sin, and stripped off the old garment; despair we then not of the less. This resurrection we, too, long since rose, when we were baptized; and they who yesterday had baptism vouchsafed to them. Two days past was Christ crucified but in the night past He arose; and those also two days past were held by sin, but with Him rose again; He died in the body and rose again in the body; these were dead through sins, but having been freed from sins rose again."

This extract is very significant for the purposes of our study since Chrysostom explains here the sense in which he believed the Christian to have already been raised with Christ. He distinguishes between physical and spiritual death and resurrection, and interprets *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12b to refer to a spiritual resurrection from sin. Interestingly, Chrysostom, noting that physical death is the consequence of sin, considers the resurrection from sin to be greater than the resurrection of the body which is a consequence of being freed from sin.

Chrysostom states that we were raised with Christ through baptism (*καὶ συνηγέρθητε αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*). This indicates that he took ᾧ in Colossians 2:12b to be neuter, referring to baptism.

4.3.3.4 Baptismal Instruction IX: s12

During his twelve years as a priest in Antioch Chrysostom was responsible for preparing catechumens for baptism. This Baptismal Instruction was probably delivered during Lent in 388 AD. In s12 Chrysostom lists the many and various names given to the cleansing that is effected in baptism:

> Ἀλλ', εἰ βούλεσθε, πρότερον περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ μυστικοῦ τούτου καθαρμοῦ διαλεχθῶμεν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἓν αὐτῷ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά· τὸ γὰρ καθάρσιον τοῦτο καλεῖται λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας· *Ἔσωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, φησὶ, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινίσεως Πνεύματος ἁγίου.* Καλεῖται καὶ φώτισμα, καὶ τοῦτο Παῦλος αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκάλεσεν· Ἀνα-

μιμνήσκεσθε γὰρ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων· καὶ πάλιν, Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας καὶ γευσαμένους τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου, καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν. Καλεῖται καὶ βάπτισμα· *Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε.* Καλεῖται ταφή· *Συνετάφητε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φησὶ, διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον.* Καλεῖται περιτομή· *Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός.* Καλεῖται σταυρός· *Ὁ παλαιὸς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἡμῶν συνεσταυρώθη, ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας.*

"If you are willing, let me first tell you the names we give to this mystic cleansing, for it does not have one name, but is spoken of in many and varied ways. This cleansing is called the bath of regeneration. ...It is also called an enlightenment...It is also called baptism. ...It is called a burial. ...It is called a circumcision. 'In whom also you have been circumcised with a circumcision made without hands in the putting off of the body of the sins of the flesh.' It is also called a cross. 'For our old man has been crucified with Christ, in order that the body of sin might be destroyed."'

Although Chrysostom does not explain further the significance of Paul's comments in Colossians 2:11, it is clear from this brief extract that he understood the phrase *περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ* to refer to the spiritual circumcision that is effected in baptism.

Here Chrysostom reads *τοῦ σώματος* together with the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*.

4.3.3.5 Homily VI on Colossians

Chrysostom is the earliest of the Greek Fathers whose exposition of all the Pauline Epistles (among which he includes Hebrews) has come down to us. With the exception of Galatians, which is represented by a continuous commentary (possibly based on an earlier series of homilies) the exposition takes the form of a series of homilies on each book. In each homily Chrysostom provides a verse by verse exposition of the text, often commenting upon the meaning of individual words and phrases, together with an ethical applica-

tion of the lessons to be learned from the passage expounded.

Chrysostom's *Homilies on Colossians* were delivered in Constantinople, probably in the autumn of the year 399 AD. In Homily VI Chrysostom gives a detailed exposition of Colossians 2:11 and 12. This is the first example of a writer commenting upon these verses in their own right, as distinct from using them to confirm or develop an argument, and what is particularly interesting here is the way in which Chrysostom relates them to their context in Colossians.

Chrysostom notes that in Colossians 2:8ff Paul is dealing with two false doctrines: first, that of Greek philosophy which denigrated the status of Christ, and second, that of the Judaizers who maintained that it was necessary to adhere to the observances of the Jewish law. He maintains that in verses 9 and 10 Paul in answering the one heresy answers the other. Having discussed the meaning of the statement "In Him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily", he continues:

> Τί δὲ πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει, *Καὶ ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι;* Τί οὖν ἐστιν; Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἔχετε αὐτοῦ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ὥκησεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν. Βιάζεται γὰρ ἀεὶ Παῦλος [367] ἐγγὺς ἡμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ· *Συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἡμᾶς*· καὶ, *Εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν*· καὶ, *Πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται;* καὶ συγκληρονόμους καλεῖ. Εἶτα περὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος· *Καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας.* Ὁ πάντων ἀνώτερος, ἡ αἰτία, οὐχὶ ὁμοούσιος; Εἶτα τὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας θαυμαστῶς πως ἐπήγαγε, καὶ πολλῷ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους θαυμαστότερον. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ φησι, *Περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ γράμματι*· ἐνταῦθα δὲ *Ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Ὅρα πῶς ἐγγὺς γίνεται τοῦ πράγματος. *Ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει*, φησίν. Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐκδύσει. *Τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.* Τὸν παλαιόν φησι βίον. Συνεχῶς ταῦτα στρέφει καὶ διαφόρως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄνω ἔλεγεν· *Ὃς ἐῤῥύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, καὶ ἀπεκατήλλαξεν ἀπηλλοτριωμένους εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους.* Οὐκέτι, φησὶν, ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἡ περιτομὴ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ· οὐ γὰρ χεὶρ ἐπάγει, καθὼς ἐκεῖ, τὴν περιτομὴν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐ μέρος, ἀλλ' ὅλον

ἄνθρωπον περιτέμνει. Σῶμα καὶ τοῦτο, σῶμα κἀκεῖνο· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σαρκὶ, τὸ δὲ πνευματικῶς περιτέμνεται· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι· οὐ γὰρ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀπεξεδύσασθε. Πότε, καὶ ποῦ; Ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. Καὶ ὃ καλεῖ περιτομὴν, πάλιν τάφον καλεῖ. Ὅρα πῶς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ δικαιώματα διαβαίνει. *Τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, φησὶ, *τῶν τῆς σαρκός*· τουτέστιν, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἔπραξαν. Μεῖζον τῆς περιτομῆς; λέγει· οὐ γὰρ ἔῤῥιψαν τὸ περιτμηθὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλ' ἔφθειραν. *Συνταφέντες αὐτῷ*, φησὶν, *ἐν τῷ βαπτισμῷ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Ἀλλ' οὐ τάφος μόνον ἐστὶν· ὅρα γὰρ τί φησιν· *Ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Καλῶς εἶπε· πίστεως γὰρ ὅλον ἐστίν. Ἐπιστεύσατε ὅτι δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ἐγεῖραι, καὶ οὕτως ἠγέρθητε. Εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἀξιόπιστον, *Τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν*, φησὶν, *ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Ἤδη δείκνυσι τὴν ἀνάστασιν· *Καὶ ὑμᾶς ποτε ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, συνεζωοποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ*.

"...But why does he say the same thing over again? 'And ye are complete in Him.' What then does it mean? That ye have nothing less than He. As it dwelt in Him, so also in you. For Paul is ever straining to bring us near to Christ, as when he says, 'Hath raised us up together, and hath made us sit together': and, 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with Him': and, 'How shall He not with Him also freely give us all things': and he calls us 'fellow-heirs'. Then as for His dignity. And He 'is the head of all principality and power'. He that is above all, The Cause, is He not Consubstantial? Then He has added the benefit in a marvellous kind of way; and far more marvellous than in the Epistle to the Romans. For there indeed he saith, 'circumcision of the heart in the spirit, not in the letter', but here, in Christ.

Ver. 11. 'In Whom also ye were circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ.'

"See how near he is come to the thing. He saith, 'In the putting' quite away, not putting off merely. 'The body of sins.' He means, "the old life." He is continually adverting to this in different ways as he said also above, 'Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath reconciled us who were alienated, that we should be 'holy and unblameable.' No longer, he saith, is the circumcision with the knife, but in Christ Himself, for no hand

> imparts this circumcision, as is the case there, but the Spirit. It circumciseth not a part, but the whole man. It is the body both in the one and the other case, but in the one it is carnally, in the other it is spiritually circumcised, but not as the Jews, for ye have not put off flesh, but sins. When and where? In Baptism. And what he calls circumcision, he again calls burial. Observe how he again passes on to the subject of righteous doings; 'of the sins,' he saith, 'of the flesh,' that is, the things they had done in the flesh. He speaks of a greater thing than circumcision, for they did not merely cast away that of which they were circumcised, but they destroyed it, they annihilated it.
>
> Ver. 12. 'Buried with him' he saith, 'in Baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him, through the faith of the operation of God, Who raised Him from the dead.'
>
> "But it is not burial only: for behold what he says, 'Wherein also ye are risen with Him, through the faith of the operation of God, Who raised Him from the dead.' He hath spoken well, for it is all of faith. Ye believed that God is able to raise, and so ye were raised. Then His worthiness of belief, 'Who raised Him,' he saith, 'from the dead.'
>
> "He now shows the Resurrection. 'And you who some time were dead in sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath He quickened together with Him.'"

Chrysostom notes that the spiritual circumcision spoken of in Colossians 2:11 and 12 is one of the benefits that result from being "in Christ". However, he does not explain, here at least, in what sense the believer is "in Christ", or in what sense this circumcision is a result of being "in Christ". In fact the statement *Οὐκέτι, φησὶν, ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἡ περιτομῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ* suggests that he may have interpreted *ᾧ* in Colossians 2:11 as an instrumental rather than an incorporative dative.

Chrysostom's comments here confirm, firstly, that he took *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* as an adjective qualifying *περιτομῇ*, emphasizing the spiritual nature of the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ. He emphasizes that whereas carnal circumcision is performed with a knife, no hand performs the circumcision that the Christian has undergone, in Christ, which is, rather, performed by the Spirit. The connection with the Holy Spirit is probably

due to the influence of Romans 2:29 and suggests that he understood *ἐν πνεύματι* there as an instrumental dative.

Chrysostom's comments here also confirm that he understood the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to give content to the spiritual circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ—an interpretation necessitated by the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. Chrysostom notes that Paul says *ἀπεκδύσει*, not *ἐκδύσει* . This is a good example of the detailed attention that Chrysostom pays to the actual wording of the Biblical text. The point that he is making here is, as J. Ashworth brings out in his translation, that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ involves a "putting quite away, not a putting off merely". Chrysostom emphasizes this by drawing the contrast, which we have already noted in Pseudo-Athanasius between carnal circumcision which removes a part, and spiritual circumcision which circumcises the whole man.

Chrysostom interprets the phrase *τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* to mean "the old life". This implies that baptism is effective for the cleansing only of sins committed prior to baptism. This statement, taken on its own, could suggest that he interpreted *σώματος* as a collective noun, and the whole phrase to mean "the accumulation of sins that belong to our former life". However, the subsequent statement that it is the body that is circumcised in both carnal and spiritual circumcision, though in the former case carnally, in the latter case spiritually, suggests that he took *σώματος* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body, and that he understood the genitive *σαρκός* as a genitive of separation.

Chrysostom takes *τῆς σαρκός* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical flesh. He interprets the phrase *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός* to mean "the things that they had done in the flesh."

Chrysostom explicitly states that this spiritual circumcision takes place in baptism. As in *Homily XXXIX on Genesis* he maintains that circumcision and burial are figures for the same process: "What he calls circumcision, he again calls burial". However, he maintains that the figure of burial brings out a further aspect of the inner effects of baptism in that that of which they

were circumcised is not simply cast away, but destroyed and annihilated. Clearly he believed that baptism involved a total and decisive break with one's former life.

Chrysostom does not explicitly comment upon the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. However, if the dative *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ* in the statement *Οὐκετι, φησὶν κ.τ.λ.* is instrumental rather than incorporative, this would suggest that he understood the phrase to refer to the circumcision that Christ effects through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer. Certainly, there is no suggestion here that he understood the phrase to refer to Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy, or to a circumcision that he either underwent or effected in his death or his resurrection. The emphasis is, rather, upon the spiritual circumcision that is effected in the life of the baptized. Further, it is unlikely that Chrysostom understood the phrase as a periphrasis for the rite of baptism. The connection that he makes between circumcision and burial suggests that he understood the phrase to refer to the inner effects rather than the outward rite of baptism. If the dative *ἐν αὐτῳ τῷ Χριστῷ* is instrumental rather than incorporative, one must assume that Chrysostom understood the genitive *Χριστοῦ* as a possessive genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to that circumcision which belongs to Christ, and which is effected by the Holy Spirit in baptism.

Chrysostom interprets the aorist passive *συνηγέρθητε* to refer to a spiritual resurrection from sin, rather than to the future physical resurrection from death, and understands vv13f as explaining this spiritual resurrection. He believed, as we have seen (section 4.3.3.3 above), that the spiritual resurrection from sin is greater than the physical resurrection from death which is a consequence of it.

Chrysostom's statement *Ἀλλ' οὐ τάφος μόνον ἐστίν· ὅρα γὰρ τί φησὶν. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε*...indicates that he understood the spiritual resurrection to take place in baptism. This suggests that he may have understood *ᾧ* in Colossians 2:12 to be neuter, referring to baptism.

Chrysostom interprets *ἐνεργείας* as an objective genitive, the whole

phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.* referring to the believer's faith in the effectual power of God. He takes the phrase *τοῦ ἐγείραντος κ.τ.λ.* as explaining God's worthiness of belief (*τὸ ἀξιόπιστον*). The resurrection of Christ encourages Christians to believe that God is able to raise them from the spiritual death of sin, and also, although Chrysostom does not develop this point here, from physical death.

4.3.3.6 Homily VIII on Colossians

Chrysostom again refers to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in his comment on Colossians 3:5, where he is concerned to show that Paul's injunction to the Colossian Christians to mortify their members that are upon earth does not contradict his previous remarks in Colossians 2:11 and 12 where he had said they had already been buried with Christ, and been circumcised, and put off the body of the sins of the flesh. St. Paul, Chrysostom argues, does not contradict himself, for there he was speaking of the Christian's initial cleansing in baptism, whereas here he is speaking of the need to remain pure having once been cleansed.

Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν, φησὶν, *τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Τί λέγεις; οὐ σὺ εἶπας, ὅτι Ἐτάφητε; ὅτι Συνετάφητε; ὅτι Περιετμήθητε; ὅτι Ἀπεκδυσάμεθα τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός; πῶς οὖν πάλιν λέγεις, *Νεκρώσατε*; Μὴ παίζῃς· ὡς ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν οὕτω διαλέγῃ; Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντιολογία· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐρρυπωμένον ἀνδριάντα ἀπομάξας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναχαλκεύσας, καὶ λαμπρὸν δείξας ἄνωθεν, λέγοι μὲν ὅτι κατεπόθη ὁ ἰὸς καὶ ἀπεμάξατο, παραινοῖ δὲ πάλιν σπουδάζειν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸν ἰόν, οὐκ ἐναντιολογεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ὃν ἀπέσμηξεν ἰὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπιγινόμενον μετὰ ταῦτα παραινεῖ ἀποθέσθαι· οὕτως οὐ τὴν προτέραν νέκρωσιν λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰς πορνείας ἐκείνας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιγινομένας ὕστερον.

" 'Mortify therefore your members,' he saith, 'which are upon the earth.' What sayest thou? Was it not thou that saidst, 'Ye are buried; ye are buried together with Him; ye are circumcised: ye have put off the body of the sins of the flesh;' how then again sayest thou, 'Mortify?' Art thou sporting? Dost thou thus discourse, as though those things were in us? There is no contradiction; but like as if one, who has clean scoured a statue

> that was filthy, or rather who has recast it, and displayed it bright afresh, should say that the rust was eaten off and destroyed, and yet should again recommend diligence in clearing away the rust, he doth not contradict himself, for it is not that rust which he scoured off that he recommends should be cleared away, but that which grows afterwards; so it is not that former putting to death he speaks of, nor those fornications, but those which do afterwards grow."

This extract again suggests that Chrysostom understood baptism to be effective for the cleansing only of former sins.

Although Chrysostom speaks of "burial", "circumcision" and "putting off" separately, it is clear both from the context, and from his comments on Colossians 2:11 and 12 that Chrysostom understood them to be figures for the same process, namely the cleansing from sin effected in baptism.

Chrysostom stresses here that when a person was baptised he was not simply buried, but buried with Christ (not *ἐτάφητε* but *Συνετάφητε*). This suggests that he understood burial in baptism to be a participation in Christ's historic death.

It is significant that Chrysostom here reads *τὸ σῶμα* rather than *τοῦ σώματος*. It suggests that Chrysostom's meaning here is that it is "the body", that is the whole mass, "of the sins of the flesh" that are stripped off, rather than "the sins of the flesh" that are stripped off from the body. The occurrence of *τὸ σῶμα* rather than *τοῦ σώματος* may be due to the influence of Romans 6:6.

4.3.4 Severian of Gabala (died after 408): Fragments from an Exposition of Colossians

Severian of Gabala, who was at first the friend but afterwards the bitter opponent of Chrysostom, expounded all the Epistles of St. Paul. Although this work has not survived in its entirety, large fragments have been preserved in the catenae. These include a brief comment on Colossians 2:11 and a more lengthy comment on Colossians 2:12. Although it is possible that Severian wrote at greater length on Colossians 2:11 and 12 than has been preserved

in these two fragments, these fragments nonetheless enable us to build up a fairly good picture of how he understood these verses.

Kol 2, 11

D f. 127v; F f. 152v; L f. 131v

Τοιοῦτ' ἔστι περιτεμὼν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐζωοποίησεν ἑαυτῷ. ὥστε τὸ ἐν Χριστῷ βάπτισμα περιτομὴ πνευματική· περικόπτει γὰρ τῶν πιστευόντων τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

Kol 2, 12-13

D f. 127v–128r; F f. 153r; L f. 132r

διὰ γὰρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡ περιαίρεσις καὶ ἡ περιτομὴ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε. οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου ὁμολογοῦσι διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος· κοινωνήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀκολούθως καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπολαύσουσιν. ἔστι δὲ διπλοῦς ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἷς πνευματικός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος σωματικός. ἀναστήσεται μὲν γὰρ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν οὐκ ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' ἐναπέθανον αὐτῶν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, οὗτοι τῆς μὲν κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως μεθέξουσιν, τῆς δὲ ἀπολυτρώσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας οὐκ ἀπολαύσουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθησαν, οὗτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως ἑτέρας ἀναστάσεως δωρεὰν ἐκέρδαναν· ἤδη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐξανέστησαν. διὸ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ συνεγερθήσεσθε. οἱ οὖν ἐγερθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν πῶς ἔτι πολιτεύσονται ὡς πάλιν ἀποθανούμενοι; οὐκοῦν μάτην ἀνέστησαν; εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀεὶ ζήσοντες, οὐκ ἄρα κατὰ σάρκα διαζῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς δουλεύοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα πολιτεύονται. σῶμα ἁμαρτίας καλεῖ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἀτόπους· αὗται γὰρ διὰ σώματος τελοῦνται. περιτομὴ οὖν Χριστοῦ τὸ βάπτισμα· περιαιρεῖ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν. ὡς περιττὸν δὲ ἀκροβυστία Ἰουδαίῳ, οὕτως ἁμαρτία ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι. διόλου δὲ τῇ τροπῇ παρέμεινεν. ἀκροβυστίαν δὲ σαρκὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν λέγει.

Before considering in detail how Severian understood Colossians 2:11 and 12, it is important to note that he took vv11–13 as a unity, taking v13 to explain further both that which is circumcised, and the nature of the spiritual resurrection (cf. Chrysostom section 4.3.3.5 above).

Although Severian does not quote Colossians 2:11, that he speaks of being circumcised *ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῆς σαρκός* suggests that he read the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. The singular *τῆς ἁμαρτίας* is probably due to the

influence of the phrase *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6 to which he refers in his comment on vv12–13. This connection of thought means that the lack of reference to *τοῦ σώματος* in his comment on Colossians 2:11 does not necessarily mean that this phrase was not present in his text of this verse.

It is clear from Severian's comments here that he took *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the inner effects of baptism. He maintains that Christ has circumcised us from the sin of the flesh through baptism (*διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*); that baptism in Christ is a spiritual circumcision (*περιτομὴ πνευματική*—a paraphrase of *περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ*) which involves the cutting off of the sins of those who believe; and that through baptism (*διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*) is the cutting off and circumcision of sins.

Although the subject of *περικόπτει* in the statement *περικόπτει γὰρ τῶν πιστευόντων τὰς ἁμαρτίας* may be *περιτομὴ πνευματική* rather than an implied *Χριστὸς* the previous statement that "having circumcised us from the sin of the flesh through baptism he [i.e. Christ] quickened us in himself" indicates that Severian understood Christ to be the active agent of this circumcision. This suggests that he understood the genitive *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 to be a subjective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to that circumcision which Christ effects in the life of the believer through baptism. However, Severian also maintains that baptism is the circumcision of Christ (*περιτομὴ οὖν Χριστοῦ τὸ βάπτισμα*) which indicates that he also understood the phrase as a periphrasis for the outward rite of baptism itself. There is no suggestion here that he understood the phrase to refer to a circumcision that Christ underwent in his infancy, or to a circumcision that he either underwent or effected in his death or his resurrection.

Severian maintains that "those baptized in the blood of Christ confess themselves to participate with him in death through baptism." Interestingly he speaks simply of "death (*τοῦ θανάτου*)" rather than "his death (*τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*)". It is possible, therefore, that his meaning here may simply be that the death that the believer undergoes in baptism is "with

him" in the sense that it is effected by Christ. However, the reference to being baptized in the blood of Christ, and the use of *κοινωνέω* with *αὐτῷ* suggests that he understood *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ* in Colossians 2:12b to mean an actual participation in Christ's historic death and burial.

It is relevant to compare Severian's reference to those baptized "confessing (*ὁμολογοῦσι*)" themselves to be participants in death with Christ with Basil's statement that through being baptized in the water those baptized are "professing to have been crucified with, died with and been buried with" Christ (*ὁμολογοῦντες συνεσταυρῶσθαι, συντεθνηκέναι, συντεθάφθαι...*: *Concerning Baptism*: Book I: 1:4. Compare also the references cited in Section 4.2.2.2 above).

Severian distinguishes between physical and spiritual resurrection, and maintains that *συνηγέρθητε* in Colossians 2:12b refers to a spiritual resurrection from the death of sin. (Cf. Chrysostom: section 4.3.3.3 above). All men, he maintains, will share in the common resurrection because of Christ's resurrection from death. However, only those who have been baptized with Christ are raised spiritually from the death of sin. This spiritual resurrection has, he maintains, already taken place. Hence Paul in Colossians 2:12, says "you have been raised (*συνεγέρθητε*)" not "you shall be raised (*συνεγερθήσεθε*). Severian, like Chrysostom, clearly paid close attention to the actual wording of the Biblical text. It is not clear, however, whether he understood *ᾧ* in Colossians 2:12 to refer to Christ or baptism.

Severian's statement that baptism in Christ is a spiritual circumcision which involves the "putting off of the sins of those who believe", and his reference to those who have not been baptized dying in their unbelief, suggests that he understood *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12c to be an objective genitive, the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.* meaning "through faith in the effectual power of God".

4.3.5 Theodore of Mopsuestia (c350–428): Commentary on Colossians

Theodore of Mopsuestia is the most typical representative of the Antiochene School. He wrote commentaries on nearly all the books of the Bible. According to Frances Young:

> "Theodore's commentaries are brief and largely confined to the basics of scriptural exegesis. Where appropriate he discusses problems of translation and text... He discusses the meanings of words and phrases, especially those distinctive and characteristic of biblical usage. He notes where metaphorical expressions are used, for he knows that it is nonsense to take some phrases literally. Frequently he makes use of summaries and paraphrases to bring out the gist of the argument in the text before him, and he regularly writes historical and circumstantial introductions to fill in and explain the background. The result, it must be admitted, is often dull. Where recent work commends his historico- critical sense, earlier scholars commented upon the dry, pedestrian character of his commentaries compared with the imaginative insights of allegorical and mystical exegesis." (96)

Unfortunately, because of Theodore's condemnation at the Fifth General Council in 553 AD, few of his commentaries survive in their original Greek. We are fortunate, however, that his *Commentary on the Ten Minor Epistles of St. Paul* (Galatians to Philemon), which belongs to the early years of the fifth century, has survived in a Latin translation of the fifth century under the name of Ambrose.

H. B. Swete has discussed at length the relation of Theodore's Commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul to other ancient Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. (97) He concludes that although he was probably indebted on occasions to Origen, Eusebius of Emesa, Severian of Gabala, Chrysostom and Diodore, Theodore is before all things an independent interpreter". (98) He does not follow one writer to the exclusion of others, but is prepared to learn from, and where necessary disagree with them all.

in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in exspoliationem corporis peccatorum carnis, in circumcisione Christi.

'in ipso (inquit) et ea quae in eo est fide ab inposita uobis mortalitate estis eruti, cum qua mortalitate etiam peccata uestra sustulit.' uult enim dicere quoniam 'inmortalitatem adsecuti estis, in qua constituti ultra non peccabitis, quod ex mortalitate sustinebatis necessitatem; itaque conuenit et propter hoc non ingratos uos uideri erga illum, qui tantorum uobis bonorum extitit prouisor.' bene autem 'circumcisionem' nominauit mortalitatis ablationem, ita ut ex comparatione ostendat eius differentiam; siquidem ibi corporis ablatio exigua est nullam habens prodificationem, hic uero tanta mortalitas aufertur in melius corpore nostro transformato. unde et 'non manu factam circumcisionem' uocauit eam, ita ut ex eo modo inoperationis eius ostendat differentiam; siquidem illic humana manus est, quae perfecit circumcisionem, hic uero diuina est gratia, quae inoperatur mortalitatis ablationem. necessaria uero est et adiectio quam adiecit dicens *in circumcisione Christi*, ut dicat quia 'hanc circumcisi estis circumcisionem, cuius promissum uobis praestitit Christus.' et quoniam magna erant quae dicta fuerant, necdum uero in opere erant effecta :

consepulti (inquit) *illi in baptisma, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitauit eum ex mortuis.*

'si autem necdum negotio id potiti estis, tamen iam in forma illorum effecti estis, commortui in baptismate et conresurgentes ei. euidens est quoniam baptisma adsecuti estis credentes primitus, quod potens sit ista facere Deus; et fecerit iam, ex quibus et suscitauit ex mortuis Christum, in illo communis resurrectionis primitias operatus.' multis uero in locis in apostolica doctrina inesse docuimus, quoniam probationes illorum quae secundum Christum sunt de futuris semper facere consueuit. commemoratur uero et forma illa quae ad praesens impletur, ita ut uideantur illorum quae expectantur pignora aliqua in praesente habere; hinc etenim sancti Spiritus primitias in baptismate percipimus. quoniam autem dixit formam, resumit illum quod dictum fuerat a se, ut latius illam, quasi exinde est, gratiam explicet :

et uos, cum essetis mortui delictis et praeputio carnis uestrae, conuiuificauit cum ipso, donans uobis omnia delicta.

In the comment on Colossians 2:11 and 12 the influence of Chrysostom is apparent, but the depth and clarity of Theodore's own understanding of these verses is apparent, particularly in his Christological and eschatological

view of baptism. Theodore's own theological perspective is also apparent in the emphasis upon the removal of mortality—a theme that is not explicitly mentioned in Chrysostom's or Severian's comments upon these verses.

It is clear from Theodore's comment on Colossians 2:11 that he understood circumcision to be a figure for the removal of mortality. He first of all paraphrases Paul's meaning in this verse, and then elucidates it:

> "In Him (he said) and by that faith which is in Him, you have been snatched from the mortality placed upon you, with which mortality He has taken away your sins. For he wants to say 'you have attained to immortality, in which state you will sin no more, for you were bearing the need [to sin] as a result of mortality: and so it is proper on account of this that you do not appear ungrateful towards Him who is the provider of such great benefits to you' ...he terms the removal of mortality circumcision. ..."

In this extract are three statements that are characteristic of Theodore's understanding of mortality. First, although mortality is for Theodore a consequence of sin, it is also the cause of further sin: "you were bearing the need [to sin] as a result of mortality". We may compare this statement with, for example, Theodore's comment on Ephesians 4:22, where he remarks "Because they are mortal it follows that they sin." Second, as a natural corollary to this Theodore looks forward to the future life of immortality as a state in which we will no longer sin. This theme is frequent in Theodore's writings. For example, the comment on Ephesians 4:22, cited above, continues: "but we, being made immortal in the future life, will not be subject to further sin." Third, and characteristic of the Christocentricity of his thought as a whole, drawing out the significance of ἐν ᾧ in Colossians 2:11 Theodore emphasizes that freedom from mortality and from the resultant liability to sin, has already been achieved in the person of Christ, which freedom the Christian in part enjoys in this present life through faith. We may compare Theodore's comment here with that on John 1:29 where he remarks:

> "For while sin reigned in our mortality, and, on the other hand, death grew strong in us because of sin, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came, relieving us of all this. And death, having

> been destroyed through his death, he destroyed also that sin which is in our nature because of its radical mortality. He has already made us immortal in promise; afterwards he will do the same in fact." (99)

Although Theodore does not explicitly comment upon the phrase *τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός*, in his paraphrase of Paul's meaning in v11 he speaks of "the removal of mortality". It would be a mistake however, to conclude that Theodore has imposed upon this phrase the strictures of his own theology without paying attention to the actual words that Paul uses. Rather, the term *σάρξ* would itself have suggested to Theodore that Paul is here speaking of the removal of mortality. R. A. Norris notes that whilst he recognizes that the term *σάρξ* has a variety of meanings in scripture, Theodore concludes that the primary connotation of flesh is mortality. (100) To illustrate this Norris quotes Theodore's comment on Romans 2:29: "The saying, 'Flesh and blood cannot enter the kingdom of God' means "When we were in the flesh": that is, "when we were mortal"." (101). Thus the occurrence of *σάρξ* in Colossians 2:11 would have suggested to Theodore that Paul was speaking here of mortality.

That Theodore speaks here of the transformation of the body by the removal of mortality indicates that he understood *σώματος* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the physical body. Presumably he understood the genitive *σαρκός* as a genitive of separation, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to mean the removal from the physical body of both sins, and the mortality from which they arise.

Theodore takes *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* as an adjective qualifying *περιτομῇ* emphasizing the spiritual nature of the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ. Paul, he argues, describes this circumcision as "made wihout hands" in order to bring out the difference between this circumcision and carnal circumcision. Whereas carnal circumcision removes only a small piece of the body to no profit, the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ removes mortality so that the whole body is transformed; and whereas the human hand performs carnal circumcision, it is divine grace which effects the removal of mortality. Theodore's argument here is reminis-

cent of Chrysostom's comment on Colossians 2:11, where, as we have seen, he emphasizes that the circumcision in Christ "circumcizes not a part but the whole man", and that it is a spiritual circumcision, for "No longer ... is the circumcision with the knife, but in Christ himself, for no hand imparts this circumcision, as in the case there, but the Spirit." (See section 4.3.3.5 above).

Theodore maintains that Paul added the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* "so that he might say 'you have been circumcised with this circumcision the promise Christ presented to you'." The main point that Theodore is making here is clear: since Christ shared our nature, when he rose from the dead, human nature rose immortal. Hence, as he explains in his comment on v12, the resurrection of Christ is the first fruits of the common resurrection, and, as he remarks in his comment of John 1:29 (cited above), "He has already made us immortal in promise." Given that Theodore understood circumcision to be a figure for the removal of mortality, it would have been consistent with the general tenor of his thought to have viewed the removal of mortality in the resurrection of Christ metaphorically as a circumcision. However, he does not explicitly state this. I think it probable, therefore, that although Theodore understood the removal of mortality from the believer to be dependent upon the removal of mortality from human nature in the resurrection of Christ, he understood circumcision in Colossians 2:11 to be a figure for the former only; and that he understood *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the circumcision that Christ will effect in the life of the believer.

Theodore emphasizes that whilst this circumcision has not yet taken place in actuality ("in opera") it has nonetheless taken place in form ("in forma"—Swete rightly suggests that the underlying Greek is probably *εἰς τὸν τύπον*) (102) by dying with Christ in baptism and being raised with him. These symbolic actions are pledges ("pignora") of what will take place in the future. However, baptism is, for Theodore, much more than a mere symbolic representation of future events. He criticizes those commentators

who do not take seriously the force of the aorist passives *συνταφέντες* and *συνηγέρθητε*, referring all their assertions about Christ to the future. Through the Holy Spirit, who is given in baptism, we receive the first fruits of our inheritance. This is a recurring theme in Theodore's Baptismal Homilies. For example in s6 of the Third Homily, having referred to Ephesians 1:13 and 14 he comments:

> "He [i.e. Paul] calls this grace that the Holy Spirit gives us here on earth 'the Spirit of promise' because we receive it as a promise of future gifts. He calls it also 'the guarantee of our inheritance', because it enables us already to share in the gifts to come." (III:6; cf.I:16,III:7, 23,27,and 28)

It is interesting that Theodore speaks here of dying with Christ ("commortui") rather than being buried with him. It indicates that he understood "death" and "burial" to be figures for the same action.

"ei" in the Latin translation of Theodore's paraphrase of *ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε* retains the same ambiguity as the Greek *ᾧ*: it could either be masculine, referring to Christ, or neuter, referring to baptism. However, that "ei" is placed after "conresurgentes" may, if it represents an alteration of the word order of Colossians 2:12 in the underlying Greek, suggest that Theodore understood *ᾧ* to refer to baptism.

It is clear from Theodore's comment on both v11 and 12 that he understood *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12 as an objective genitive, and that he believed this to refer to God's action in raising Christ from the dead, which encourages Christians to believe that God is able to raise us up also. Theodore makes the same point, though without reference to Colossians 2:12, in his *Third Baptismal Homily*:

> "In human existence he was assumed from among us and became the first to rise from the dead, in this way assuring for us a share in his resurrection" (III:22)

Theodore also stresses the necessity of faith in relation to baptism in Baptismal Homily II:14 and 15; and III:2,5 and 6.

4.3.6 Theodoret of Cyrus (c393- 466)

4.3.6.1 Commentary on Colossians

Theodoret of Cyrus, "the last great theologian of Antioch", (103) was a native of Antioch and studied under Theodore. His *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* belongs to the period 433–438, and may have originated as a series of lectures delivered in Antioch. (104) The Commentary is much shorter than that of Chrysostom and Theodore. As C. H. Turner notes,

> "When Theodoret wrote the reaction was already in full swing against what must have seemed the long windedness of older commentators—Origen, Chrysostom, even Theodore. There was a real gap to fill with an exposition of the literal sense, that should be less discursive and homiletic than Chrysostom's, less ambitiously conceived than Theodore's; and it could hardly have been filled better than by the commentary of Theodoret." (105)

In the preface to this work Theodoret modestly disdains originality, and acknowledges dependence upon the "blessed fathers", particularly two great "luminaries of the world", Chrysostom and Theodore. In fact Theodoret's Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul marks a transitional period between the original exegesis which characterizes earlier commentaries, and what we may perhaps call the "secondary exegesis" of the early Middle Ages, which at first consisted of a "chain" of interpretations pieced together from the writings of the Fathers. However, as P. M. Parvis notes,

> "There is no reason to suppose that Theodoret had anything except a text of the Apostle in front of him when he composed his Commentary. He drew on the recollections and on the conclusions of a life-time's study of Scripture. The familiar ideas of Theodore and John were on his mind and their words were often on his tongue, but in his mind there must also have been expositions he had come across in general reading, in sermons he had heard, in discussions in his monastery or his see. If that is so, his Commentary is, in a sense, a distillate of the whole experience of a learned and earnest Churchman, and its "sources" are as manifold as was the life of that Church for which and to which he spoke." (106)

H. B. Swete, in his edition of Theodore's Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, records in the footnotes numerous examples of Theodoret's dependence upon Theodore. However, Swete noted that it seldom amounted to a verbal reproduction, in that Theodoret recast Theodore's material in his own words and that it is not indiscriminate in that he "holds aloof from the speculations of Theodore when they would have led him away from the Catholic faith". (107)

> ια'. « Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν [10] τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. » Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑπαχθέντες τὴν νομικὴν πολιτείαν ἠσπάσαντο, διδάσκει πάλιν τῆς περιτομῆς τὴν διαφοράν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι, φησὶ, σαρκικὴ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴ, οὐδὲ χειροποίητος, ἀλλὰ θεία, οὐδὲ σμικροῦ σώματος ἀφαίρεσις, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς φθορᾶς. Τούτων δὲ αἴτιος οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς, ὁ τοῦ νόμου νομοθέτης. Τοῦτο γὰρ εἶπεν, *ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε*· καὶ πάλιν, *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. *Ἀπέκδυσιν* δὲ *τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκὸς*, τὸ σωτήριον ἐκάλεσε βάπτισμα· ἐν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀποδυόμεθα τὸν ἐρρυπωμένον τῆς ἁμαρτίας χιτῶνα. Τύπος δὲ τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ πανάγιον βάπτισμα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μελλόντι βίῳ, ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀθάνατον τὸ σῶμα γενόμενον, οὐκ ἔτι δέξασθαι δύναται τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὴν ῥύπον. Ὅτι δὲ περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐκεῖνα εἴρηκε, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς μαρτυρεῖ·
>
> ιβ'. « Συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. » Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θανάτου τύπον ἐκάλεσε τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα (τοῦτο γὰρ εἶπε, *συνταφέντες*), εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν ἀνάστασιν· « Ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε. » Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔτι θνητὴν ἔχομεν φύσιν, ἐπήγαγε· « Διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. » Πιστεύοντες γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμει προσμένομεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἐνέχυρον ἔχοντες τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

It need hardly be said that Theodoret's understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12 is substantially the same as that of Chrysostom and Theodore. Like both Chrysostom and Theodore he understood *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to that which is put off in baptism; *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* referring to the circumcision that Christ effects in baptism; and *ἐνεργείας* in

Colossians 2:12 as an objective genitive, the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.* referring to the baptized's faith in the effectual power of God, evidenced in the raising of Christ from the dead. The influence of Chrysostom and Theodore can also be seen in the manner in which Theodoret contrasts carnal and spiritual circumcision.

The influence of Theodore is particularly apparent in that Theodoret understands Paul in these verses to be speaking of the removal of mortality, and in Theodoret's eschatological understanding of baptism. Like Theodore he understands baptism to be a type (*τύπον*; cf. Theodore: "forma") of the putting off of mortality in the final resurrection, of which Christ's resurrection is a pledge (*ἐνέχυρον*; cf. Theodore: "pignora"). However, the emphasis upon the Holy Spirit as the first fruit of the future resurrection is not present in his comment here. Frances Young notes that in Theodoret's commentaries on the New Testament "Theodore's eschatological hope is reduced and the emphasis is placed upon the present, the moral life of the believer or the sacramental life of the church." (108) The phrase *διδάσκει πάλιν τῆς περιτομῆς τὴν διαφοράν κ.τ.λ.* is strongly reminiscent of Theodore's comment "ita ut ex eo inoperationis eius ostendat differentiam" etc.

Theodoret brings out, more clearly perhaps than Theodore, the present effects of baptism, namely the forgiveness of sins. (109) Here he may have been influenced by Chrysostom who also emphasizes this. The reference to "the stained garments of sin (*τὸν ἐῤῥυπωμένον τῆς ἁμαρτίας χιτῶνα*"; cf. Jude 23) is probably an allusion to the rite of stripping prior to descent into the baptismal waters. It indicates that Theodoret was concerned to relate the Biblical text that he was expounding to the experience of his readers.

The distinctive contribution of Theodoret to the understanding of these verses lies in the reference to Christ as the lawgiver. His point appears to be that because the Colossian Christians had subjected themselves to the legal way of life they were unable to look beyond the Old Testament law to Christ, the legislator of a new law, and to realize that carnal circumcision typified a superior spiritual circumcision which Christ himself effects.

4.3.6.2 Questions on the Octateuch: Question III on Joshua (on 5:2)

In addition to writing complete commentaries on a number of Biblical books, Theodoret also wrote treatises in the form of questions and answers on selected difficult passages of the Bible. The *Questions on the Octateuch* were written sometime after the council of Chalcedon in 451.

Theodoret refers to Colossians 2:11 in his Question on Joshua 5:2:

ΕΡΩΤ. Γ.

Πῶς νοητέον τὸ, « Περιέτεμε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ δευτέρου ; »

Τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅτι μάλιστα οὗτος ὁ λόγος προδιαγράφει [96]. Τοῖς γὰρ τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν δεξαμένοις περιτομὴν τὴν πνευματικὴν προσήνεγκαν περιτομὴν (29) τῶν Εὐαγγελίων οἱ κήρυκες. « Πιστεύσατε γὰρ, ἔλεγον, καὶ βαπτισθήτω [97] ἕκαστος ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. » Ταύτην ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος ἀχειροποίητον περιτομὴν προσηγόρευσε. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, « Περιτομὴ γὰρ, φησὶ, καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ (30) γράμματι. » Οἱ τοίνυν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων τῷ Σωτῆρι πεπιστευκότες, τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες, προσέλαβον τὴν πνευματικήν. Τὸ τοίνυν *ἐκ δευτέρου* τὴν ἀλήθειαν πρυτυποῖ· τὴν γὰρ σάρκα δὶς περιτμηθῆναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων. Ἡ δὲ ἐξεπιπολῆς τοῦ γράμματος διάνοια τοῦτο δηλοῖ· ὅτι καθάπερ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦτον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς ἐδεδώκει τὸν νόμον, οὕτως ἐκ δευτέρου προσέταξε τῷ Ἰησοῦ τοὺς ἀπεριτμήτους περιτεμεῖν. Θρηνῆσαι δὲ ἄξιον Ἰουδαίους, συνιδεῖν οὐ δυναμένους, ὡς οἱ περιτετμημένοι μὲν (31) ἀνῃρέθησαν διαφόροις τιμωρίαις περιπεσόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπερίτμητοι διεσώθησαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν πατέρες διώλοντο, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν [98] (32) ἐδέξαντο. Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς παῖδες ὄντες τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν προσδεχόμεθα βασιλείαν· Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ τάξιν ἔχοντες πατέρων τῶν αἰωνίων ἐξέπεσον ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἐξεβλήθησαν συγγενείας. Ἐχρῆν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς διὰ τούτων μαθεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀεὶ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀναγκαῖον τὸ χρῆμα. Προμηνύσας γὰρ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ τῆς παροικίας τὸν χρόνον ὁ Δεσπότης Θεὸς, περιτμηθῆναι προσέταξε· τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ δουλείας ἀπαλλαγέντας, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ διάγοντας, οὐκ ἀπῄτησε τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου τὴν φυλακὴν, οὐδὲ τῆς παραβάσεως εἰσέπραξε δίκας. Ἐπειδὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντες [99], καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιμιξίας ἀπηλλαγμένοι,

τοῦ σημείου τῆς περιτομῆς οὐκ ἐδέοντο. Ὅτε δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην εἰσήγαγε (33) γῆν περιτμηθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ (34) ἐπιμιξία τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ λυμήνηται. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνέβαινε περιπεσεῖν ἀπάτῃ τινὰ, ῥᾴδιον ἦν τὸ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην καταλαβεῖν· τὰ γὰρ ἐσφραγισμένα πρόβατα, κἂν ἀπόληται, ῥᾳδίως εὑρίσκεται.

Theodoret's argument here is traditional. What is particularly interesting is that he explains here the reason why this passage should be interpreted typologically. The reference to the second circumcision is clearly prefigurative (*προτυποῖ*), he maintains, since obviously it is impossible for a person to be physically circumcised a second time. It is possible that we have here an example of Theodoret's more general theological approach, namely that an Old Testament passage may only be interpreted typologically when it is impossible to understand it in a literal sense, or, as with the case of the crossing of the Red Sea, when there is a New Testament warrant for understanding it typologically (cf. the comment on 1 Corinthians 10:2).

Theodoret's argument here suggests that he understood *περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ* in Colossians 2:11 to refer to the rite of baptism. However, the quotation from Romans 2:29 indicates that, if this is the case, Theodoret believed that baptism was a "circumcision made without hands" because in it a spiritual circumcision is effected; that is to say that for Theodoret, circumcision is a figure for both the outward rite and the inner effects of baptism.

Theodoret does not refer to the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Interestingly he does not refer to the possible typological correspondence between Joshua and Jesus: there is certainly no emphasis here upon Christ as the active agent of the second spiritual circumcision. This may perhaps be due to the nature of the work, namely an inquiry into specific problems raised by certain texts, rather than an elucidation of the significance of every aspect of the texts selected. However, it may, perhaps, indicate that Theodoret's typology was primarily sacramental, rather than Christological.

4.3.6.3 Questions and Responses to the Orthodox: 102

This series of inquiries and responses on a variety of historical, dogmatic, moral and exegetical subjects, which has come down to us under the name of Justin Martyr, is now recognised to be by Theodoret of Cyrus.

Ἐρώτησις ρβ'.

Εἰ περιττὸν καὶ [1]*λεῖπον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν κατασκευῇ ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ πεποίηται, διὰ τί ὡς περιττὸν τὸ τῆς ἀκροβυστίας μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμνετο; Εἰς τί δὲ χρήσιμον οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ μέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παιδοποιῷ μορίῳ τὴν περιτομὴν* [2]*οἱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας εἰλήφασι; Διὰ τί δέ, ἐκείνων ὡς χρησίμην ταύτην λαβόντων, τῇ τοιαύτῃ χειρουργίᾳ ὁμοίως καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ κεχρήμεθα;*

Ἀπόκρισις.

Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἐλευθέρας γαμετῆς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ παιδυποιεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας [3]*καθιστάμενος [ὁ Ἀβραὰμ] ἐπαγγελίαν παιδοποιΐας ἐδ[έξατο παρὰ] τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πιστεύσας θεῷ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἡλικίας ἔσεσθαι πατὴρ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς γεγηρακυίας στείρας αὐτῷ γενομένου* [4]*υἱοῦ, δι[ὰ τοῦτο ἔδω-κεν] αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς σφραγῖδα ταύτης [τῆς πίστεως] τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς ἀκροβυστίας μορίου τοῦ διὰ μὲν τὸ γῆρας πρὸς παιδοποιΐαν ἀχρήστου γενομένου, διὰ δὲ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς παιδοποιΐαν γεγονότος χρησίμου. Παρέπεμψε δὲ ταύτην τὴν περιτομὴν εἰς ὅλον τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα πατρὸς γενομένου, ὑφιστάμενον εἰς ἀνεξάλειπτον μνημόσυνον τῆς τε τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ πίστεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως,* [5]*τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. Περιτεμνόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος,* [6]*ἐκδυόμενοι τὸν Ἀδάμ, δι' ὃν ἁμαρτωλοὶ γεγονότες τεθνήκαμεν, καὶ ἐνδυόμενοι τὸν Χριστόν, δι' ὃν δικαιωθέντες ἀνιστάμεθα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν·* [7]*ἐν ᾧ, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, περιετμήθητε περιτομὴν ἀχειροποίητον τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος ὑμῶν.*

In inquiry 102 Theodoret raises and seeks to answer three questions concerning circumcision. First, why, if God didn't make anything redundant or superfluous in the body, is a part of the body cut of by the Jews in carnal circumcision as if it were superfluous? Second, is there any significance in the fact that circumcision is performed on the member that creates children?

Third, why, if it was right for the Jews to practise circumcision, do Christians not practise it likewise? Although Theodoret has probably formed these questions himself, particularly the second, in such a way as to enable him best to make the points he intends, given that there was a sizeable Jewish community in Antioch, it is possible that he is responding here to actual questions that had occured to ordinary Christians in the course of their relations with their Jewish fellow citizens.

Theodoret argues that circumcision was given to Abraham as a seal of the promise that, despite his old age, and Sarah's barrenness, he would have a son. It was appropriate, he maintains, that circumcision took place in the member that it did for whereas previously this member had been unprofitable to Abraham for the begetting of children, through his faith it became profitable for childbirth.

The reason why, Theodoret argues, circumcision was observed by the Jewish race as a whole lies in that it is:

> "a perpetual memorial of the faith of Abraham, and of the power of God, who quickens the dead and calls into being the things not yet existent."

However, Christians, he maintains, do not need to undergo the Jewish rite of circumcision because they have been spiritually circumcised through baptism:

> "And we have been circumcised with the circumcision of Christ through baptism, putting off Adam, because of whom, having become sinners, we died, and putting on Christ because of whom we are justified and raised from the dead. 'In whom,' the Apostle says, 'you have been circumcised with a circumcision made without hand, in the putting off of your bodies.'"

Theodoret's comments here confirm that he took *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the inner effects of baptism. That he ends the quotation from Colossians 2:11 with *τοῦ σώματος* indicates that he understood *σῶμα* here metaphorically. Theodoret does not discuss the significance of the terminology that Paul uses here. In his paraphrase of Colossians 2:11 Theodoret

speaks of putting off Adam, and putting on Christ. This is, perhaps, surprising in view of the Antiochene emphasis upon the individual. However, that he says that it is because of Adam that we have become sinners and died (*δι' ὃν ἁμαρτωλοὶ γεγονότες τεθνήκαμεν*) indicates that he believed that Adam's sin caused the nature that we inherit to be corrupted and prone to sin, rather than that we actually sinned "in Adam". According to Kelly, (110) in his comment on Romans 5:12 Theodoret interprets *ἐφ' ᾧ* to mean "because" not "in whom", and argues that "each of us undergoes the sentence of death because of his own sin, not because of the sin of our first parent."

It is not clear in this extract whether *Χριστοῦ* is understood as a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to the circumcision that is effected by Christ, or a possessive genitive, referring to the circumcision that belongs to Christ, as distinct from the carnal circumcision of the Jews. However, that Theodoret speaks of having been circumcised with the circumcision of Christ "through baptism" indicates that he understood "the circumcision of Christ" to refer to the inner effects of baptism.

Theodoret does not quote Colossians 2:12b. However, in view of the fact that he understood circumcision to be "a perpetual memorial" of Abraham's faith, and of the power (*δύναμις*) of God, who quickens the dead and calls into being things not yet existent" we may say that it would be consistent with Theodoret's thought here to take *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12 as an objective genitive, referring to the baptized's faith in the effectual power of God.

The reference here to circumcision as a "perpetual memorial" (Genesis 17:12) is interesting. Presumably the question had actually been raised, why, if as Genesis states, circumcision is a perpetual memorial, do Christians not observe this? Theodoret's reply gives us an insight into his attitude towards the Old Testament law as a whole. His point appears to be that the circumcision of Christ through baptism is the fulfilment of, rather than simply the Christian counterpart to, carnal circumcision. The difference

between these two views although slight is nonetheless significant, namely that the Old Testament law is not replaced by Christ, who gives a new and superior law, but that the requirements of the law are actually fulfilled in christians, though spiritually, not carnally.

4.3.7 Antiochene and Alexandrian Interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12: A Comparison

It is not possible to make a direct comparison between Antiochene and Alexandrian interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 since whereas we have four Antiochene commentaries on Colossians, we do not possess a commentary on Colossians from an Alexandrian writer. This fact is in itself significant, indicating the Antiochene concern to explain the text of scripture in its own right. Alexandrian writers do not explicitly provide a phrase by phrase comment upon Paul's meaning in Colossians 2:11 and 12; rather they introduce these verses to confirm and develop traditions that had originally been developed independently of them. Indeed, in some cases it would be possible to remove reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 without significantly affecting the author's argument. That is not to say that Antiochene writers did not to some extent interpret Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the light of earlier traditions: an example of this can be seen in the contrast that they draw between circumcision which removes a small part and baptism in which the whole body is circumcised, which they introduce in their comment on Colossians 2:11 and 12. It is to say, however, that Antiochene writers consciously sought to explain Paul's meaning in these verses phrase by phrase, whereas Alexandrian writers did not.

There are three main differences between the Alexandrian and Antiochene understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12. First, for Alexandrian writers the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* has a variety of meanings, referring to Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy, his resurrection, the circumcision that he effects in the life of the believer, and the rite of baptism. Antiochene writers, having a greater concern for the grammatical sense of the text, interpret the phrase in one sense only, to mean the circumcision

that Christ effects in the life of the believer through baptism.

Second, whereas Alexandrian writers connect the theme of "the eighth" with circumcision on the eighth day, which led to the view that the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 referred at one level at least, to a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection on the eighth day, the theme of "the eighth" is not prominent in Antiochene thought. Indeed it is significant that although Chrysostom in his explanation of the title of Psalm 6 (*Concerning the Eighth*) sees "the eighth" as a symbol of the eschatological renewal and restoration (*Treatise on Compunction*: II: 4), he does not see any spiritual significance in the fact that carnal circumcision took place on the eighth day. He believed, as we have seen, that this was so that the pain of circumcision might be easier to bear, and to demonstrate that circumcision was merely a sign (*Homily XXXIX on Genesis*: 4.3.3.1 above). The theme of "the eighth does not affect the Antiochene interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12. The reason for this may lie in the view that if an allegory is intended, scripture supplies the interpretation (cf. Chrysostom: *On Isaiah*: V; P.G. 56 col. 60). St. Paul does not argue that there was any special significance that circumcision took place on the eighth day. Hence Antiochene writers did not do so either.

Third, whereas Antiochene writers tend to understand what is "stripped off" in individualist terms, that is, in terms of personal sin and mortality, some of the Alexandrian writers that we have considered emphasize that our present sinful condition is inherited from our fathers. Pseudo-Athanasius, as we have seen, understands what is stripped off in terms of our identity with Adam and the whole of the old creation. Pseudo-Chrysostom, as we have seen, argues that the foreskin is a symbol of the veil (*κάλυμμα*) over our hearts, which we inherit from our fathers, which is "stripped off" in the circumcision of Christ.

EAST SYRIAN CHRISTIANITY

When we think of the Early Church we tend to think primarily of the Church within the Roman Empire, and especially around the Mediterranean Sea. However, there was also an important Christian community East of the Euphrates, in Upper Mesopotamia. This region was part of the Parthian Empire until c216 AD, when it was conquered by the Romans, though it was reconquered by the Persians in 226 AD.

It is not clear when Christianity first spread to this region. According to legend the Christian faith was established in Edessa in the lifetime of Jesus. Luke informs us that "Persians and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia" were among Peter's hearers on the first Christian Pentecost (Acts 2:9), though we cannot be sure whether any of these carried the gospel back home with them. However, it is probable that by the end of the first century a Christian community had been established in Edessa, possibly by means of Jewish-Christian merchants. In the second century Edessa became the chief centre of Christianity for the region. It is also probable that Christianity was established in Adiabene by the end of the first century.

I am not conversant with Syriac, and thus any assessment of the two references to Colossians 2:11 and 12, considered below, can only be provisional since in the first reference I am dependent upon an English translation and in the second upon a Latin translation. Nonetheless, I hope that it may give some indication of how these verses were interpreted in East Syrian Christianity.

4.3.8 Aphrahat: Demonstration XII: s10

There was a sizeable Jewish community in Upper Mesopotamia, which overshadowed the much smaller Christian community. Jacob Neusner notes that "The everyday relationship between the two communities was vigorous, intimate and competitive." (111) It was important, therefore, that the Christian community carefully thought through the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. Indeed, as Neusner notes, (112) the Christian church may have faced the problem that some of its members might forsake Christianity

for Judaism.

It is against this background that we should understand the *Demonstrations* of St. Aphrahat. However, as Neusner notes that,

> "What is striking [in these Demonstrations] is the utter absence of anti-Semitism from Aphrahat's thought. While much provoked, he exhibits scarcely a trace of the pervasive hatred of 'the Jews' characteristic of the Greek-speaking churches of the Roman orient, indeed of his near contemporary John Chrysostom. On the contrary, Aphrahat conducts the debate through penetrating criticism, even vilification. Though hard pressed he retains throughout an attitude of respect. He must be regarded as the example of the shape Christianity might have taken had it been formed in the semitic-Iranian Orient, a region quite free from the legacy of pagan Greco-Roman anti-Semitism. In the Iranian Empire, the Jewish-Christian argument was carried on heatedly, but entirely within reasonable limits, along exegetical historical lines, through generally rational and pointed discussion." (113)

The first ten of Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*, composed in 336–7, present a systematic account of Christianity. The remaining thirteen deal with aspects of the relation of Christianity to Judaism. *Demonstrations XI - XXII* were written in 344–5, and *Demonstration XXIII* in the winter of 344–5. However, although we know the dates of his *Demonstrations*, we know little for certain about Aphrahat himself. The name Aphrahat is Persian. According to a tradition recorded in the title of *Demonstration XIII* he was named Jacob. (Hence, perhaps, the Armenian ascription of his works to Jacob of Nibisis). According to a tradition recorded in the title of *Demonstration XXIII* he was the prelate of Mar Mattai, the mountain monastery east of Mosul, though it is not possible to verify this. However, as R. Murray notes, "he must have been a figure of some standing to write a letter in the name of a Synod (Dem. XIV)". (114) He appears to have flourished c300–350 AD.

Aphrahat discusses circumcision at length in *Demonstration XI*: "On Circumcision". His argument here is in many respects remarkably similar to that of Justin. (115) This may be because Aphrahat, like Justin, constructs his argument around certain Old Testament Testimonia. It is possible, however, that Aphrahat is actually dependent upon Justin, or a

tradition stemming from him. Tatian, who produced the *Diatessaron* (a Syriac harmony of the Gospels), spent several years at Rome where he became a pupil of Justin Martyr, before returning to his native Assyria (either Adiabene or Edessa) in 172 AD. Aphrahat may, therefore, have been acquainted with Justin's argument by means of Tatian.

Like Justin, Aphrahat argues that the true circumcision is that which is of the heart (Deuteronomy 10:16; Jeremiah 4:4; 9:25–26). Further, like Justin, Aphrahat sees circumcision as a figure for the response to the Gospel. In his typological exposition of the second circumcision of Joshua 5:2 Aphrahat explicitly links the knives of stone with which Joshua circumcised the people with the reference in Hebrews 4:12 to the word of God as a two-edged sword:

> "Joshua the son of Nun circumcised the people a second time with knives of stone when he and his people crossed the Jordan. Joshua [Jesus] our redeemer a second time circumcised the peoples who believed in him with the circumcision of the heart, and they were baptized and circumcised with "the knife which is his word which is sharper than the two-edged sword (Heb.4:12). Joshua the son of Nun led the people across to the Land of Promise; and Joshua our redeemer promised the land of the living to whoever passed through the true Jordan, believed, and circumcised the foreskin of his heart." (XI:12).

This extract indicates that Aphrahat particularly associated the second circumcision with baptism. Two further extracts illustrate this.

> "They find life who are circumcised in their hearts and who circumcise themselves a second time on the true Jordan, the baptism of the forgiveness of sins." (XI:11). "Blessed are those whose hearts are circumcised from the foreskin and who are born through water, the second circumcision, for they are inheritors with Abraham, the head of the believers and the father of all peoples, whose faith was reckoned for him as righteousness. (XI:12).

Clearly, however, baptism for Aphrahat is only called a circumcision because the circumcision of the heart culminates in being baptized. This is clear also from *Demonstration XII: "On the Passover Sacrifice"*. In s8 and

s9 Aphrahat explains how the regulations concerning the celebration of the Jewish Passover are fulfilled in the Passion of Christ and in the Christian Church. Concerning the requirement in Exodus 12:44 that a servant bought for money may only partake of the Passover after he has been circumcised, Aphrahat argues:

> "the servant who is bought is the 'man who sins and is bought with the blood of the messiah.' After he circumcises his heart from evil deeds, then he progresses to baptism, the fulfillment of the true circumcision, is joined with the people of God, and added to the body and the blood of the Messiah." (s9)

Aphrahat has developed his argument concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relation to baptism without explicit reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12. This may, perhaps, be due to the fact that Aphrahat is writing with Jews in mind, and possibly also those who were thinking of forsaking Christianity for Judaism, and thus has worked out his ideas primarily in Old Testament language and in relation to Old Testament texts. In the following section, however, he does refer to Colossians 2:12:

> "Israel was baptized in the midst of the sea on that night of the paschal sacrifice, on the day of redemption. Our redeemer washed the feet of his disciples on the night of the paschal sacrifice, [which is] the mystery of baptism. You should know, my beloved, it was on that night that our redeemer gave the true baptism, for so long as he was wandering with his disciples, they were baptized with the baptism of the law of the priests, the baptism of which Jesus spoke, "Repent from your sins" (Matthew 3:2). On that night he showed them the mystery of the Passion of his death, as the apostle said, 'You were buried with him in baptism unto death, and you rose with him by the power of God.' (Romans 6:3; Colossians 2:12)." (XII:10)

Although this is only a brief allusion to Colossians 2:12, it is nonetheless significant in that it indicates that Aphrahat had Paul's comments in Colossians 2:11 and 12 in mind, and that he probably, therefore, had them in mind in his exposition of the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relation to baptism, seeing in them New Testament confirmation of the typological interpretation of the second circumcision in Joshua 5:2.

We must be cautious in going beyond this conclusion and attempting to use Aphrahat's general comments concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relation to baptism to reconstruct how he interpreted these verses. Indeed, the allusion to Colossians 2:12 here does not help us to ascertain how he understood this verse. Nonetheless we can say is that Aphrahat's emphasis in *Demonstration XI* s4, s5 and s10 upon circumcision being of no value without faith, and the connection between belief and baptism in *Demonstration XI*: 11 and 12 and *Demonstration XII*: 9 suggest that he probably understood *ἐνεργείας* in Colossians 2:12 as an objective genitive, and the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the baptized's faith in the power of God; and that the Joshua-Jesus typology suggests that he understood *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, and the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* to refer to a circumcision that Christ effects by means of his teaching.

Aphrahat's argument in these two Demonstrations is, however, very instructive for our understanding of the way in which the analogy between circumcision and baptism developed in the Patristic Period. It reminds us that the way in which the analogy developed in both the Greek and Latin speaking churches, in which the spiritual typology of Justin, which viewed circumcision as a type of that which is effected in the inward spiritual life of the believer, was gradually replaced by the sacramental typology, which viewed the Jewish rite of circumcision as a type of the Christian rite of baptism, was by no means a necessary, or even a logical development.

Finally, with regard to Aphrahat. It is appropriate to note that Aphrahat's argument in these two *Demonstrations* makes it highly improbable that if, as we have no reason to doubt, Aphrahat's argument here is representative of East Syrian theology in the first half of the fourth century, the analogy between circumcision and baptism was used as an argument for infant baptism in the East Syrian Church at this time. Aphrahat's view that the true circumcision is that of the heart, in response to Christian teaching, which leads to baptism, clearly presupposes the baptism of adults and precludes the possible extension of the analogy between circumcision and

baptism to mean that because infants were circumcised, so now infants may be baptized. Indeed, fundamental to Aphrahat's argument here in these two *Demonstrations*, is St. Paul's argument in Galatians 3 and Romans 4 that circumcision does not itself establish righteousness, but is a sign and seal of a prior righteousness by faith. The argument that although this was the case with Abraham himself, since his descendants were circumcised in their infancy, the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that children of believing parents may be baptized does not appear to have occurred to him. Rather, he rightly upholds St. Paul's argument in Galatians 3 that the true sons of Abraham are not his physical descendants, but those who, like him, believe in God. Noting that not only the Jews, but also some heathen nations practice circumcision, he maintains that,

> "there is no profit in circumcision without faith. But anyone who circumcises the foreskin of his heart believes, [thereby] lives and becomes a son of Abraham. As is fulfilled in the word which God spoke to Abraham, "I have made you the father of a multitude of peoples "(Gen.17:5)." (XI:10; cf.XI:12 cited above p.321).

One becomes a son of Abraham through personal faith, not physical descent, whether from Abraham or Christian parents.

Jeremias maintains that the silence of the East Syrian Church concerning infant baptism was due to the influence of gnostic asceticism, which demanded celibacy as a condition for baptism, (116) though he recognises that this requirement had been relaxed by the time of Aphrahat. (117) "Where this gnostic ascetic tendency was prevalent," he maintains, "there was obviously no place for infant baptism." (118) Whatever the validity of this argument, it is clear from these two *Demonstrations* that this certainly was not the only, or indeed the main reason for the silence of the East Asyrian Church concerning infant baptism. The argument throughout these two *Demonstrations* is that true circumcision is of the heart, a faith-response to the gospel, expressed in baptism. It was the belief that faith is a pre-requisite for baptism that is the real reason for the silence of the East Syrian Church concerning infant baptism. Indeed, as I have already suggested, the analogy

between circumcision and baptism, when undersood in this way probably delayed rather than precipitated the use of infant baptism.

4.3.9 Ephraem the Syrian (c306–373): Commentary on Colossians

Ephraem the Syrian was born of Christian parents at or near Nibisis, probably about 306 A.D. It is probable that he was a "Son of the Covenant", that is a member of a group of lay Christian ascetics who may have been influenced by the Essenes. He was deeply rooted in the Jewish-Christian tradition.

Ephraem wrote a commentary on all the Pauline Epistles. It takes the form of a "running commentary", that is to say that the comment is not printed separately from the text which is, rather, interspersed with brief explanatory notes. According to R. Murray (119) he probably knew no Greek. I am dependent here upon the Latin translation by the Mekitharist monks. (See Bibliography A). Ephraem's text of the Pauline Epistles has been reconstructed by J. Molitor. (120)

> Atque *in ipso circumcisi estis, non circumcisione* Hebræorum, *quæ fit* istrumentu *manus in expoliatione carnis*, cum videlicet expoliatur membrum circumcisum, *sed in circumcisione Christi ;* ea est baptismus Christi, qui exuit vos veterem humanitatem vestram.
>
> Et *in eo resurrexistis* cum eo *per fidem* ; idest per fidem vestram de resurrectione quasi resurrexistis cum illo, antequam lapsi fuissetis, in virtute Dei. Siquidem propter hoc suscitavit illum a mortuis, ut daret nobis acquirere fidem resurrectionis mortuorum.

The fact that the Mekitharists put the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" in italics suggests that there was a similar conjunction in the Syriac text of Colossians 2:11. Such an addition requires that the Syriac equivalent to *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* be taken to refer to the removal of the

foreskin in carnal circumcision. Ephraem certainly understands the phrase in this way.

The omission of "corporis" in the Latin translation of Colossians 2:11 suggests that Ephraem's Syriac text of Colossians 2:11 had no equivalent to *τοῦ σώματος*. There is certainly no hint of such an equivalent in Ephraem's own comment on this verse. Evidently Ephraem understod the Syriac equivalent to *τῆς σαρκός* in a literal sense, referring to the foreskin.

Cyprian's Latin text of Colossians 2:11, as we have seen, also omits "corporis" and reads the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". There may also have been an early Greek text of Colossians 2:11 which omitted *τοῦ σώματος* and read *ἀλλά* before *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. I would emphasize, however, that these variant readings may simply be due to those responsible for translating Colossians 2:11 into Latin in the one case and Syriac in the other taking *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. On this view the genitive *σαρκός* would have been understood as a genitive of apposition or identity, and some addition was appropriate to make clear that, on this view of Colossians 2:11, carnal circumcision was being contrasted with the circumcision of Christ.

Once again, it is appropriate to note that the view that Paul in Colossians 2:11b is contrasting carnal circumcision with the circumcision of Christ occurs in a situation in which Christians were in conflict with the Jews. This, as I have already suggested, is the probable context in which this view arose, and the origin of the addition "sed", and, in this case, its Syrian equivalent.

"qui" in the statement "qui exuit vos veterem humanitatem vestram" is ambiguous. It could refer to baptism, or to Christ. However, the fact that in his comment on Colossians 3:9 Ephraem speaks of putting on the new man "through baptism" ("per baptismum") suggests that it refers to baptism.

Ephraem understands "the circumcision of Christ" to mean "the baptism of Christ." Circumcision is, for Ephraem, a figure for the actual rite of baptism itself.

"in eo" in the Latin translation of Colossians 2:12b is also ambiguous.

Again it could refer either to baptism or to Christ. The Mekitharist translation does not include "cum eo" in italics, indicating that he took the underlying Syriac here to be Ephraem's own comment, not part of the Syriac text of Colossians 2:12b. If this were the case, it would suggest that Ephraem took the Syriac equivalent to "in eo" to refer to baptism, for if "in eo" was understood to refer to Christ, "cum eo" would be superfluous. On the other hand, if "in eo" was taken to refer to baptism, why, we may ask, did Ephraem add "cum eo"? It is possible that this may have been due to his general theological perspective, or, perhaps, due to the influence of Colossians 3:1. It seems to me, however, that the fact that the Latin translation has "resurrexistis", not "conresurrexistis" or "surrexistis" suggests that the Syriac underlying "cum eo" may actually have been part of the Syriac text of Colossians 2:12b, representing the *συν* in the Greek *συνηγέρθητε*.

I note that in Ephraem's own comment on Colossians 2:12b the Latin translation has "resurrexistis cum illo" not "cum eo", which, if it represents a difference in the underlying Syriac, may suggest that the Syriac underlying "cum eo" and "cum illo" is Ephraem's own comment, not part of the Syriac text of this verse. However, the Latin translation of Colossians 3:2 has "consurrexistis" and since *συνηγέρθητε* occurs in both Colossians 2:12b and Colossians 3:2, it is reasonable to assume that the Syriac was the same in both cases, and that the Syriac underlying "cum eo" was thus part of the Syriac text not Ephraem's own comment.

Unfortunately, therefore, we are not in a position to determine whether Ephraem took the Syriac equivalent to *ἐν ᾧ* in Colossians 2:12b to refer to baptism or to Christ.

It is clear from Ephraem's comment here, however, that he understood the Syriac equivalent to *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ* to mean our faith in the power of God. If this was explicit in the Syriac text of Colossians 2:12b it would indicate that the translators took the genitive *ἐνεργείας* as an objective rather than a subjective genitive. In his comment on Colossians 3:1 Ephraem explains this resurrection with Christ to have taken place in faith ("in fide"), in a spiritual sense ("spiritualia videlicit sapite").

Chapter 5

WESTERN EXEGESIS AFTER NICAEA

Introduction

Although no major theologians or exegetes emerged in the Western Church in the first half of the fourth century, there was a flowering of Latin Patristic Literature in the second half of the fourth century. Initially, Western writers such as Hilary, Ambrose and Jerome turned to the East for inspiration, and thereby much Eastern theology passed into the West. The works of a number of Greek writers were also made known in the Latin translations of Jerome and Rufinus.

Latin writers do not fall so neatly into families as do Greek writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The prominence of the see of Rome meant that there was a greater cohesion between the different parts of the Western Church, and generally speaking a greater unity of thought and practice than was the case in the Eastern Church. I have, therefore, treated Latin writers in more or less chronological order.

Only five Latin writers are known to have written commentaries on the Pauline Epistles: Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine and Pelagius. Of these, only Ambrosiaster and Pelagius wrote commentaries on Colossians. Quite a number of quotations and allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 have, however, been preserved in more general works by a variety of

Latin writers.

5.1 Hilary of Poitiers (died 367/8): On the Trinity: Book I:13 and Book IX:9–12

Hilary's treatise *On the Trinity* was completed during his exile in Phrygia (356–360), (1) though it is probable that the first three books were completed before then. Hilary himself acknowledges that there was a delay between writing them and the beginning of the fourth book, (2) and the term *ὁμοούσιος*, which Hilary tells us he had not heard of prior to 355, (3) does not occur in the first three books, despite its appropriateness to his theme, whereas it occurs frequently thereafter.

The title *On the Trinity* is not original, being no older than the sixth century, and is to some extent a misnomer since the work is not a discussion of the entire doctrine of the trinity, but rather a defence of the deity and consubstantiality of the Son against the teaching of Arianism. It is the first systematic refutation of Arianism by a Western writer, and was the means by which the orthodoxy of the Greek-speaking church concerning the person of Christ was made known to the West.

In Book I, after a brief account of his conversion from paganism, Hilary both affirms the deity of Christ and emphasizes that in becoming man he assumed a truly human nature, without ceasing to be God, and thereby deified man (s10–12). He quotes Colossians 2:8–15 to confirm and develop his argument:

> **13.** Ac ne in aliquo saecularis prudentiae tardaretur errore, ad piae confessionis huius absolutissimam fidem ita insuper per apostolum dictis diuinis edocetur: *Videte ne quis uos spoliet per filosofiam et inanem deceptionem secundum traditionem hominum secundum elementa mundi et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter. In quo et circumcisi estis, circumcisione non manu facta in expoliatione corporis carnis sed circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismate, in quo et resurrexistis per*

fidem operationis Dei, qui excitauit eum a mortuis. Et uos cum essetis in delictis et praeputiatione carnis uestrae, uiuificauit cum illo, donatis uobis omnibus delictis, delens quod aduersum nos erat chirografum in sententiis, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit e medio, adfigens illud cruci, exutus carne, et potestates ostentui fecit, triumfatis his cum fiducia in semetipso.

Respuit captiosas et inutiles filosofiae quaestiones fides constans, neque humanarum ineptiarum fallaciis succumbens spolium se praebet ueritas falsitati: non secundum sensum communis intellegentiae Deum retinens, neque de Christo secundum mundi elementa decernens, in quo diuinitatis plenitudo corporaliter inhabitet: ut dum infinitas aeternae in eo est potestatis, omnem terrenae mentis amplexum potestas aeternae infinitatis excedat. Qui nos ad diuinitatis suae naturam trahens, non etiamnum corporali praeceptorum obseruatione distrinxerit, neque per legis umbram ad sollemnia desecandae carnis inbuerit, sed ut omnem naturalem corporis necessitatem circumcisus a uitiis spiritus criminum emundatione purgaret. Cuius morti consepeliremur in baptismo, ut in aeternitatis uitam rediremus: dum regeneratio ad uitam mors esset ex uita, et morientes uitiis inmortalitati renasceremur, ipso pro nobis ex inmortalitate moriente, ut ad inmortalitatem una cum eo excitaremur ex morte. Carnem enim peccati recepit, ut in adsumptione carnis nostrae delicta donaret, dum eius fit particeps adsumptione non crimine; delens per mortem sententiam mortis, ut noua in se nostri generis creatione constitutionem decreti anteriores aboleret; cruci se permittens, ut maledicto crucis obliterata terrenae damnationis maledicta configeret omnia; ad ultimum in homine passus, ut potestates dehonestaret, dum Deus secundum scribturas moriturus et in his uincentis in se fiducia triumfaret, dum inmortalis ipse neque morte uincendus pro morientium aeternitate moreretur.

Haec itaque ultra naturae humanae intellegentiam a Deo gesta non succumbunt rursum naturalibus mentium sensibus, quia infinitae aeternitatis operatio infinitam metiendi exigat opinionem: ut cum Deus homo, cum inmortalis mortuus, cum aeternus sepultus est, non sit intellegentiae ratio sed potestatis exceptio, ita rursum ex contrario non sensus sed uirtutis modus sit, ut Deus ex homine, ut inmortalis ex mortuo, ut aeternus sit ex sepulto. Coexcitamur ergo a Deo in Christo per mortem eius. Sed dum in Christo plenitudo est diuinitatis, habemus et significationem Dei Patris nos coexcitantis in mortuo, et Christum Iesum non aliud quam Deum in diuinitatis plenitudine confitendum.

13. "And lest the soul should stray and linger in some delusion of heathen philosophy, it receives this further lesson of perfect

loyalty to the holy faith, taught by the Apostle in words inspired: 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ; for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and ye are made full in Him, Which is the Head of all principality and power; in Whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in putting off the body of the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ; buried with Him in Baptism, wherein also ye have risen again through faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead. And you, when ye were dead in sins and in the uncircumcision of your flesh, He hath quickened with Him having forgiven you all your sins, blotting out the bond which was against us by is ordinances, which was contrary to us; and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the Cross; and having put off the flesh He made a show of powers openly triumphing over them through confidence in Himself.' Steadfast faith rejects the vain subtleties of philosophic enquiry; truth refuses to be vanquished by these treacherous devices of human folly, and enslaved by falsehood. It will not confine God within the limits which bound our common reason, nor judge after the rudiments of the world concerning Christ, in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in such wise that the utmost efforts of the earthly mind to comprehend Him are baffled by that immeasurable Eternity and Omnipotence. My soul judged of Him as One Who, drawing us upward to partake of His own Divine nature, has loosened henceforth the bond of bodily observances; Who, unlike the Symbolic Law, has initiated us into no rites of mutilating the flesh, but Whose purpose is that our spirit, circumcised from vice, should purify all the natural faculties of the body by abstinence from sin, that we being buried with His Death in Baptism may return to the life of eternity (since regeneration to life is death to the former life), and dying to our sins be born again to immortality, that even as He abandoned His immortality to die for us, so should we awaken from death to immortality with Him. For He took upon Him the flesh in which we have sinned that by wearing our flesh He might forgive sins; a flesh which He shares with us by wearing it, not by sinning in it. He blotted out through death the sentence of death, that by a new creation of our race in Himself He might sweep away the penalty appointed by the former Law. He let them nail Him to the cross that He might nail to the curse of the cross and abolish all the curses to which

the world is condemned. He suffered as man to the utmost that He might put powers to shame. For Scripture had foretold that He Who is God should die; that the victory and triumph of them that trust in Him lay in the fact that He, Who is immortal and cannot be overcome by death, was to die that mortals might gain eternity. These deeds of God, wrought in a manner beyond our comprehension, cannot, I repeat, be understood by our natural faculties, for the work of the Infinite and Eternal can only be grasped by an infinite intelligence. Hence, just as the truths that God became man, that the Immortal died, that the Eternal was buried, do not belong to the rational order but are an unique work of power, so on the other hand it is an effect not of intellect but of omnipotence that He Who is man is also God, that He Who died is immortal, that He Who was buried is eternal. We, then, are raised together by God in Christ 'through His death'. But, since in Christ there is the fulness of the Godhead, we have herein a revelation of God the Father joining to raise us in Him Who died; and we must confess that Christ Jesus is none other than God in all the fulness of the Deity."

Hilary develops his argument at greater length in Book IX (s3–7) where he again quotes Colossians 2:8–15 to confirm and develop it. It is equally perilous, he maintains, to deny either the true divinity or the true humanity of Christ since our redemption is dependent upon the union of these two natures in his person (s3 and 4). He emphasizes that

> "He does not cease to be God because He becomes man, or fail to be man because He remains forever God." (s5)

Rather, through this union he conferred divinity upon man:

> "The assumption of our nature was no advancement for God, but His willingness to lower Himself is our promotion, for He did not resign His divinity but conferred divinity on man." (s6)

Hilary argues that Christ passed through all the circumstances of our nature in order to confer his strength upon our weakness, and interprets the redemptive significance of Christ's death primarily in terms of his victory over the Devil and the spiritual powers of wickedness and iniquity. (s7).

In s8 he argues that in Colossians 2:8–10 Paul demonstrates how both Christ's true deity and his true humanity are essential to our salvation, for there he speaks of the mystery of our assumption in Christ, and shows how our fulness "in him" is dependent upon the fact that "in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily". He continues:

> **8.** Huius igitur sacramenti apostolus conscius et per Dominum ipsum fidei scientiam adeptus, cum non ignoraret incapacem eius esse et mundum et homines et filosofiam, ait: *Videte ne quis uos seducat per filosofiam et inanem deceptionem secundum traditiones hominum secundum elementa mundi et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter, et estis in illo repleti, quod est caput omnis principatus et potestatis.* Exposita itaque habitantis corporaliter diuinitatis in eo plenitudine, sacramentum adsumptionis nostrae continuo subiecit dicens: *Estis in eo repleti.* Vt enim in eo diuinitatis est plenitudo, ita nos in eo sumus repleti. Neque sane ait: "estis repleti", sed: *in eo estis repleti.* Quia per fidei spem in uitam aeternam regenerati ac regenerandi omnes nunc in Christi corpore manent repleti, replendis postea ipsis non iam in eo, sed in ipsis, secundum tempus illud de quo apostolus ait: *Qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conforme corporis gloriae suae.* Nunc igitur in eo repleti sumus, id est per adsumptionem carnis eius, in qua diuinitatis plenitudo corporaliter inhabitat. Et huius spei nostrae non exigua in eo potestas est. Namque quod repleti in eo sumus, hoc est caput ac principium omnis potestatis, secundum illud: *Vt in nomine suo omne genu flectat caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Iesus in gloria Dei Patris.* Confessio itaque haec erit, Iesum in gloria Dei Patris et natum in homine iam non in infirmitate corporis nostri manere, sed in Dei gloria. Et hoc lingua omnis confitebitur. Et cum caelestia et terrestria genu flectent, hoc caput omnis principatus et potestatis est, ut ei uniuersa genu flectendo subiecta sint in quo sumus repleti, et qui per habitantem in se corporaliter diuinitatis plenitudinem in Dei Patris sit gloria confitendus.
>
> **9.** Demonstrato autem et naturae suae et adsumptionis nostrae sacramento, cum in eo plenitudine diuinitatis manente, nos in eo per id quod homo natus est repleamur, reliquam dispensationem humanae salutis exsequitur dicens: *In quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in expoliatione corporis carnis, sed in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismate, in quo et conresurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui excitauit eum a mortuis.* Circumcidimur

itaque non circumcisione carnali, sed circumcisione Christi, id est in nouum hominem renati. Cum enim consepelimur baptismati eius, mori nos necesse est ex uetere homine, quia regeneratio baptismi resurrectionis est uirtus. Et haec circumcisio Christi est, non expoliari carne praeputii, sed totos commori ei, et per id totos postea ei uiuere. In eo enim resurgimus per eius Dei fidem, qui eum suscitauit a mortuis. Credendus ergo Deus est, cuius operatione Christus excitatus a mortuis est, quia fides ista conresurgit in Christo.

10. Consummatur deinde ita omne adsumpti hominis sacramentum : *Et uos mortui cum essetis in delictis et praeputio carnis uestrae, uiuificauit cum illo, donatis uobis omnibus delictis, delens quod aduersum nos erat chirografum in sententiis, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio, adfigens illud cruci exutus carne, et potestates ostentui esse fecit, triumfatis his in semetipso.* Apostolicam fidem saeculi homo non capit, et sensus sui dicta alius praeterquam ipsius sermo non explicat. Deus Christum a mortuis excitat, et Christum in quo corporaliter diuinitatis plenitudo inhabitat. Sed conuiuificauit nos cum illo, donans nobis peccata et delens chirografum legis peccati, quod per sententias anteriores contrarium nobis erat, hoc tollens de medio et cruci adfigens, mortis lege carne se spolians, potestates ostentui reddens, triumfatis his in semetipso. Et de triumfatis potestatibus in semetipso adque ostentui redditis, deletoque chirografo, uiuificatisque nobis, iam superius tractauimus.

Hoc uero sacramentum quis uel adpraehendet uel eloquetur? Suscitat operatio Dei Christum a mortuis, et haec eadem Dei operatio nos uiuificat cum Christo, et haec eadem operatio donat peccata, chirografum delet, adfigit cruci, carne se exuit, potestates ostentui reddit, ac de his in semetipso triumfat. Habes operationem Dei Christum a mortuis excitantis, habes et Christum haec ipsa in se quae Deus operatur operantem. Christus enim mortuus est carne se spolians. Tene ergo Christum hominem a Deo ex mortuis excitatum, tene Deum Christum salutis nostrae operationes cum esset moriturus operantem. Vt cum haec Deus operatur in Christo, operans licet Deus, spolians se tamen Christus carne moriturus sit ; et cum mortuus est Christus, operans ante mortem Deus, mortuum tamen Christum operatio Dei excitet : cum ipse sit Christum a mortuis excitans qui est ante mortem Christus operatus, et idem sit spolians se carne moriturus.

11. Iamne apostolicae fidei sacramentum intellegis ? Iamne Christum cognitum habes ? Quaero enim a te, qui sit carne se spolians et quae sit caro illa spoliata ? Duplicis enim intellegentiae ab apostolo teneo significationem, spoliatae carnis seque carne spoliantis. Et inter haec Christum audio per operationem Dei a mortuis excitatum. Et cum sit Christum a mortuis excitans Deus, sitque et Christus excitatus a mortuis, interrogo quis est carne se spolians et quis est Christum a mortuis excitans nosque uiuificans cum Christo ?

Si enim non idem est Christus mortuus qui est caro spoliata, carnis spoliatae nomen ostende, et rursum naturam eius, qui se carne spoliauit, expone. Eundem enim esse inuenio Deum Christum a mortuis excitatum, qui se carne spoliauit. Et rursum spoliatam carnem Christum esse a mortuis excitatum, deinde principatus et potestates ostentui reddentem et triumfantem repperio in semetipso.

Intellegisne hunc triumfantem potestates in semetipso? Sentisne quod a se non differat caro spoliata et carne se spolians? In semetipso enim triumfat, id est in ea qua se carne spoliauit. Videsne ita Deum et hominem praedicari, ut mors homini, Deo uero carnis excitatio deputetur, non tamen ut alius sit qui mortuus est, et alius sit per quem mortuus resurgit? Spoliata enim caro Christus est mortuus, et rursum Christum a mortuis excitans idem Christus est carne se spolians. Naturam Dei in uirtute resurrectionis intellege, dispensationem hominis in morte cognosce. Et cum sint utraque suis gesta naturis, unum tamen Christum Iesum eum memento esse qui utrumque est.

12. Quamquam enim meminerim frequenter ad Deum Patrem per apostolum referri, Christum esse a mortuis excitatum. Sed non est apostolus extra euangelicam fidem dicti sui ipse contrarius, maxime Domino dicente: *Propter hoc me Pater diligit, quod ego pono animam meam, ut iterum accipiam eam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et potestatem habeo iterum accipiendi eam. Hoc mandatum accepi a Patre.* Vel cum postulatum ab eo esset, ut signum ad fidem de se ostenderet, ait de templo corporis sui: *Soluite hoc templum, et ego in triduo suscitabo illud.* Cum enim et per accipiendae animae potestatem et per suscitandi templi uirtutem ipsum se sibi resurrectionis suae Deum doceat, — totum hoc tamen ad mandati paterni referens auctoritatem, — non contrarie intellegitur apostolus Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam praedicans, omnem operis sui magnificentiam per id ad Patris gloriam rettulisse, quia quidquid Christus gerit, uirtus Dei et sapientia gerit, et quidquid Dei uirtus et sapientia gerit, Deus sine dubio gerit, cuius et sapientia est Christus et uirtus. Denique nunc per operationem Dei excitatus Christus a mortuis est, quia opera Dei Patris ipse natura a Deo non differenti operatus est. Et in eo Deo resurrectionis fides est, qui Christum suscitauit a mortuis.

9. "But after the announcement of the mystery of Christ's nature, and our assumption, that is, the fulness of Godhead abiding in Christ, and ourselves made full in Him by His birth as man, the Apostle continues the dispensation of human salvation in the words, 'In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the stripping off of the body of the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with

Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead.' We are circumcised not with a fleshly circumcision but with the circumcision of Christ, that is, we are born again into a new man; for, being buried with Him in His baptism, we must die to the old man, because the regeneration of baptism has the force of resurrection. The circumcision of Christ does not mean the putting off of foreskins, but to die entirely with Him, and by that death to live henceforth entirely to Him. For we rise again in Him through faith in God, Who raised Him from the dead; wherefore we must believe in God, by Whose Working Christ was raised from the dead, for our faith rises again in and with Christ.

10. "Then is completed the entire mystery of the assumed manhood, 'And you being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you I say, did He quicken together with Him, having forgiven you all your trespasses, blotting out the bond written in ordinances, that was against us, which was contrary to us; and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross, and having put off from Himself His flesh, He hath made a shew of powers, triumphing over them in Himself.' The worldly man cannot receive the faith of the Apostle, nor can any language but that of the Apostle explain his meaning. God raised Christ from the dead; Christ in Whom the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily. But He quickened us also together with Him, forgiving us our sins, blotting out the bond of the law of sin, which through the ordinances made aforetime was against us, taking it out of the way, and fixing it to His cross, stripping Himself of His flesh by the law of death, holding up the powers to shew, and triumphing over them in Himself. Concerning the powers and how He triumphed over them in Himself, and held them up to shew, and the bond which he blotted out, and the life which He gave us, we have already spoken. But who can understand or express this mystery? The working of God raises Christ from the dead; the same working of God quickens us together with Christ, forgives our sins, blots out the bond, and fixes it to the cross; He puts off from Himself His flesh, holds up the powers to shew, and triumphs over them in Himself. We have the working of God raising Christ from the dead, and we have Christ working in Himself the very things which God works in Him, for it was Christ who dies, stripping from Himself His flesh. Hold fast then to Christ the man, raised from the dead by God,

and hold fast to Christ the God, working out our salvation when He was yet to die. God works in Christ, but it is Christ Who strips from Himself His flesh and dies. It was Christ who died, and Christ Who worked with the power of God before His death, yet it was the working of God which raised the dead Christ, and it was none other who raised Christ from the dead but Christ Himself, Who worked before His death, and put off His flesh to die.

11. "Do you understand already the Mysteries of the Apostle's Faith? Do you think to know Christ already? Tell me, then, Who is it Who strips from Himself His flesh, and what is that flesh stripped Off? I see two thoughts expressed by the Apostle, the flesh stripped off, and Him Who strips it off: and then I hear of Christ raised from the dead by the working of God. If it is Christ Who is raised from the dead, and God Who raises Him: Who pray, strips from Himself the flesh? Who raises Christ from the dead, and quickens us with Him? If the dead Christ be not the same as the flesh stripped off, tell me the name of the flesh stripped off, and expound me the nature of Him Who strips it off. I find that Christ the God, Who was raised from the dead, is the same as He Who stripped from Himself His flesh, and that flesh, the same as Christ Who was raised from the dead; then I see Him holding principalities and powers up to shew, and triumphing in Himself. Do you understand this triumphing in Himself? Do you perceive that the flesh stripped off, and He Who strips it off, are not different from one another. He triumphs in Himself, that is in that flesh which He stripped from Himself. Do you see that thus are proclaimed His humanity and His divinity, that death is attributed to the man, and the quickening of the flesh to the God, though He Who dies and He Who raises the dead to life are not two, but one Person? The flesh stripped off is the dead Christ: He Who raises Christ from the dead is the same Christ Who stripped from Himself the flesh. See His divine nature in the power to raise again, and recognise in His death the dispensation of His manhood. And though either function is performed by its proper nature, yet remember that He Who died, and raised to life, was one, Christ Jesus.

12. "I remember that the Apostle often refers to God the Father as raising Christ from the dead; but he is not inconsistent with himself or at variance with the Gospel faith, for the Lord Himself says:- 'Therefore doth the Father love Me, because I lay down

> My life, that I may take it again. No one shall take it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command have I received from the Father': and again, when asked to shew a sign concerning Himself, that they might believe in Him, He says of the Temple of His body, 'Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' By the power to take His soul again and to raise the Temple up, He declares Himself God, and the Resurrection His own work; yet He refers all to the authority of His Father's command. This is not contrary to the meaning of the Apostle when He proclaims Christ, the 'power of God and the wisdom of God,' thus referring all the magnificence of His work to the glory of the Father: for whatever Christ does, the power and the wisdom of God does: and whatever the power and the wisdom of God does, without doubt God Himself does, Whose power and wisdom Christ is. So Christ was raised from the dead by the working of God; for He Himself worked the works of God the Father with a nature indistinguishable from God's. And our faith in the Resurrection rests on the God Who raised Christ from the dead."

Since Hilary's general argument and his interpretation of Colossians 2:12 and 12 is substantially the same in Book I and Book IX we may conveniently deal with these two references together.

Before considering in detail how Hilary understood Colossians 2:11 and 12 it is important to note that Hilary's understanding of the human nature that Christ assumed was influenced by what Kelly terms "The Platonic conception of human nature as a universal reality." (4) Kelly notes that in Book II s25 of *On the Trinity* Hilary maintains that by taking a single flesh into himself Christ inhabited flesh in its entirety, and that in Book II s24 he argues that the Son of God assumed human flesh "so the body of the human race as a whole might be sanctified in Him through association with this mixture." (5) The same thought lies behind the statement in Book I s3 that "all who are, or who shall be regenerated through the faith of hope to life eternal, abide even now in the body of Christ." Thus there is a sense in which, for Hilary, all men were "in Christ" in virtue of his assumption of human flesh. There is clearly a sense in which for Hilary that which happened to our human nature in general is only personally attributed to

the individual in baptism. E. W. Watson notes (6) that Hilary drew a clear distinction between the human soul and the human body. The soul of each man is individual, and separately created by God ex nihilo, like the universe. The body, however, is engendered from Adam. For Hilary, he notes, "the relation of mankind with Christ is not through His human soul; it was 'the nature of the universal flesh' which He took that has made us one with Him in the Incarnation". (7) Christ the second Adam, assumed a heavenly body, and thus the universality of His body "is assured by the absence of any individual human paternity which would have isolated Him from others." (8)

Baptism, as Hilary explains in his commentary on Psalm 91 (s9), is the means by which we "enter into fellowship with the flesh of Christ", through which union our bodies are transformed into his body, and changed from wretchedness into the glory of his flesh. After receiving "the sacrament of new birth", he maintains, the baptized "do not have their flesh, but Christ's."

In both Book I and Book IX Hilary reads the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". This requires that "in expoliatione corporis carnis" be taken to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, and that "non manufacta" be taken as introducing an adjectival clause contrasting the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ with carnal circumcision.

Hilary himself clearly understands v11 in this way.

> "We are circumcised," he maintains, "not with a fleshly circumcision but with the circumcision of Christ." (IX:9)

However, Hilary understood there to be a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in the circumcision of Christ. To be circumcised with the circumcision of Christ is to be

> "born again into a new man." (ibid.)

Indeed, Hilary explicitly states that

> "The circumcision of Christ does not mean the putting off of foreskins, but to die entirely with him." (ibid.)

Similarly in Book I he maintains that Christ,

> "unlike the Symbolic Law, has initiated us into no rites of mutilating the flesh, but [his] purpose is that our spirit, circumcised from vice, should purify all the natural faculties of the body by the abstinence from sin." (s13).

The reference here to the circumcision of the spirit is probably due to the influence of Romans 2:29, ἐν πνεύματι being understood as a locative rather than an instrumental dative. The reference here to the Symbolic Law indicates that Hilary understood carnal circumcision to prefigure the circumcision of Christ.

The last two extracts indicate that Hilary understood circumcision, at one level at least, to be a figure for an inner transformation and change effected in the life of the believer. It is clear from both Book I:s13 and Book IX:s9 that he understood this to be effected in baptism.

At the same time, however, it would appear that Hilary also understood circumcision to be a figure for the actual rite of baptism itself. Not only does he speak of both circumcision and baptism effecting a death to the old man and a re-birth of the new, but in Book IX:s8 he refers to baptism as "his baptism (baptismate ejus)". There is no indication here that he has in mind Christ's baptism in the Jordan, or his death viewed metaphorically as a baptism. Indeed, in s9 of the Commentary on Psalm 91 the phrase "baptismo ejus" is equivalent to the phrase "sacramentum novae nativitatis". Rather, "baptismate ejus" forms a parallel to "in circumcisione Christi" in Colossians 2:11 and indicates that Hilary understood this phrase to be a periphrasis for the rite of baptism. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no emphasis in either Book I or Book IX upon Christ as the active agent of this circumcision. It would appear, therefore, that Hilary understood circumcision to be a figure for both the inner effects and the outward rite of baptism.

The statement "Coexcitamur a Deo in Christo" in Book I:s13 suggests that Hilary understood "quo" in Colossians 2:12b to be masculine, referring to Christ. (Compare the statement "in eo resurgimus" in Book IX:s9). Hilary also states that "baptism has the force of resurrection" (IX:9) which indicates that he understood the resurrection in Christ to be effected in baptism.

In the quotation of Colossians 2:12 in Book I:s13 Hilary reads "resurrexistis" whereas in Book IX:s9 he reads "conresurrexistis". There are in fact a number of differences between Hilary's text of Colossians 2:8–15 in Book I and Book IX which indicate that he used a different text of Colossians on each occasion. For example in v8 he reads "spoliet" in Book I whereas he reads "seducat" in Book IX. Also, in v11 he omits "in" before "circumcisione" in Book I, whereas he reads this in Book IX. (There are several other minor differences). There were a number of recensions of the Old Italian or European version of the Latin Bible, and it is probable that during his exile in Phrygia Hilary used a different copy of Latin text of the Pauline Epistles.

Hilary interprets "operationis" as an objective genitive: "in eo enim resurgimus per eius Dei fidem...Credendus ergo Deus est... ". (IX:9) The inclusion of "eius" here is interesting. Stephen McKenna, (9) in his translation of "On the Trinity" translates the phrase "...through faith in His God", that is taking "fidem" to refer to the Christian's faith in God, and "eius" with "Dei" rather "fidem". This is possible. However, I think it unlikely since it accentuates the possible distinction between "Christ" and "God" and is therefore counter to Hilary's general purpose. Further, if Hilary meant through faith "in His God", the natural way to express this would be "Dei eius", not than "eius Dei". Rather, I think that Hilary's point is that our resurrection is dependent upon Christ's own faith in God: that since, according to Hilary, we were raised in Christ in that Christ assumed a representative human nature which rose when he rose from the dead, resurrection of our nature was dependent upon Christ's own faith in God to raise him from the dead.

Hilary was obviously conscious that the reference to Christ being raised

from the dead by "God" could be taken to imply that Christ is distinct from God and not divine. In Book I:s13 he counters this possible implication by maintaining that by "Dei" God the Father is signified, and reminding his readers that Paul had already sufficiently established the deity of Christ in the statement in v9: that "in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead". In Book IX:s10–12 he advances a more complex argument. He makes two points. First, he notes that the subject of "vivificavit" in v13 is God whereas the subject of "exutus carnem" in v15 is Christ. The fact that the change of subject is not acknowledged is an indication of the Deity of Christ. His argument here is dependent upon that of Novatian: *On the Trinity* c21. (See p.177 above). Although it is not altogether clear from this passage, Hilary, like Novatian, understood "exutus carnem" to refer to Christ's death on the cross. In Book X:s48 he explicitly states that "the Apostle...described the death of Christ as 'stripping off from Himself His flesh'."

Second, he notes that according to Colossians 2:12 "God" raises Christ from the dead, whereas in John 10:17 and 18 amd John 2:29 Jesus says that he will raise himself from death. The fact that the same action is attributed to "God" and to Christ is evidence of the divinity of Christ.

5.2 Zeno of Verona (died c375): Sermons: Book I:13: On Circumcision: s24

In this Easter sermon Zeno considers in depth the Christian attitude towards circumcision. In his opening remarks he refers to pride that Jews have in circumcision (s1 and s2), several times anticipates Jewish objections against his argument (s6 and s8), and addresses Jews directly (s11–14). His purpose in this sermon is thus partly polemical against the Jews. Indeed the sermon falls into two main parts: in the first (s1–18) he explains why it is no longer necessary to observe the Jewish rite of circumcision; in the second (s19–24) he considers the second, spiritual circumcision, namely baptism.

The whole of this sermon is extremely interesting, and a valuable source for our knowledge of the attitude of the Italian church towards circumci-

sion. However, it is his concluding remarks, in which he contrasts carnal circumcision with baptism, the second spiritual circumcision, and in which he quotes Colossians 2:11, that especially concern us.

> XI. **21.** Hoc nos, fratres, sacramento tam uiri quam feminae circumcidimur. Hoc spiritus sancti non signaculo, sed signo censemur. Hac circum|cisione non aliquid perdimus, sed crescere nos augmentis caelestibus inuenimus. Non sanguinem sterili solemnitate dimittimus, sed pudoris sanguinem retinemus, quem ambitiose plerumque effundimus, cum in persecutione pro nomine domini diabolum moriendo uastamus. **22.** Postremo abscindimus, quod habuisse non deberemus, quod ab inimico hominibus superadditum recognoscimus, domino sic dicente : *Simile est regnum caelorum homini, qui seminauit in suo agro bonum semen ; dormientibus autem hominibus uenit inimicus eius et superseminauit zizania in triticum.* Quae necessario radicitus circumcisione diuellimus, ut diri seminis contagione purgati integri in ubertate paterni seminis maneamus. Haec, inquam, non die, non nocte, non hora, non sexu, non aetate, non condicione, non loco, non genere a tribuenda homini salute depellitur, sed gloriosa semper in omnibus inuenitur. **23.** Denique prior circumcisio desecat carnem, secunda animi desecat uitia ; illa ferro, haec spiritu ; illa portionem, haec hominem totum ; illa masculum solum, haec utrumque sexum ; illa praeputium paruae cutis, haec praeputium totius concupiscentiae saecularis ; illa octauo deseruit diei, huic deseruiunt tempora, dies, horae uniuersaque momenta ; illa ante octauum uel post octauum diem nec ipsi morienti puero sub|uenit, haec a cunis ipsis infantiae usque ad supremos exitus cuiusuis aetatis utroque generi salutare munus inpertit ; illa sanguine gaudet, haec gratia ; illa imagine, haec ueritate ; illa damno, haec lucro ; illa agit captiua sub lege, haec omnibus praestat in Christo bonae fidei libertatem. **24.** Igitur uos, qui *circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in spolationem carnis, sed circumcisione domini nostri Iesu Christi*, elaborate, ne uestra integritas mutiletur, ne ingruentium peccatorum rursum, sicut Adae et Euae spiritale praeputium, male repetita nuditas condemnetur, ne nouus homo quicquam Iudaei habere uideatur aut gentis. Ambo enim illi carnales sunt, ambo sine fructu. Vnde dubium non est neque praeputium aliquid esse neque circumcisionem, sed solam obseruationem uoluntatis dei esse fideliter uiuentibus necessariam.

The same texts and arguments occur here as in the African Testimonia concerning circumcision (Tertullian: *Against the Jews*: ii-iii; Cyprian: *Testimonies Against the Jews*: I:8). Indeed Zeno's text of Colossians 2:11 agrees

with that of Cyprian in the omission of "corporis" and the inclusion of "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". Clearly Zeno is dependent here upon the African Testimony tradition, and may have actually read Tertullian and Cyprian.

The inclusion of "sed" in the text of Colossians 2:11 and the contrast that Zeno draws here between carnal circumcision and the second spiritual circumcision, indicates that he understood "in expoliatione carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

In s14–16 Zeno refers to the Joshua-Jesus typology of Joshua 5:2f. arguing that Christ was the Rock who made knives of stone by which we are circumcised. This does not necessarily indicate, however, that Zeno undestood "Christi", in Colossians 2:11 as a subjective genitive, and the phrase "in circumcisione...Christi" to refer to a circumcision which Christ himself effects in the life of the believer. He explains the knives of stone to mean the apostles (cf. Justin: *Dialogue*: c113–4), and in particular Peter, the Rock on which he built his church (s16). The second spiritual circumcision refers rather to the Christian rite of baptism. This is clear from the opening statement in s21: "By this sacrament [baptism: cf. s20]..., not only men but also women are circumcised", and from the contrast in s23 between carnal circumcision which could only be administered on the eighth day and the second circumcision which may be administered at any time from the cradle to the grave. It is probable, therefore, that Zeno understood "circumcisione Christi" as a periphrasis for the Christian rite of baptism.

This sermon provides clear evidence for the practice of infant baptism in Italy in the mid-fourth century. There is no hint here that infant baptism is anything other than a well established practice. Zeno mentions it here simply because it was appropriate to his theme. He is considering the spiritual significance of circumcision, and since the church taught that baptism was the true circumcision and that in the same way that infants were circumcised so now they are baptized, Zeno mentions this here.

It was suggested above (p.180–181) that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was probably not advanced as an argument for infant

baptism in Rome in the early third century. The contrast here between the fact that circumcision could only be administered on the eighth day whereas baptism may be administered at any time is reminiscent of the decision of the Council of Carthage, recorded in Cyprian's *Letter 64 to Fidus.* This may have been the source for the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism in Italy. Henry Chadwick notes (10) that despite the Donatist appeal to Cyprian's sacramental theology, which was so unacceptable at Rome, Cyprian's works were nonetheless being read in Rome in the mid-fourth century AD, as is proved by a surviving list of his writings made there in 359, which includes particulars of their length to warn buyers against bookshops overcharging.

It is interesting to note that in s13 Zeno quotes the promise in Deuteronomy 30:6 that "The Lord your God will circumcise your heart, and the heart of your seed." The Hebrew word זֶרַע means "descendants" not "infants", which in Hebrew would be either טַף , "little child", or יֹנֵק , "sucking child". Indeed, that the author has in mind those capable of a conscious choice is clear from his use of the word in 19:9; in 28:46 he also uses the word to refer to those who are able to recognise natural and political disasters as God's covenantal curses, and as signs of God's punishment upon the nation for her disobedience. The word is correctly rendered in the Latin translation of this verse by "seminis". It is possible, however, that this verse contributed to the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. As the circumcision of the heart became increasingly identified with the inner effects of baptism, and in particular the cleansing from the effects of Adam's sin as distinct from simply personal sin, it is possible that the fact that Deuteronomy 30:6 speaks of God circumcising "the heart of your seed" may have led some to the conclusion that infants may be baptized.

Finally, with respect to Zeno, it is relevant to note that in s7 he argues that circumcision signified justification by faith. He did not apparently sense the possible incongruity between this and the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. Certainly he

does not suggest, as Augustine was later to do, that in the case of infants baptism is a sign of a future righteousness by faith.

5.3 Priscillian (died 385): Canons on the Epistles of St. Paul

This work, which was composed c382–384 at the request of an unnamed friend as a guide to the true faith, consists of ninety sentences or canons, each of which summarizes an aspect of Pauline teaching. Each canon is accompanied by a list of the Pauline passages upon which it is based. The version we have today is a revised version made by Bishop Peregrinus (possibly a fifth century Spanish monk) in which, according to the preface, the heretical teachings of Priscillian have been removed so that the orthodox may use the work without danger. (11)

5.3.1 Canon 67

> can. LXVII. Quia per spiritalem cordis in Christo circumcisionem propudiosam illam legis destruat apostolus.
> Rom. 16. 17. 23. **24. 27. 28.**
> Gal. **27.** 28. **35. 37.**
> Eph. **7.** 8.
> Philipp. 16. **17.**
> Col. 16. **17.**
>
> can. LXVII: Rom. 2, 29; 4, 10. Gal. 5, 6; 6, 15. Col. 2, 11.

This proposition clearly implies a contempt for carnal circumsision, as do the two preceeding propositions for the law in general. The reference to the spiritual circumcision of the heart is due to the influence of Romans 2:29. I do not think that it is an indication that Priscillian understood "in expoliatione carnis" to refer to the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ. Rather, the inclusion of Romans 4:10 and Galatians 5:6 and 6:15 in the supporting texts suggest that Priscillian's primary purpose

here is to disparage carnal circumcision rather than to explain the nature of the spiritual circumcision by which it has been replaced. This suggests that he interpreted "in exspoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, and that Colossians 2:11 is included in the supporting texts because, understood in this way, it describes carnal circumcision as "made with hands", and contrasts carnal circumcision with the circumcision of Christ.

There is no mention here of baptism, either in the proposition or the supporting texts. It is not possible to determine whether, and if so in what sense, Priscillian understood this spiritual circumcision of the heart to be related to baptism.

5.3.2 Canon 78

> can. LXXVIII. Quia praedicare potius quam baptizare missus a Christo sit nosque in baptismo Christo esse consepultos, ut filii dei effecti in nouitate uitae ambulemus, heredes quidem dei, coheredes autem Christi.
>
> Rom. 40. ⟨59.⟩
> Cor. I. 3.
> Eph. 2. 34.
> ⟨Col. 17.⟩
> Tit. 12.
> Hebr. 9. 11. 18.
>
> can. LXXVIII: I. Cor. 1, 17. ⟨Col. 2, 12.⟩ Rom. 6, 4. ⟨8, 16. 17; cf. supra can. LXXII.⟩

The connection here between Romans 6:4 and Colossians 2:12 suggests that Priscillian understood "resurrexistis" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to a present spiritual resurrection from sin. This is confirmed by Canon 84. (See below).

5.3.3 Canon 84

can. LXXXIV. Quia in corpore constitutos resurrexisse dicat in baptismo eos qui peccato mortui conuiuificati sunt Christo et quaerunt quae sursum sunt, non quae super terram.
Rom. 39. ⟨40.⟩ 42. 43. 48.
Eph. 7.
Col. 16. 17. 23. 24.

can. LXXXIV: Rom. 6, 2. ⟨4.⟩ 12. Col. 2, 12 sq.; 3, 1. Eph. 2, 5.

That Priscillian speaks here of being raised "in baptismo" suggests that he may have understood "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to be neuter, referring to baptism. This proposition confirms that he understood "conresurrexistis" to refer to a present spiritual resurrection from sin, and indicates that he took Colossians 2:13 as explaining further Paul's meaning in v12.

5.4 Ambrose of Milan (either 333 or 339–397)

Although Ambrose is not remembered as a particularly original thinker, he nonetheless made a very significant contribution to both the life and the theology of the Western Church in the last quarter of the fourth century, particularly in his defence of the church against paganism, Arianism and the State. He was well acquainted with Greek, and turned to Eastern as well as Western Fathers for guidance, thereby introducing much Eastern theology into the West. He succeeded Hilary in championing in the West the Nicene Faith and the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

5.4.1 On the Christian Faith: Book III: c2 (s11–14)

The treatise *On the Christian Faith* marks the beginning of Ambrose's open struggle with Arianism. It was written in response to the request of Emperor Gratian who had asked to be instructed in the Nicene Faith against the Arian Heresy. The first two books, which were written in 377–8, are a defence of the divinity of the Son and include a refutation of the six doctrines of the Arians. The last three books were published in 380, in response to a further request for an addition to the work dealing wih the divinity of the Holy

Spirit. In these books Ambrose restricted himself to a defence of what he had written in the first two books and an attack on new objections raised by the Arians since the publication of Books I and II. He discussed the divinity of the Holy Spirit in a subsequent treatise, *On the Holy Spirit*, published in 381.

Ambrose quotes Colossians 2:12 in s12 of Book III of *On the Christian Faith*, in the course of his refutation of the Arian contention that when scripture speaks of "God" it means the Father alone, and that there is no thought of the Son. Ambrose counters this by noting that there are some actions which are attributed to both "God" and to the Son, thereby proving that "the name God is meetly given to both the Father and the Son, inasmuch as the effect of their activity is in agreement" (s15). His argument here is substantially the same as that of Hilary of Poitiers (*On the Trinity*: IX:10) upon whom he is clearly dependent.

> **11.** Unde etiam illud explosum est, quod solent ad calumniam derivare, quia de deo scriptum est: *Qui solus habet inmortalitatem et lucem habitat inaccessibilem.* De deo enim scriptum est, quod est commune nomen patri et filio. **12.** Nam si, ubicumque deum legunt, negant etiam filium designari, et impii sunt divinitatis potentiam filio denegando et incarnatum patrem Sabelliana impietate adstruere videbuntur. Dicant enim, quomodo illud non impie de patre intellegere possint, quod apostolus ait: *In quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis.* Et advertant de sequentibus, quid incurrant; sequitur enim: *Et cum mortui essetis delictis et praeputio carnis vestrae, vivificavit nos cum illo donans nobis omnia delicta, delens quod adversum nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio adfigens illud cruci, exuens se carnem.*

CUM DEUM SCRIPTURA DICIT SINE ADIECTIONE PATRIS AUT FILII, INTERDUM FILIUM DESIGNARI

> **13.** Ergo si deus pater solus intellegendus est qui *suscitavit* carnem et non etiam filius, cuius *templum* resuscitatum est? Qui *suscitavit*, utique et *vivificavit*, qui vivificavit, et '*delicta* donavit', qui delicta donavit, et '*chirographum tulit*',

qui chirographum tulit, 'adfixit *illud cruci*', qui adfixit cruci, '*carnem se* exuit'. Sed pater non se exuit carnem; non enim pater caro factus est, sed *verbum*, sicut legimus, *caro factum est*. Videtis ergo quod Arriani, dum separant a patre filium, in id periculum incidant, ut patrem passum esse commemorent. **14.** Nos autem facile docemus de fili dictum operatione; nam et ipse corpus suum resuscitavit, sicut dixit: *Solvite hoc templum, et in triduo resuscitabo illud*. Et ipse *vivificavit* nos cum suo corpore. *Sicut enim pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat, sic et filius, quos vult, vivificat*. Et ipse '*delicta* donavit' dicens: *Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua*. Et ipse '*chirographum* adfixit *cruci*', qui crucifixus est per corporis passionem. Nec alius 'carne se exuit' nisi dei filius, qui carne se induit. Ipse ergo significatur deus, qui opus nostrae resurrectionis operatus est.

3, 15. Ergo cum legis deum, non separes patrem, non separes filium, quia deitas et patris et fili una eademque est. Et ideo nec ibi separes, ubi legis quia *beatus et solus potens*. De deo enim dictum est, sicut habes: *Praecipio coram deo, qui vivificat omnia*. Sed etiam Christus vivificat. Convenit ergo et patri et filio dei nomen, quando convenit et operationis effectus. Persequamur cetera. *Praecipio*, inquit, *coram deo, qui vivificat omnia, et Christo Iesu*.

11. "And so the adversaries' injurious conclusion is rejected with contempt and disgrace, which they drew from the Scripture speaking of God: "Who alone hath immortality and dwelleth in light unapproachable;" for these words are written of God, which Name belongs equally to Father and to Son.

12. "If, indeed, wheresoever they read the Name of God, they deny that there is any thought of the Son [as well as the Father], they blaspheme inasmuch as they deny the Son's Divine Sovereignty, and they shall appear as though they shared the sinful error of the Sabellians in teaching the Incarnation of the Father. Let them, indeed, explain how they can fail to interpret in a sense blasphemous to the Father the words of the Apostle: "In Whom ye did also rise again, by faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead." Let them also take warning from what follows of what they are running upon—for this is what comes after: "And though ye were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He quickened us with Him, pardoning us all our offences, blotting out the handwriting of the

Ordinance, which was opposed to us, and removed it from our midst, nailing it to His Cross, divesting Himself of the flesh."

13. "We are not, then, to suppose that the Father Who raised the flesh is alone [God]; nor again, are we to suppose the like of the Son, Whose Body was raised again. He Who raised, did surely also quicken: and He who quickened, also pardoned sins; He who pardoned sins, also blotted out the handwriting; He Who blotted out the handwriting, also nailed it to the Cross: He who nailed it to the Cross, divested Himself of the flesh. But it was not the Father Who divested Himself of the flesh: for not the Father, but, as we read, the Word was made flesh. You see, then, that the Arians, in dividing the Father from the Son, run into danger of saying that the Father endured the Passion.

14. "We, however, can easily show that the words treat of the Sons's action, for the Son Himself indeed raised His own Body again, as He Himself said: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again." And He Himself quickens us together with His Body: "For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth Whom He will." And He Himself hath granted forgiveness for sins, saying, "Thy sins be forgiven thee." He too hath nailed the handwriting of the record to His Cross, in that He was crucified, and suffered in the body. Nor did any divest Himself of the flesh, save the Son of God, Who invested Himself therewith. He, therefore, Who hath achieved the work of our resurrection is plainly pointed out to be very God.

15. "When, therefore, you read the Name "God," separate neither Father nor Son for the Godhead of the Father and the Son is one and the same, and therefore separate them not, when you read the words "blessed and only Potentate," for the words are spoken of God, even as you may read: "I charge thee before God, Who quickeneth all things. Christ also indeed doth quicken, and therefore, the name of God is meetly given both to the Father and to the Son, inasmuch as the effect of their activity is in agreement. Let us go on to the words following: "I charge thee," he says, "before God, Who quickeneth all things, and Jesus Christ." "

That Ambrose does not quote Colossians 2:12a and that there is no mention here of baptism suggests that he understood "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to Christ. This is also suggested by the possible allusions

to Colossians 2:12 in *Concerning the Sacraments* II:20 ("Qui enim Christo consepulitur, cum Christo resurgit"); *Concerning the Flight of the World* I:55 ("ut consepeliamur cum eo, et resurgamus cum eo, et in novitate vitae illius ambulemus"; "et resurgamus cum eo" and "novitas vitae" suggests that this is a conflation of Romans 6:4 with Colossians 2:12); *Concerning Virginity* s82 ("ut ab elementis mundi commoriare cum Christo, et cum Christo resurgo"); *Homily On Psalm 36* s7 ("in ipso sepultus, et cum ipso consepultus, in ipso resuscitatus"); *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke* VII:173 ("in lavacro gratiam, per quam mortui saeculo resurgimus Christo").

Clearly Ambrose understood "operationis Dei" to refer specifically to God's action in raising Christ from the dead, an action which, he argues, is a joint-action of both the Father and the Son. This suggests that he understood "operationis" to be an objective genitive, and the whole phrase "per fidem operationis Dei" to mean "through our faith in the working of God.

5.4.2 Concerning Repentance: Book II: s9

Ambrose's treatise *Concerning Repentance* was written with the express purpose of refuting the Novatianist view that the Church cannot forgive sins committed after baptism. This was clearly still a live issue in Italy in the second half of the fourth century. Novatianism continued in Rome itself until about 400 AD (12) and in this treatise Ambrose reveals an acquaintance with the latest publications of the Novatianists. (13) According to Rusch (14) the treatise "belongs to the decade between 380 and 390, probably after 387". M. G. Mara suggests that it "is to be situated within the span of years 384–394." (15)

One of the scriptural texts upon which the Novatianists based their views was Hebrews 6:4–6. In Book II:s6–12 Ambrose argues that the writer's meaning here is not that sins committed after baptism cannot be forgiven. He maintains, rather, that the situation envisaged here is the restoration of those who had fallen, and that the writer's point is rather that when the fallen are restored they must not be re-baptized since to do so would be to

crucify again the Son of God.

2, 6. Cum igitur tam evidenti et ipsius apostoli et scriptorum eius exemplo redarguantur, tamen adhuc obniti volunt et auctoritatem aiunt apostolicae sibi suffragari sententiae, allegantes scriptum ad Hebraeos: *Inpossibile est enim hos, qui semel inluminati sunt, et gustaverunt donum caeleste, et participes facti sunt spiritus sancti, et bonum gustaverunt dei verbum virtutesque futuri saeculi, lapsos iterum renovari in paenitentiam, rursum crucifigentes filium dei et ostentatione triumphantes.* **7.** Numquid Paulus adversus factum suum praedicare potuit? Donavit Corinthio peccatum per paenitentiam: quomodo hic potuit sententiam suam ipse reprehendere? Ergo quia non potuit, quod aedificaverat, destruere, non contrarium dixisse eum, sed diversum advertimus. Quod enim contrarium est, se ipsum inpugnat, quod diversum est, distinctam solet habere rationem. Ita autem contrarium non est, ut alterum suffragetur alteri. Etenim quia de remittenda praedicavit paenitentia, debuit et de his, qui iterandum putant baptismum, non silere. Et prius sollicitudinem nobis auferri oportuit, ut sciremus, etiam post baptismum si qui peccarent, donari eis posse peccatum, ne spe veniae destitutos iterandi baptismatis opinio vana perverteret. Deinde iterandum non esse baptisma rationabili disputatione suadendum fuit. **8.** De baptismate autem dictum verba ipsa declarant, quibus significavit inpossibile esse 'lapsos renovari in paenitentiam'. Per lavacrum enim renovamur, per quod renascimur, sicut ipse Paulus dicit: *Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem, ut, quemadmodum surrexit Christus ex mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus.* Et alibi: *Renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum deum creatus est.* Et alibi: *Renovabitur sicut aquilae iuventus tua*, quod etiam aquila, cum fuerit mortua, ex suis reliquiis renascitur, sicut per baptismatis sacramentum, cum fuerimus peccato mortui, renascimur deo ac reformamur. Unum ergo baptismum docet, sicut alibi: *Una fides, unum*, inquit, *baptisma.* **9.** Illud quoque evidens, quod in eo, qui baptizatur, crucifigitur filius dei, quia non potuit caro nostra abolere peccatum, nisi crucifixa esset in Christo Iesu. Denique habes scriptum, *quia, quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.* Et infra: *Si enim conplantati sumus similitudini mortis eius, simul et resurrectionis erimus, scientes,*

quia vetus homo noster simul confixus est cruci. Et ad Colosenses ait: *Consepulti ei in baptismo, in quo et consurrexistis.* Quod ideo scriptum est, ut credamus, quia ipse crucifigitur in nobis, ut per illum peccata nostra mundentur, ut ipse chirographum nostrum adfigat cruci, qui solus potest donare delicta. Ipse in nobis principatus et potestates triumphat, quoniam de ipso scriptum est: *Principatus et potestates ostentavit triumphans eos in semetipso.* **10.** Ergo quod ait in hac epistula, quae scribitur ad Hebraeos: 'Impossibile est lapsos renovari in paenitentiam rursus crucifigentes filium dei et ostentatione triumphantes', eo spectat, ut de baptismo dictum credamus, in quo crucifigimus filium dei in nobis, ut per illum nobis mundus crucifigatur, qui quadam triumphamus specie, dum similitudinem mortis eius adsumimus, qui *principatus et potestates* in sua cruce *ostentavit* ac triumphavit, ut in mortis eius similitudinem nos quoque de principatibus, quorum iugum deponimus, triumphemus. Semel autem crucifixus est Christus, semel 'peccato mortuus', et ideo unum, non plura baptismata.

6. "Being then refuted by the clear example of the Apostle and by his writings, the heretics yet endeavour to resist further, and say that their opinion is supported by apostolic authority, bringing forward the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, should if they fall away be again renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and put Him to open shame.

7. "Could Paul teach in opposition to his own act? He had at Corinth forgiven sin through penance, how could he himself speak against his own decision? Since, then, he could not destroy what he had built, we must assume that what he says was different from, but not contrary to, what had gone before. For what is contrary is opposed to itself, what is different has ordinarily another meaning. Things which are contrary are not such that one can support the other. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle spoke of remitting penance, he could not be silent as to those who thought that baptism was to be repeated. And it was right first of all to remove our anxiety, and to let us know that even after baptism, if any sinned their sins could be forgiven them, lest a false belief in a reiterated baptism should lead astray those

who were destitute of all hope of forgiveness. And secondly, it was right to set forth in a well-reasoned argument that baptism is not to be repeated.

8. "And that the writer was speaking of baptism is evident from the very words in which it is stated that it is impossible to renew unto repentance those who were fallen, inasmuch as we are renewed by means of the laver of baptism, whereby we are born again, as Paul says himself: "For we are buried with Him through baptism into death, that, like as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we, too, should walk in newness of life." And in another place: "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on, the new man which is created after God." And elsewhere again: "Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle," because the eagle after death is born again from its ashes, as we being dead in sin are through the Sacrament of Baptism born again to God, and created anew. So, then, here as elsewhere, he teaches one baptism. "One faith," he says, "one baptism".

9. "This, too, is plain, that in him who is baptized the Son of God is crucified, for our flesh could not do away sin unless it were crucified in Jesus Christ. And then it is written that: "All we who were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death." And farther on: "If we have been planted in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection, knowing that our old man was fastened with Him to His cross." And to the Colossians he says: "Buried with Him by baptism, wherein ye also rose again with Him". Which was written to the intent that we should believe that He is crucified in us, that our sins may be purged through Him, that He, Who alone can forgive sins, may nail to His cross the handwriting which was against us. In us He triumphs over principalities and powers, as it is written of Him: "He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself."

10. "So, then, that which he says in this Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is impossible for those who have fallen to be "renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and putting Him to open shame," must be considered as having reference to baptism, wherein we crucify the Son of God in ourselves, that the world may be by Him crucified for us, who triumph, as it were, when we take to ourselves the likeness of His death, who put to open shame upon His cross principalities and powers, and

> triumphed over them, that in the likeness of His death we, too, might triumph over the principalities whose yoke we throw off. But Christ was crucified once, and died to sin once, and so there is but one, not several baptisms."

This extract indicates that Ambrose understood "consepulti ei" to mean an actual participation in Christ's historic death and burial. This is also indicated by the possible allusion to Colossians 2:12 in the *Exposition of Psalm 118* 8:53:4 ("sepulturae quae quoque eius participes sumus; quisque enim consepultus est cum ipso per baptismum in morte, particeps eius est").

5.4.3 Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke: Book VII:s37 (on 9:59–62)

There is a clear allusion to Colossians 2:12 in Book VII of Ambrose's *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke.* This work, with the exception of Book III, was based on Ambrose's sermons, and was published before 389. This is the only extant New Testament commentary of Ambrose, and, as Mara notes, "is one of the few works in which the exegesis is careful to follow the development of the scriptural passage." (16) Rusch notes that "In common with... Ambrose's [other] exegetical works, moral concerns preponderate" (17), and this is evident in the context in which this allusion occurs, in which he takes Jesus' statement "Let the dead bury the dead" to refer to the death to sin which is effected through baptism.

> Quomodo autem mortui sepelire mortuos possunt nisi geminam hic intellegas mortem, unam naturae, alteram culpae ? Est etiam mors tertia, in qua peccato morimur, deo uiuimus, sicut Christus, qui peccato mortuus est ; *quod* enim *mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem uiuit uiuit deo.*
>
> Vna est igitur mors, qua copula corporis et animae separatur, non formidabilis, non timenda, cum discessio quaedam nostri uideatur esse, non poena, non metuenda fortibus, desideranda sapientibus, miseris expetenda, de qua dictum est : *quaerent homines mortem et non inuenient eam.* Est et alia, quae saecularium adferat interitum uoluptatum, in qua non natura, sed delicta

moriuntur. Hanc mortem subimus consepulti in baptismo et mortui cum Christo ab elementis huius mundi, cum actus patimur prioris obliuia.

The phrase "consepulti in baptismo et mortui cum Christo ab elementis huius mundi" is clearly a conflation of Colossians 2:12a with Colossians 2:20a. It indicates that Ambrose understood burial with Christ to involve a decisive break with one's former life: a "death to the world". This is also indicated by the possible allusions to Colossians 2:12 in *Homily on Psalm 61* s31 ("quam homo renuntians mundo, et consepultus Christo per sacramentum baptismum, qui sit mortuus saeculo"); *Concerning Noah and the Ark* s25 ("consepuliatur cum domino Iesu, crucifigatur ei mundus et ipse mundo" cf. Gal. 6:14); *Concerning Repentance* II:97 ("Etenim qui mortui et sepulti in Christo sunt, non debent iterum velut viventes de hoc mundo decernere."); *Concerning Isaac, or the Soul* s53 ("ut moriatur mundo et consepeliatur in Christo"): *Concerning Virginity* s82 ("tunc tibi baptismatis aspirabit gratia; ut ab elementis mundi commoriare cum Christo"); *On the Flight from the World* I:55 ("sed moritur unicuique qui baptizatur in morte Christi; ut consepeliamur cum eo, et resurgamus cum eo, et in novitate vitae illius ambulemus"; cf. Romans 6:4). Ambrose may have in mind in these texts the Baptismal Renunciations, which included the renunciation of the world. (See *Sermons on the Sacraments* I:9).

Additional Note 1

In neither *On the Christian Faith* III s12–14 nor *Concerning Repentance* II:9 does Ambrose explain how he understood "conresurrexistis" in Colossians 2:12b. The possible allusions to Colossians 2:12b in *On the Flight from the World*; I:55 ("et resurgamus cum eo, et in novitate vitae illius ambulemus"), *Concerning the Mysteries* I:21 ("deo resurrexisti ...peccato mortuus ad vitam es resuscitatus aeternam") and *Letter 70 to Horontianus* s10 ("ut nos commortui et consepulti cum Christo, in Ecclesia resurgamus") suggest that he understood this in a present spiritual sense. However, the context of the possible allusions to Colossians 2:12b in *On the Prayer of Job and David* III:

7 ("qui autem Christo commoritur et consepelitur cum illo non solum reclinatur, sed etiam resuscitatur") suggests that the reference is to the future physical resurrection from the dead. The possible allusion to Colossians 2:12b in *Concerning Tobias* s74 ("Consepuliantur igitur domino Jesu, ut participes resurrectionis ejus esse mercamur") suggests that the reference is to the future physical resurrection, though the subsequent reference to Colossians 3:9 perhaps suggests that the reference is to a present spiritual resurrection.

Additional Note 2: Ambrose's understanding of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, and his use of this analogy as an argument for infant baptism

There are no actual quotations of or allusions to Colossians 2:11 in the extant works of St. Ambrose. He does however consider the spiritual significance of circumcision at length in his *Letter 72 to Constantius.* Here, echoing Origen (*Commentary on Romans II* s13) he draws a parallel between the blood of circumcision and the blood of Christ on the cross. The blood of Christ, he maintains, was the price paid "to the one to whom we had been sold by our sins" (s8). Ambrose continues:

> "Until this price was paid for all men by the shedding of the Lord's blood for the forgiveness of all, blood was required of each man who by the Law and the customary rite, was following the holy precepts of religion. Since the price has been paid for all after Christ the Lord suffered, there is no longer need for the blood of each individual to be shed by circumcision, for in the blood of Christ the circumcision of all has been solemnized, and in His cross we have all be crucified with Him, and buried together in His tomb, and planted together in the likeness of his death that we may no longer be slaves of sin, 'For he who is dead is acquitted of sin.'" (s9).

Ambrose's point here is that the Jewish rite of circumcision has been fulfilled by the death of Christ, and that since we participate in the death of Christ through baptism we no longer need to be circumcised. He makes the same point in s12:

> "Christian people now have no need of the light pain of circumcision; they bear with them the death of the Lord; in their every act they engrave on their forehead contempt of death, knowing that without the cross of the Lord they cannot be saved. Who would use a needle in battle while armed with stronger weapons?"

Although Ambrose does not explicitly mention baptism, the reference here to engraving on the forehead contempt of death is almost certainly an allusion to the signing with the cross at baptism.

Ambrose also considers the spiritual significance of circumcision in Book II of his treatise *On Abraham*, which was probably written in 387. Interestingly, although he alludes to the parallel beween the blood of circumcision and the blood of Christ (see the quotation from s79 below) here he develops the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. (Compare also the *Exposition of the Gospel of Luke* Book VIII:173; *Exposition of Psalm 118 (119)*). What is significant here is that Ambrose uses the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. In s81 he maintains that

> "The meaning of the mystery [of the fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day] is plain. Those born in the house are the Jews, those bought with money are the Gentiles that believed: for the church is bought with the price of Christ's blood. Therefore both Jew and Gentile, and all that believe, must learn to circumcise themselves from sin, that they may be saved. Both the home-born and the foreigner, the just and the sinful, must be circumcised by the forgiveness of sins so as not to practise sin any more: for no person comes to the kingdom of heaven but by the sacrament of baptism."

This, as W. Wall notes, is (18) an interesting example of the phrase "the remission of sins (remissione peccatorum)" to mean the sacrament of baptism.

In s81 Ambrose maintains that the reason why infants were circumcised was that infants are subject to original sin:

> "For a very good reason does the law command the males to be circumcised in the beginning of infancy, even the bondslave

> born in the house: because as circumcision is from infancy so is the disease [quia sicut ab infantia peccatum ita ab infantia circumcisio]. No time ought to be devoid of the remedy, because no time is void of guilt [culpae] ...Neither a proselyte that is old, nor an infant born in the house, is excepted: because every age is obnoxious by sin, and therefore every age is proper to the sacrament."

He again refers to infant baptism in s84:

> " 'For unless a person be born of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' You see he excepts no person, not an infant, not one that is hindered by any unavoidable accident."

Ambrose's argument here is further evidence for the use of the analogy between circumcision and the eighth day as an argument for infant baptism in Italy in the second half of the fourth century. Here it is conjoined with the view that infants are subject to original sin, and that it is for this reason that unbaptized infants will be excluded from the kingdom of God. The same three arguments stand side by side in Cyprian's Letter 64 to Fidus which may well have been, as I have already suggested, the source of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism in Italy.

5.5 Ambrosiaster

5.5.1 Commentary on Colossians

"Ambrosiaster" is the name which was coined by Erasmus for the author of the *Commentary on the Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* which was preserved under the name of Ambrose. Erasmus was the first to challenge successfully this attribution. However, despite numerous suggestions there is, as yet, no scholarly consensus concening the identity of this author. Internal considerations indicate, however, that the Commentary was written from Rome during the pontificate of Damasus (366–384).

This work is particularly important in that it preserves the entire text of an Italian old Latin recension of the Pauline Epistles, which ante-dates the Vulgate. It is also important, as Rusch notes in that it is an example of the pre-Augustinian exegesis of St. Paul, and as a "source for the study of fourth century pagan religion". (19)

According to M. G. Mara,

> "The exegesis is of a historical and literal type, without further investigations by means of allegory or research into symbols, and is intended to present the theological motivation behind the Pauline expressions. It is rich in scriptural citations and animated by polemics against pagans, heretics ad Judeo-Christians. In this manner, the author is close to the exegetical tradition of the Antiochene School, although he does not explicitly reject the Alexandrian method, which he does not seem to know in the elaborate form presented by Origen. He makes use, in any case, of typological interpretation." (20)

According to Rusch,

> "The writing is an original theological contribution with a firm grasp of Paul's thought and of its relevance for the fourth century." (21)

5.5.1.1 Comment on Colossians 2:11 and 12

> **2, 11.** In quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione non manufacta in expoliationem corporis carnis, in circumcisione Christi, **12.** una cum illo sepulti in baptismo, in quo et simul surrexistis per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitavit illum ex mortuis. 1. hi circumciduntur in Christo, qui amputata totius traditionis humanae cultura Christo se iungunt (iunguntur) corde, non carne circumcisi, id est in spiritu, non in carne servientes, ut a terrenis ad caelestia, ab humanis ad divina, ab errore convertantur ad veritatem, capiti et auctori suo copulati per caritatem. cum quo et sepulti sunt in baptismate, resurrexerunt autem per fidem dei, de quo credunt quod

exemplo Christi resuscitabit illos ex mortuis. illic enim homo vetus deponitur et novus adsumitur, peccatis moritur, ut vivat iustitiae, elementis abrenuntiat, ut Christo societur, resurrectionis futurae tenens pignus exemplo (exemplum) salvatoris, qui resurrexit ex mortuis. 2. haec igitur conmonet, ut perseverent in abrenuntiatione pompae et praestigiis satanae. qui idcirco elementorum suadet culturam, ut a deo sevocet, participes apostasiae suae volens efficere homines. quia enim sub nomine suo culturam suadere non potest — horretur enim ipso nomine —, sub alterius nomine suam voluntatem conatur implere.

That Ambrosiaster speaks here of circumcision being "in the heart, not in the flesh" (cf. Romans 2:28 and 29) and involving "serving [Christ] in the Spirit, not in the flesh" (cf. Philippians 3:3) suggests that he understood "in exspoliationem corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. This is confirmed by the brief allusion to Colossians 2:11 in the Comment on Romans 1:9:

> "cui et servio. quo-modo? in spiritu meo, inquit, non in circumcisione manu facta neque in neomeniis et sabbato et discretione escarum, sed in res videbatur, ut domini gentium inclinarentur promissioni Iudaeorum."

Nonetheless, it is clear that Ambrosiaster believed there to be in the circumcision of Christ a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Those who have been circumcised in Christ, he maintains, "have cut away the culture of the whole human tradition." Similarly, "those who were circumcised in Christ...who are joined to Christ...were converted to heavenly things, from human to divine, from error to truth, joined through love to their head and author." This last extract also indicates that this circumcision was, for Ambrosiater, a result of union with Christ, and that he has given due attention to the fact that Paul says that this circumcision has taken place in Christ.

Ambrosiaster does not explicitly comment upon the meaning of the phrase "in circumcisione Christi". Despite the fact that in his *Inquiries On the Old and New Testament* Ambrosiaster argues that circumcision on

the eighth day was a type of the salvation wrought by Christ in his resurrection (Inquiry 29), neither there nor here is there any suggestion that he understood Christ to have effected a circumcision in his resurrection.

The similarities between Ambrosiaster's comments concerning the spiritual cicumcision effected by Christ and baptism suggest he understood circumcision at one level at least to be a figure for the inner effects of baptism. He argues, as we have seen, that circumcision involves the cutting away of the whole human tradition, and conversion from earthly things to heavenly, from human to divine, from error to truth. In similar fashion he maintains that in baptism "the old man is put off, and the new assumed, he [the baptized] dies to sin, so that he might live to righteousness." Further, as we have seen, he maintains that the circumcision that the Christian underwent was a result of his union with Christ: in the comment on v12 he also speaks of being united with Christ in baptism. Further, he argues, as we have seen, that spiritual circumcision involves being "joined through love to their head and author"; and in the comment on v12 he speaks of Christ as the pledge of the future resurrection. Whether he also understood circumcision to be a figure for the outward rite as well is not clear.

The text "in quo et simul surrexistis" indicates that the translators of this Latin version understood "quo" in Colossians 2:12b to be neuter, referring to baptism. It is not possible on the basis of Ambrosiaster's comments here to ascertain with any certainty how he himself understood "in quo".

At one level Ambrosiaster understands "surrexistis" in ethical terms: death to the old man: transformation from earthly to heavenly things; from the human to the divine; from error to truth. At the same time he argues that the resurrection of Christ, our head and author, is the pledge of the future physical resurrection. He understands "operationis" as an objective genitive. The resurrection of Christ, he argues, encourages us to believe that God will also raise us from the dead.

Alexander Souter remarked that Ambrosiaster's commentary on the epistles of St. Paul is

> "the work of a conscientious writer who seeks in Scripture for

> plain useful lessons which may serve to elevate the daily lives of his Roman fellow citizens. The author never loses his hold on the odinary life of the day. . . . Everything springs from a desire, first, to interpret the Apostle's meaning plainly and naturally and, secondly, to enforce the lessons he sought to teach." (22)

Both these concerns are apparent in Ambrosiaster's comments here. Having explained Paul's meaning in Colossians 2:11 and 12 he seeks to apply the text to his readers. Paul reminds his readers of their hope of future resurrection, Ambrosiaster maintains, to encourage them to persevere in their renunciation of Satan—an allusion to the commitment they had expressed at their baptism. He shows a real perception into the nature of sin when he maintains that Satan, having sinned wants to cause others to participate in his apostasy, and thereby receive some comfort, and in that Satan won't face up to the fact that he has sinned, shrinking even from the very name Satan, thereby disguising his activity, deluding others as well as himself.

5.5.1.2 Comment on Colossians 2:20

Ambrosiaster also alludes to Colossians 2:12 in the comment on Colossians 2:20:

> **2,** 20. Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis huius mundi, quid tamquam viventes in hoc mundo decernitis? 1. omnis qui baptizatur in Christo moritur mundo; cunctis enim superstitionum erroribus abrenuntiat, ut solam colat fidem Christi. {amotis enim quae naturali iustitiae accedunt, relinquitur disciplina data a deo, per quam vivitur deo per spem, quae est in Christo; moritur autem his quibus subiectus fuerat per errorem, dum negat illos, quos praesumpserant esse. et ita fit, ut per inimicitiam abrenuntiationis invicem sibi mortui dicantur homo et elementorum cultura.} 2. mundum enim dicens errorem carnis significat; omne enim quod videtur carni deputatur. hinc est unde et Iohannes apostolus: nolite, inquit, diligere hunc mundum neque ea quae in hoc mundo sunt; id est neque elementa, quibus conpactus mundus est, neque errores, quos humana adinvenit traditio, diligamus, sed solum

> Christum, qui mortuus est pro nobis, ut corpori suo nos sociaret ex perditis. qui ergo consepulti sunt Christo, mortui sunt elementis, ut nihil curent de (ex) his; superna enim didicerunt tenenda, quae possunt vitam dare perpetuam. 3. haec enim nec praesentem dant et inpediunt, ne adprehendatur futura. qui autem post baptismum ambiget de aliquibus putans quaedam de veteribus veneranda, vivere se ostendit elementis, quae decernit colenda {aut dubitat contemnenda}. hic remanebit intra circulos mundi, alienus a deo, quia vetere (veteri) indutus homine carnalia transire non poterit.

Ambrosiaster is here alluding to the renunciation at baptism. Interestingly, he does not speak here explicitly of the renunication of Satan, but rather of the renunciation of the world, and the worship of the elements. Presumably he believed that those ignorant of Christian truth and those who worshipped pagan gods were in the control and power of Satan. Ambrosiaster speaks here both of being dead to the elements of the world by being buried with Christ in baptism and of the death to the elements which comes about through the renunciation. This may be an indication of the disintegration of baptismal theology—the association of particular benefits of baptism with specific aspects of the baptismal ceremony. Equally, it may be an indication that Ambrosiaster believed the inner disposition of the baptized, expressed in his renunciation of Satan and his former life in the world, was essential for the effectiveness of the sacrament.

5.5.2 Fragment from a Commentary on Matthew: (on Matthew 24:15)

A. Souter has put forward good reasons for attributing this fragment a *Commentary on Matthew* by Ambrosiaster. (23) Mara notes that these fragments show the author's "moderate millenianism". (24) This is evident in s14 in which the author considers the reference in Revelation 20:6 and 7 to the first resurrection and to the second death. The first resurrection, he argues, is not a general resurrection, but a resurrection of the faithful who have not the mark of the beast. They will be raised first so that all should

believe in the resurrection and so that the truth of the resurrection may not seem a fantasy. The rest of the dead, that is the unrighteous and sinners, will not rise until the end of the millenium. They will not be worthy to rise in the first resurrection and reign with Christ. They will rise to punishment so that wickedness might be brought to an end in hell, which is the second death.

In s15, however, Ambrosiaster notes that others understand the first resurrection to refer to the resurrection that is accomplished in baptism:

> 15. Quamquam aliquibus *prima resurrectio* in baptismate facta uideatur, quia dicit apostolus *Si consurrexistis cum Christo* [8] et cetera (in baptismate enim *terrenus homo deponitur et caelestis* [9] adsumitur, mori enim uidetur *in bapti* -[p. 40]- *smo et resurgere* [8] cum renascitur), sed *per fidem non per speciem* [8], quia hoc in spe habet, *non quod* iam *acciperit* [10]. illa enim resurrectio iam uera non in uerbo sed in re, non quae speretur sed quae iam sit, *prima* et in dignitate et in numero, quia congruum est primum sanctos resurgere et regnare cum Christo. *tradere* autem est *regnum Deo et Patri* post finem sub nomine *Dei et Patris* regnare filium, ut regnum sub Dei nomine sit sub Christi, quia iam cognitum erit de Deo Deum esse Christum, ut sub uno nomine regnet pater et filius in saecula saeculorum.
>
> *Explicit de auentum domini christi.*

This is not a clear allusion to Colossians 2:12. However, the view that the reference to "consurrexistis" in Colossians 3:1 refers to what has taken place in baptism is almost certainly due to the occurrence of "consurrexistis" in Colossians 2:12. It indicates that the "others" whom Ambrosiaster has in mind, understood "consurrexistis" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to an action that is effected in baptism, and suggests, as does also the phrase "mori enim videtur in baptismo et resurgere", that the "others" understood "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to baptism. The statement "per fidem non per speciam" is a quotation from 1 Corinthians 5:7. Its occurrence here

suggests that the "others" (or Ambrosiaster himself; it is difficult to know where his explanation of the view of the "others" ends, and where his own comment begins, or indeed whether he is in full agreement with these "others") may have understood the genitive "operationis" in Colossians 2:12b to be objective.

5.6 Jerome (342–419/20)

Jerome, although, perhaps, no great theologian (25) was nonetheless an outstanding Biblical scholar. His interpretation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 is therefore of particular interest. Unfortunately, although he wrote commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Titus and Philemon, he did not write a commentary on Colossians. Nonetheless, there are several allusions to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in his works, from which we can gain an indication of how he interpreted these verses.

These references are not considered in the order in which they were written, but after considering the quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the Translation of Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke*, the allusions to Colossians 2:11 are considered before those to v.12.

5.6.1 Translation of Origen's Homily XIV on Luke

The only actual quotation of Colossians 2:11 and 12 in the extant works of Jerome occurs in his translation of Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke.* (Jerome probably translated Origen's thirty-nine homilies on select passages of Luke in 389/90). (26) His text is as follows:

> "in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione sine manibus, in expoliatione corporis carnis, in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismate, in quo et conresurreximus per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis".

What is significant here is that the text of Colossians 2:11 has "sine manibus" not "non manufacta". "sine manibus" does not occur in any other quotation of or reference to Colossians 2:11 in our period which suggests

that Jerome is here making his own translation from the Greek, rather than quoting from an existing Latin translation. (Origen's quotation of Colossians 2:12 ends with τῆς πίστεως. Jerome however quotes also v12c. There is no evidence of a lacuna here in the Greek original, and Jerome's quotation of v12c may be from an existing translation, or from memory.) It is difficult to know whether the translation "sine manibus" is influenced by Origen's argument here (Origen, as we saw, p.135 above, has in mind primarily Christ's physical circumcision in his infancy as a representative act which is attributed to Christians through union with Christ in baptism), or whether it represents his own understanding of the natural sense of ἀχειροποιήτῳ. If the latter it would indicate that Jerome understood ἀχειροποιήτῳ to mean "made without hands" emphasizing the spiritual nature of the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ, rather than as introducing an adjectival cause, contrasting the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ with carnal circumcision, emphasizing that it is "not made with hands, that is, not consisting in the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision".

The Latin version of Colossians 2:11 that Jerome himself used appears to have included the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" (see section 5.6.2 below), and in one instance at least Jerome clearly takes "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin (see section 5.6.3 below).

5.6.2 Against Jovinian: Book I: s38

Jovinian was a monk who had come to Rome from Milan. He was, as Kelly notes, (27) at first influenced by, but then bitterly attacked, the extremist, Oriental-style monasticism, propagated by Jerome during his time in Rome (382–385) which was still apparently making headway in certain circles. Kelly notes that "to win converts to his views he [Jovinian] prepared a reasoned presentation of them backed with plentiful citations from Scripture and secular authorities." (28)

In 393 Pammachius, the leader of the ascetic party in Rome, sent a copy

of this pamphlet (or pamphlets) to Jerome who responded with the two books *Against Jovinian.* What shocked Jerome most was, as Kelly notes, (29) Jovinian's claim that the sexually abstinent are in no way superior to married people who enjoy normal sexual relations. The whole of the first book is devoted to a refutation of this claim. In s36f Jerome addresses himself to those dedicated virgins who, influenced by Jovinian's teaching, had abandoned their life of chastity to get married. Colossians 2:11 and 12a is included in a series of New Testament quotations introduced by Jerome to uphold the ascetic ideal and to emphasize that the Christian ideal involves being free from all bodily passions.

38, Dicam et ego nuptiatoribus meis, qui post castitatem et diuturnam continentiam subant ad coitum,et pecudum more lasciviunt : *Sic insipientes estis, ut cum cœperitis spiritu, nunc carne consummemini ? Tanta passi estis sine causa* (*Galat.* III, 3, 4) ? Apostolus,quod continentiæ quibusdam nodos relaxat, et dimittit frena currentibus, propter infirmitatem carnis hoc facit. Contra quam scribens denuo loquitur : *Spiritu ambulate, et desiderium carnis non perficietis. Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem* (*Galat.* v. 16, 17). Non necesse est nunc de operibus carnis dicere, quia longum est, et facile potest de Apostoli Epistola sumere, qui (*Al.* quia, etc.) voluerit, Dicam tantum de spiritu, cujus fructus sunt ; charitas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, benignitas,bonitas, fides, mansuetudo [4], continentia. Omnes virtutes spiritus,quasi solidissimum fundamentum, et sublime culmen,continentia sustantat et protegit Adversum hujuscemodi non est lex. *Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Si* ❧ *vivimus spiritu, spiritu et ambulemus* (*Ibid.* 24, 25). Qui cum Cristo carnem nostram,et passionnes ejus desideriaque crucifiximus, quid rursum ea quæ carnis sunt agere cupimus ? *Quodcunpue seminaverit homo, hoc et metet, Qui seminat in carne sua, de carne metet corruptionem. Qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet vitam æternam* (*Galat.* XI, 8), Existimo quod qui uxorem habet, quandiu revertitur ad idipsum, ne tentet eum Satanas, in carne seminet, et non in spiritu. Qui autem in carne seminat (non ego, sed Apostolus loquitur) metit corruptionem. Elegit nos in Christo [5] Deus Pater ante mundi constitu-

tionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati coram eo. Ambulavimus in concupiscentiis carnis, facientes voluntatem ejus, et cogitationum, et fuimus filii iræ, sicut et cæteri. Nunc autem conresuscitavit, et consedere nos fecit in cœlestibus in Christo Jesu, ut deponamus secundum priorem conversationem veterem hominem, qui corrumpitur juxta desideria erroris, et aptari nobis illa benedictio possit, quæ mysticam [6]ad Ephesios Epistolam tali fine concludit : *Gratia vobiscum omnibus qui diligunt Dominum in incorruptione* (*Ephes.* VI, **24**). *Conversatio nostra in cœlis est. Unde et Salvatorem exspectamus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostræ, conforme fieri corpori gloriæ suæ* (*Philipp.* III, 20). Quæcumque ergo sunt vera, quæcunque pudica, quæcunque justa, quæcunque ad castitatem pertinentia, his copulemur, hæc sequamur (*Philipp.* IV, 8), Reconciliavit nos Christus in corpore suo Deo Patri per mortem, et exhibuit sanctos et immaculatos, et absque ulla reprehensione coram se : in quo et circumcisi sumus circumcisione non manufacta, in exspoliationem corporis, carnis, sed circumcisitone Christi, consepulti ei in baptismo in quo et consurrreximus. Si ergo consurreximus cum Christo, ea quæ sursum sunt quæramus, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens ; ea sapiamus quæ sursum sunt, non quæ super terram. Mortui enim sumus, et vita nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo Cum enim Christus apparuerit vita nostra, tunc et nos apparebimus **301** cum ipso in gloria *Coloss.* II, 11 ; III, 1 *seq.*). *Nemo militans Deo. implicat se negotiis sæcularibus, ut possit ei placere, qui se elegit* (*II Tim.* II, 4). *Apparuit enim gratia Dei Salvatoris omnibus hominibus, erudiens nos ut abnegantes impietatem et sæcularia desideria, caste et juste et pie vivamus in præsenti sæculo* (*Tit.* II, 11, 12).

"Something else I will say to my friends who marry and after long chastity and continence begin to burn and are as wanton as the brutes: "are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now perfected in the flesh? Did ye suffer so many things in vain?" If the Apostle in the case of some persons loosens the cords of continence, and lets them have a slack rein, he does so on account of the infirmity of the flesh. This is the enemy he has in view when he once more says: "Walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." It is unnecessary now to speak

of the works of the flesh: it would be tedious, and he who chooses can easily gather them from the letter of the Apostle. I will only speak of the Spirit and its fruits, love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, continence. All the virtues of the Spirit are supported and protected by continence, which is as it were their solid foundation and crowning point. Against such there is no law. "And they that are of Christ have crucified their flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof. If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk." Why do we who with Christ have crucified our flesh and its passions and desires again desire to do the things of the flesh? "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life." I think that he who has a wife, so long as he reverts to the practice in question, that Satan may not tempt him, is sowing to the flesh and not to the Spirit. And he who sows to the flesh (the words are not mine, but the Apostle's) reaps corruption. God the Father chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we might be holy and without spot before Him. We walked in the lusts of the flesh, doing the desires of the flesh and of the thoughts, and were children of wrath, even as the rest. But now He has raised us up with Him, and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, that we may put away according to our former manner of life the old man, which is corrupt according to the lusts of deceit, and that blessing may be applied to us which so finely concludes the mystical Epistle to the Ephesians: "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in uncorruptness." "For our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory. Whatsoever things then are true, whatsoever are chaste, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things pertain to purity, let us join ourselves to these, let us follow these. Christ hath reconciled us in his body to God the Father through death, and has presented us holy and without spot, and without blame before himself: in whom we have been also circumcised, not with the circmcision made with hands, to the spoiling of the body of the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with him in baptism, wherein also we rose with him. If then we have risen with Christ, let us seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God; let

> us set our affections on things above, not upon the things that are upon the earth. For we are dead, and our life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ our life shall appear, then we also shall appear with him in glory. No soldier on servicee entangleth himself in the affairs of this life; that he may please him who enrolled him as a soldier. For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live purely and righteously and godly in this present world.""

Jerome simply quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12a without further comment. However, we may gain some indication of how he interpreted these verses both from the text that he used and the context in which they occur.

The text of the above extract is from D. Vallarsi's second edition of Jerome's works, reprinted by Migne (PL 23, 211–338). It includes the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". This, if original, indicates that Jerome took 'in exspoliatione corporis carnis' to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Unfortunately, we do not as yet have a modern critical edition of "Against Jovinian". However, it is probably confirmed by the allusion to Colossians 2:11 in s19 of Jerome's letter 65, To Principia: "in circumcisione non manufacta, sed spiritu". This allusion is incidental to Jerome's argument (that the reference in Psalm 45:9 to the glory of the daughter of the king of Tyre is a type of the inner glory of the church). He is not here arguing against the continued observance of the Jewish ceremonial ordinances. Rather, the allusion is introduced as part of the contrast between the outer and inner man. It confirms that Jerome took "manufacta in exspoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. "sed spiritu" suggests that influence of Romans 2:29, but it may also reflect the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" in Colossians 2:11.

It is clear, however, that Jerome believed there to be a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. In s38 of "Against Jovinian" he emphasizes the need to be freed from the passions and lusts of the flesh, though he does not here speak of this as a spiritual circumcision. He does do so, however, in s7 where he maintains that Paul's reference in 1

Corinthians 7:19 to circumcision and uncircumcision has a higher meaning, namely that circumcision means circumcision from a wife, that is, being unmarried, and that uncircumcision means being married to a wife, and that Paul's point is that each man, whether married or single, should continue as he was when he was baptized.

That Jerome takes "in exspoliatione corporis carnis" in antithesis to "in circumcisione Christi" strongly suggests that he connected "in circumcisione Christi" with "consepulti ei in baptismo"; that is, that he believed the circumcision of Christ to be effected by burial with Christ in baptism. The emphasis in s38 upon a moral transformation and change in the life of the believer suggests that he probably undestood "in circumcisione Christi" to refer to the inner effects of baptism. Whether he also understood the phrase to refer to the outward rite of baptism itself is not clear.

5.6.3 Against John of Jerusalem: s27

Jerome wrote his treatise "Against John of Jerusalem" in 397 to defend his role in the Origenist controversy, which had been viewed with disfavour in Rome. In it he refutes John's "Apology", his version of the events of the controversy, and reiterates the charge that bishop John was tainted with Origen's errors. In particular, in s23–36 Jerome accuses John of advancing Origen's view that the resurrection body will be a spiritual body, not the physical flesh resurrected.

Jerome notes that John speaks nine times of the resurrection of the body, but not once of the resurrection of the flesh (s25,27 and 28). This omission, he argues was deliberate (s25)—an attempt to deceive the ears of the ignorant (s27 and 28), indicating to the perfect that he denied the resurrection of the flesh. If, Jerome argues, John meant that the body was the same as the flesh, why did he not say so unambiguously, or at least speak sometimes of the resurrection of the body and sometimes of the resurrection of the flesh to show that the body consists of the flesh, and the flesh is the body (s27). Without further qualification Jerome maintains, the term "body" is ambiguous, and need not imply that the "flesh" is in mind:

"all flesh is body, but not every body is flesh. Flesh is properly what is comprised in blood, veins, bones and sinews. Although the body is also called the flesh yet sometimes it is designated ethereal or aerial, because it is not subject to touch and sight; and yet it is both frequently both visible and tangible. A wall is a body, but it is not flesh; a stone is a body, but it is not said to be flesh." (s27)

To confirm this, Jerome notes that Paul sometimes uses the term "body" to refer to things other than the flesh, as for example when he speaks of celestial and terrestial bodies, but that when he means "that body which is the flesh" as in Colossians 1:22 and 2:11 he adds the expression "of the flesh" since he was conscious that the term "body" alone was ambiguous, and need not imply "flesh".

Denique Apostolus in Epistola sua ad Colossenses, volens corpus Christi carneum, et non spirituale, aereum, tenue, demonstrare, significanter locutus est, dicens : « Et vos cum essetis aliquando alienati a Christo, et inimici sensus ejus in operibus malis, reconciliavit in corpore carnis suæ per mortem (*Coloss.* I, 21, 22). » Rursumque in eadem Epistola : « In quo circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in exspoliatione corporis carnis (*Coloss.* II, 11). » Si corpus carnem solum significat, et non est nomen ambiguum, nec ad diversas intelligentias trahi potest : satis superflue corporeum et carneum dicit, quasi caro non intelligatur in corpore [6].

"...the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Colossians, wishing to show that the body of Christ was made of flesh, and was not spiritual, aerial, attenuated, said significantly, "And you, when you were some time alientated from Christ and enemies of His Spirit in evil works, He has reconciled in the body of His flesh through death." And again in the same Epistle: "In whom ye were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands in the putting off of the body of the flesh." If by body is meant flesh only, and the word is not ambiguous, nor capable of diverse significations, it was quite superfluous to use both expressions—bodily and of flesh—as though body did not imply flesh."

Jerome's argument here indicates that he understood "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 to be a genitive of apposition or identity, the whole phrase "corporis carnis" meaning "that body which is the flesh". Although Jerome sees a linguistic parallel between the phrase "corpore carnis eius" in Colossians 1:21 and the phrase "corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11, there is no indication that he understood there to be a theological parallel between Paul's thought in these two verses. Rather, his argument here confirms that he understood "in exspoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. The view that the circumcision that the Christian undergoes in Christ is dependent upon a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his death is clearly not in Jerome's mind here.

5.6.4 Letter 14: to Heliodorus: s2

Heliodorus was a former army officer who had left the army with the intention of devoting himself to some form of ascetic life. He had stayed with Jerome whilst on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and Jerome had hoped that he would live as a hermit in the desert of Chalcis. However, Heliodorus abandoned his ascetic zeal and returned to Aquileia, later to become bishop of Altinum.

In 373 or 374 Jerome wrote to Heliodorus, hoping to persuade him to change his mind and once again embrace the ascetic life. He alludes to Colossians 2:12 in s2 in which he emphasizes that the day on which he was buried with Christ marked a complete break with the former life, from which there is no turning back, and, by implication, a decision to embrace the ascetic life.

> "Remember the day on which you enlisted, when, buried with Christ in baptism, you swore fealty to Him, declaring tha for His sake you would spare neither father nor mother [recordare tirocinii tui diem, quo Christo in baptismate consepultus in sacramenti uerba iurasti: pro nomine eius non te matri parciturum esse, non patri]."

This passage illustrates Jerome's belief that the only true Christian life was the ascetic one and indicates that he understood burial with Christ to

involve a commitment to abandon the life of the world and embrace the ascetic life.

5.6.5 Letter 65: To Principia: s14

There is an allusion to Colossians 2:12 in Jerome's letter to Principia, the friend and companion of Marcella, which was written in 397. It is a mystical exposition of Psalm 45. Kelly comments:

> "With a great display of learning Jerome interpreted this lovely greeting to a prince on his wedding day, which Jewish exegetes understood as pointing to the Messiah, as referring to Christ and his bride, the Church: he was even able to transform it into a panegyric of virginity." (30)

The allusion occurs in s14 in Jerome's explanation of Psalm 45:9 and 10:

> 14. Murra et gutta et cassia a uestimentis tuis, a domibus eburneis, ex quibus delectauerunt te filiae regum in honore tuo. in Hebraico: smyrna et stacte et cassia in cunctis uestimentis tuis de domibus eburneis, quibus laetificauerunt te filiae regum in honore tuo. praefatio ipsa te docuit idcirco me hunc psalmum explanare uoluisse, quia ad uirginem scribens 'pro liliis et floribus' titulum repperi. itaque consequenter et istos uersiculos ad te referam, cui uolumen hoc scribitur. mortificasti membra tua super terram et cotidie Christo offerens murram Christi bonus odor es et propterea stacten, id est stillam uel guttam, exhibes domino. narrant et hi, qui aromatum nouere uirtutes, stacten florem esse murrae. quod autem sequitur 'cassia', ipsa est, quae ab aliis σύριγξ, id est fistula, nuncupatur, uocalis in laudes dei et omnes pituitas et reumata uoluptatum suo calore excoquens. ubi in nostris codicibus scriptum est 'gutta' uel 'stacte', in Hebraico 'aloth' legitur. unde et Nicodemus centum libras murrae et aloes ad sepeliendum dominum praeparauit et sponsus loquitur ad sponsam: murra et aloe cum omnibus unguentis primis et illa respondit: manus meae stillauerunt murram, digiti mei murra pleni. proice et tu mortis opera Christo in baptismate consepulta et huic mundo mortua et nihil aliud nisi de caelestibus cogitans loquere ad sponsum tuum: manus

meae stillauerunt murram, digiti mei murra pleni. legimus et unguentum sacerdotale, cuius et Dauid meminit: sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron, quod descendit in oram uestimenti eius, in quo cum ceteris aromatibus miscetur et stacte. obtulerunt et magi murram et in praesenti loco initium uestimentorum Christi est suscipere mortem illius et in sua carne monstrare. haec indumenta para sponso tuo, his a te uestibus comptus incedat.

The phrase "Christo in baptismate consepulta et huic mundo mortua" is a conflation of Colossians 2:12 with Colossians 2:20.

Like Origen, Jerome interprets myrrh as a symbol of the mortification of the flesh. He tells Principia that these verses remind him of her since, as a virgin, she has mortified her members upon earth and everyday offers the myrrh of celibacy to Christ. She has been buried with Christ in baptism and is dead to the world, and now offers herself to Christ, her true husband.

This allusion indicates that Jerome believed sexual relations to belong to the world order, and that the mortification of the flesh effected through burial with Christ in baptism which involves becoming "dead to this word, and thinking about nothing other than the heavenly things" ought to result in a complete abstinence from them.

5.6.6 Letter 69: To Oceanus: s7

Oceanus, one of Jerome's circle of close friends at Rome, had sought Jerome's backing in his protest against Carterius, a Spanish bishop who had been married twice, his first wife having died. Oceanus regarded this as contrary to Paul's ruling in 1 Timothy 3:2 that a bishop should be "the husband of only one wife", which he understood to mean, only once married. Even the fact that Carterius' first marriage and the death of his first wife had taken place before his baptism has no bearing on the matter, Oceanus argued, for if marriage is not a sin, his first marriage was not cancelled by his baptism, and he has, therefore, two wives.

In this letter, written in reply about the year 400, Jerome makes two main points. First, that Oceanus has misinterpreted 1 Timothy 3:2. Paul

is not arguing against re-marriage after the death of one's spouse, but rather against the Old Testament liberty whereby the patriarchs practised polygamy and the Levites were permitted to have more than one wife (Leviticus 21:7 and 13). St. Paul's ruling here, Jerome maintains, is simply "that the priests of the church should not take two wives or three together" (s5). Second, that since one of the purposes of marriage is to avoid the sin of extra-marital sexual relations, it would be incongruous if baptism nullified those sins, but not a marriage entered into to avoid them. Rather, Jerome argues, baptism nullifies the whole of one's former life since in baptism the old man is put off, and a person becomes a new man. It is in this context that Jerome refers to Colossians 2:12.

> 7. Quomodo in lauacro omnia peccata merguntur, si una uxor supernatat? beati, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata. beatus uir, cui non inputauit dominus peccatum. arbitror, quod possimus et nos huic aliquid cantico iungere: 'beatus, cui non inputauit dominus uxorem'. audiamus et Ezechielem, filium hominis, quomodo de eius uirtute pronuntiet, qui hominis futurus est filius: adsumam uos de gentibus et aspergam super uos aquam mundam et mundabimini ab omnibus inmunditiis uestris; et dabo uobis cor nouum et spiritum nouum. 'ab omnibus', inquit, 'mundabo uos sordibus'. in 'omnibus' nihil praetermittitur. sordes emundantur: quanto magis munditiae non coinquinantur? dabo cor nouum et spiritum nouum; in Christo enim Iesu neque circumcisio aliquid ualet neque praeputium, sed noua natura. unde et cantamus canticum nouum et ueteri homine deposito non ambulamus in uetustate litterae, sed in nouitate spiritus. hic est calculus nouus, cui nouum nomen inscribitur, quem nemo scit legere, nisi qui illum acceperit. quotquot enim baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu, in morte illius baptizati sumus, consepulti ei per baptismum in morte, ut, quomodo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos in nouitate uitae ambulemus. totiens nouitatem legimus et tamen maculosum nomen uxoris non potest ulla nouitate deleri? consepulti sumus Christo in baptis-

mate et resurreximus per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitauit eum a mortuis. cumque essemus mortui in delictis et in praeputio carnis nostrae, conuiuificauit nos cum illo donans omnia delicta, delens, quod aduersum nos erat, chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis; et ipsud tulit e medio affigens illud cruci. omnia nostra cum Christo mortua sunt, uniuersa chirographi ueteris peccata deleta: solum nomen uiuit uxoris? dies me deficiet, si cuncta, quae ad potentiam baptismi pertinent, de scripturis sanctis uoluero digerere et natiuitatis secundae, immo in Christo primae, ponere sacramenta.

"How then can you say that all sins are drowned in the baptismal laver if a man's wife is still to swim on the surface as evidence against him? The psalmist says:—"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity." It would seem that we must add something to this song and say "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not a wife." Let us hear also the declaration which Ezekiel the so called "son of man" makes concerning the virtue of him who is to be the true son of man, the Christian: "I will take you," he says, "from among the heathen ...then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your fithiness ...a new heart also will I give you and a new spirit." "From all your fithiness," he says, "will I cleanse you." If all is taken away nothing can be left. If filthiness is cleansed, how much more is cleanness kept from defilement. "A new heart also will I give you and a new spirit." Yes, for "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision but a new nature." Wherefore the song also which we sing is a new song, and putting off the old man we walk not in the oldness of the letter but in the newness of the spirit. This is the new stone wherein the new name is written, "which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it." "Know ye not," says the apostle, "that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death : that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." Do we read so often of the newness and of making new and yet can no renewing efface the stain which the word wife brings with it? We are buried with Christ by baptism and we have risen again by faith in the

> working of God who hath called Him from the dead. And "when we were dead in our sins and in the uncircumcision of our flesh, God hath quickened us together with Him, having forgiven us all trespasses; blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way nailing it to His cross." Can it be that when our whole being is dead with Christ and when all the sins noted down in the old "handwriting" are blotted out, the one word "wife" aone lives on? Time would fail me were I to try to lay before you in order all the passages in the Holy Scriptures which relate to the efficacy of baptism or to explain the mysterious doctrine of that second birth which though it is our second is yet our first in Christ."

This extract further illustrates Jerome's belief that burial with Christ in baptism involves a complete break with one's former life. That Jerome is thinking here of re-birth through baptism, together with the omission of "in quo" and of the prefix "con" (he reads "resurreximus", not "conresurreximus") suggests that he may have interpreted "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to baptism.

5.6.7 Letter 121: To Algasia: s10

Jerome again emphasizes that burial with Christ involves a complete death to the world in s10 of his letter to Algasia. Having quoted Colossians 2:20–23 he argues:

> si baptizati estis in Christo et cum Christo in baptismate mortui, mortui autem 'ab elementis' mundi — pro eo, quod est 'elementis' —, cur mecum non dicitis: mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini mei Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo, nec audistis dominum dicentem ad patrem: de mundo non sunt, sicut et ego non sum de mundo, et: 'mundus odit eos, quoniam non sunt de mundo, sicut et ego non sum de mundo'

Clearly, the primary text that Jerome has in mind here is Colossians 2:20. However, that he says this death has taken place "in baptismate" suggests the influence of Colossians 2:12. (Although Jerome reads "baptismo" in his

quotation of Colossians 2:12 in *Against Jovinian* Book I:s38, in his other references to Colossians 2:12, he reads "baptismate" not "baptismo".) That he speaks of dying with Christ rather than burial with him is due to the influence of Colossians 2:20. It suggests, however, that he understood death with Christ and burial with Christ to refer to the same process.

It is interesting that he speaks both of being baptized in Christ, and dying with Christ in baptism. "baptizati estis in Christo" may possibly reflect the phrase "in quo et circumcisi estis" in Colossians 2:11, in which case it would suggest that Jerome understood circumcision to be a figure for baptism. However, it is by no means certain that he has Colossians 2:11 in mind here.

Later in this section he explains "the elements" to which a person has died with Christ in baptism to be "the Law of Moses and all the Old Testament". These, he maintains, provide only a partial knowledge of God, and have been replaced by the fullness and perfection of the Gospel. They are "the letter" which Paul says kills, in contrast to the Spirit who gives life. Since Christians have died with Christ to the world, they must not, he concludes, adhere to these observances.

> elementa autem mundi, a quibus, immo quibus mortui sumus, lex Moysi et omne uetus instrumentum intellegendum est, quibus quasi elementis et religionis exordiis dominum discimus. quomodo enim elementa appellantur litterae, per quas syllabas ac uerba coniungimus et ad texendam orationem longa meditatione procedimus, ars quoque musica habet elementa sua et geometrica ab elementis incipit linearum et dialectica atque medicina habent εἰσαγωγὰς suas, sic elementis ueteris testamenti, ut ad euangelicam plenitudinem ueniant, sancti uiri eruditur infantia. unde et centesimus octauus decimus psalmus et omnes alii, qui litteris praenotantur, per ethicam nos ducunt ad theologiam et ab elementis occidentis litterae, quae destruitur, transire faciunt ad spiritum uiuificantem. qui ergo mundo et elementis eius mortui sumus, non debemus ea obseruare, quae mundi sunt, quia in altero initium, in altero perfectio est.

Jerome's point here, however, is not so much that through baptism we have died to the world in the sense that we have been transferred from a sensual to an ascetic way of life, but that through baptism we have died to

the requirements of the law. Earlier in s10 Jerome had explicitly identified the Old Testament sacrificial system with the religion of the angels to which Paul refers in Colossians 2:18. The sacrificial system, he argues, was not true worship of God but a form of idoltatry. He identifies it with the statutes and precepts mentioned in Ezekiel 20:25 as not being good and maintains, on the basis of Acts 7:41 and 42, that it was given by God to confirm Israel in their idolatry. The Jewish sacrifices, he argues, were not offered to God, but to the banished angels and the impure spirits. However, he maintains, all the culture and the observances of the Jews were abolished by the death of Christ.

5.6.8 Commentary on Galatians: Book III (on Galatians 6:15)

Jerome's commentary on Galatians was written about the year 387, shortly after taking up residence in Bethlehem. He acknowledges that he had followed Origen, and that he had also the expositions of Didymus, Appolinarius and others in mind as he wrote (31) amongst whom were Eusebius of Emessa, Marius Victorinus, whom he scornfully dismisses as an ignoramus in Scripture Studies, (32) and "Ambrosiaster" whom he does not mention.

Towards the end of his comment on Galatians 6:5 Jerome remarks:

> "nos qui iam nunc in baptismate Christo conresurreximus, in novum renati hominem, nec circumcisione, nec praeputio serviamus."

The phrase "in baptismate Christo consepulti" is probably an allusion to Colossians 2:12. If so, it confirms that Jerome understood "in quo" in v12b to mean "in baptism". Jerome does not allude to Colossians 2:11 in his comment upon this verse. However it is clear that he understood carnal circumcision to belong to the old order, and to be of no value in the new creation.

5.7 The Vulgate version of Colossians 2:11 and 12

Jerome claims more than once that he had "restored the New Testament to its Greek original". (33) This implies that he revised not only the Old Latin version of the Gospels, but also of the remaining books of the New Testament. Recently, however, this implication has been called into question. (34) The reasons for this are summed up by Kelly:

> "The broad fact that stands out is that, where Jerome comments on or quotes from the New Testament outside the Gospels, he seems to ignore the Vulgate text as we know it. Sometimes he uses a text which more or less coincides with the Vulgate, but more often a divergent text; sometimes he passes over or rejects readings admitted by the Vulgate. Equally striking is the fact that in his commentaries on four of the Epistles (Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, Titus), which he completed in 387 or thereabouts, i.e. shortly after his supposed revision of them, he nowhere ascribes the Latin text that he is using to himself, but expressly ascribes it to other translators (cf. his repeated references to the 'Latinus interpres') and on occasions criticizes their work. One might add that the sylistic evidence, especially in Acts, is against his authorship." (35)

Kelly continues,

> "The only tenable conclusion is that Jerome, for whatever reason, abandoned the idea of revising the rest of the New Testament (if indeed he ever entertained it at all) once he had completed the Gospels." (36)

Kelly suggests that,

> "In claiming to have corrected the New Testament he may possibly, on a charitable interpretation, have been thinking of the Gospels as the New Testament *par excellence*; but much more probably he was yielding to his habitual tendency to exaggerate. In the passage of *Famous Men* [*Famous Men*:135] where he makes the claim he also blandly remarks that he had also 'translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew', although at the time of writing he had in fact translated only a portion of it." (37)

It is appropriate, therefore, to compare Jerome's text of Colossians 2:11 and 12 with that of the Vulgate. The Vulgate text of these verses, as restored by J. Wordsworth and H. J. White (38) is as follows:

> "in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manufacta in expoliatione corporis carnis in circumcisione Christi consepulti ei in baptismo in quo et resurrexistis per fidem operationis dei qui suscitavit illum a mortuis."

Jerome's text of these verses nowhere exactly coincides with the Vulgate. His text of Colossians 2:11 differs from the Vulgate in that it includes the addition "sed" (*Against Jovinian* I:38; this is also implied by the allusion in *Against John of Jerusalem* s.27). The reading of "baptismate" (*Letters* 65:s14; 69:s7; 121:s10; cf. the translation of Colossians 2:12 in the translation of Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke*) also disagrees with the Vulgate, though on two occasions he reads "baptismo" (*Letter* 14:s2; *Against Jovinian* I:s38). The reading of "eum" (*Letter* 69:s7: cf. the translation of Colossians 2:12 in the translation of Origen's *Homily XIV on Luke*) also disagrees with the Vulgate. Of these differences, the reading of the addition "sed" is probably the most significant.

These differences between Jerome's text of Colossians 2:11 and 12 and that of the Vulgate probably support the view that Jerome was not responsible for the Vulgate version of the Pauline Epistles.

The Vulgate version gradually replaced the Old Latin versions as the standard Latin text. However, the fact that both existed side by side for several centuries resulted in readings from the Old Latin versions being included in the Vulgate, and indeed readings from the Vulgate being included in the Old Latin versions. An example of the former can be seen in the inclusion from the Old Latin versions of the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" in most later copies of the Vulgate.

5.8 Pelagius: Commentary on Colossians

Very little is known about the life of Pelagius. He was a native either of the Roman province of Britain or of Ireland. He wrote his *Exposition of*

the Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul at Rome, between 406 and 410. The work may have been prompted by Ambrosiaster's commentaries with which it disagrees. (39) Rusch notes that the work is valuable for the witness it bears to the Latin text of Paul's letters in the early fifth century, and to Pelagius' thinking before the Pelagian controversy developed.

Pelagius' comments here are concise, but nonetheless provide us with a fairly clear account of how he undersood these verses.

> 11 *In quo et[iam] circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in expoliatione corporis carnis.* Hic iam pseudo-apostolos taxat, ut ne ab ipsis quidem seducantur. [*Sed*] *in circumcisione Christi,* 12 *consepulti ei in baptismo.* Per quam totum [ueterem] hominem [ex]spoliastis. *In quo et resurrexistis per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitauit illum a mortuis.* Resurrexistis in nouam uitam, credentes eum etiam propter hoc surrexisse.

Reading the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi", he takes "non manufacta in expoliatione corporis carnis" as an adjectival clause, qualifying "circumcisione" emphasizing that the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ is "not made by hands, consisting in the stripping off of the body of the flesh," that is, not consisting in the removal of the foreskin. Clearly, however, he believed there to be a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision in the stripping off of the old man through baptism. The emphasis upon the whole ("totum") man suggests that he is here drawing a contrast between carnal circumcision which removes but a small part and baptism in which the whole man is circumcised.

The bracketing together of the two phrases "in circumcisione Christi" and "consepulti ei in baptismo" indicates that Pelagius understood "in circumcisione Christi" either to refer to the inner effects of baptism, or, more porobably in view of the fact that there is no suggestion here that Christ himself effects this circumcision, as a periphrasis for the outward rite of

baptism itself.

The reference to having been raised in new life ("in novam vitam") indicates that Pelagius understood "resurrexistis" to refer to a present spiritual resurrection, rather than to the future physical resurrection.

Finally, it is clear that Pelagius understood "operationis" to be an objective genitive, and that he understood the resurrection of Christ to be the grounds for ("propter hoc") our faith that God has already raised us with Christ.

5.9 Augustine of Hippo (354–430)

St. Augustine was undoubtedly the greatest of the Latin Fathers, and indeed, one of the greatest geniuses of all time. He is aptly described as the Father of the Western Church. He had a profound influence not only upon Medieval thought and Western mysticism, but also upon both sides in the Reformation debate, and upon subsequent European thought. (40) He also played a crucial role in the history of infant baptism, confirming the place in the mainstream of Christian tradition of both the view that infants need to be baptized because they are subject to original sin, and the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. Indeed, it was essentially Augustine's view of infant baptism, and Augustine's outworking of the analogy between circumcision and baptism that were adopted by Calvin, though in both a modified and developed form, (modified in that Calvin rejected the analogy with the eighth day because it was not found in scripture; (41) developed in that Calvin stressed the theme of covenant which is less prominent in Augustine) and thereby continues to influence the Reformed tradition today. It is particularly important, therefore, to establish Augustine's understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12.

Despite the numerous pastoral and administrative demands which faced Augustine, he was a most prolific writer. He refers more frequently to Colossians 2:11 and 12 than any other Patristic writer. This enables us to build up a fairly accurate picture of how he interpreted these verses. I have gen-

erally treated these references in the order in which they were written, (42) which in our case means that they mostly fall into three main divisions, broadly corresponding to the three main controversies in which he was engaged. Augustine is not always, however, consistent in his interpretation of these verses, his interpretation varying to some extent according to the use to which they are put. I have, therefore, departed from chronological order in considering the references in *On the Trinity* and *On the Soul and Its Origin* after the last reference in the anti-Pelagian works, in order to treat his anti-Pelagian works together.

Not surprisingly, there is some overlap between both the context in which some of these references occur, and what we may learn from them concerning how Augustine understood these verses. I have not, therefore, repeated with respect to each individual reference to our text aspects of Augustine's understanding of these verses that have already been clearly established when considering other previous references. In such cases I have limited my comments to confirmation of points concerning which previously there had been some uncertainty, and to drawing attention to any developments or changes in Augustine's understanding of these verses.

The context in which a reference to our text occurs is often extremely interesting. I have, however, sought to mention only those aspects of Augustine's thought which have a bearing on his understanding of these verses. No attempt has been made to provide a detailed account of Manichaeism, Donatism or Pelagianism, or Augustine's controversion of them. I have greatly gained from the treatment of these by Gerald Bonner in his helpful guide: *St. Augustine: Life and Controversies* (43).

5.9.1 Questions on the Gospels: Book I: question 2

The earliest reference to our text in the extant writings of St. Augustine is a quotation of Colossians 2:11a and b in the second of his *Questions on the Gospels*. This work, written between 397 and 400, is a series of explanations of difficult passages of Matthew (Book I) and Luke (Book II). Rusch notes (44) that allegorical interpretation dominates the discussion, and this

question, in which Augustine discusses the significance of the incident of the disciples plucking ears of corn on the sabbath day (Matthew 12: 1-5) is an example of this. Augustine argues that the removal of the husks from the ears of corn signifies the mortification of the flesh.

> *Quod discipuli domini coeperunt uellere spicas et manducare,* quod nisi confricantes eas facere non possent, hoc est: *Mortificate membra uestra quae sunt super terram,* id est quia quisque non transit in corpus Christi nisi carnalibus spoliatus fuerit indumentis. Hinc est *Exuite uos ueterem hominem;* hinc est et: *Circumcisione non manufacta in expoliationem carnis.*

There is no anti-Jewish polemical element here, and this, together with the fact that Augustine sees a parallel between Colossians 3:9 and Colossians 2:11 indicates that he understood "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to that which is effected in the spiritual circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ, rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

The omission of "corporis" may be accidental. It may, however, indicate that Augustine is using an old African text in which "corporis" was omitted. (See above p.160). Cyprian's text of Colossians 2:11 included the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi". However, in view of the fact that Augustine takes "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to that which is effected in the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, it is unlikely that the text that Augustine used included this addition.

Although there is no explicit mention here of baptism, this may, nonetheless, be in mind as the occasion when this circumcision takes place. Two factors suggest this. First, the reference to passing into the body of Christ ("transit in corpus Christi") may imply baptism since baptism is for Augustine the means by which we are joined to Christ as our Head, and incorporated into his body. Second, the reference to putting off the carnal garments may be an allusion to the rite of stripping prior to entry into the baptismal

waters, which symbolized the putting off of our old sinful nature. However, it is not possible on the basis of this short passage to establish the precise relationship between circumcision and baptism in Augustine's thought.

5.9.2 Reply to Faustus the Manichee

One of the problems that faced Augustine in his controversy with the Manichees was how to defend Scriptures, and in particular the Old Testament, against their attacks. The Manichaean system was dualistic, and regarded the present material world as the product of a fusion of two worlds which were originally separate—the Kingdom of Light, ruled over by the Father of Greatness, and the Kingdom of Darkness. The task of the faithful was to assist, by means of a rigorous asceticism, in the separation of the light from the mixture of light and darkness which constitute the material world. It was this dualism that led the Manichees to reject the Old Testament. As Bonner notes:

> "The God of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Creator and ruler of the material world, who looked down upon what He had made and saw that it was very good, was utterly removed from the Father of Greatness, ruling in the Kingdom of Light." (45)

The denigration of the Old Testament Scriptures was one of the main themes in a treatise attacking the Catholic Faith by Faustus, the Manichaean bishop of Milevis, who was the theological spokesman of the African Manichees in the latter part of the fourth century. Although this work has not survived as an independent treatise, large extracts from it are preserved in Augustine's *Reply to Faustus the Manichee*, written about the year 400, in which Augustine first quotes and then refutes what Faustus had written. The work is important not only for the refutation of Manichaeism, but also in that in it Augustine expounds his approach to the Old Testament—an approach that was to influence not only later Catholic thought, but also, through Calvin, Reformed theology.

5.9.2.1 Book VI: s3

Faustus had argued that it was only necessary to accept the Old Testament in so far as it bequeathed anything useful to him (VI:1). This, he argued, was a more honest position than that of the Catholics who, whilst they claimed to accept the Old Testament, rejected its precepts, of which the fact that they did not practise circumcision was a obvious example:

> "You ask me if I believe the Old Testament. Of course not, for I do not keep its precepts. Neither, I imagine, do you, I reject circumcision as disgusting, and if I mistake not, so do you... You cannot blame me for rejecting the Old Testament; for whether it is right or wrong so to do, you do it as much as I. As for the difference between your faith and mine, it is this, that while you choose to act deceitfully, and meanly to praise in words what in your heart you hate, I, not having learned the art of decption, frankly declare that I hate both these abominable precepts and their authors." (VI:1).

Not surprisingly, Augustine finds Faustus' view, both of the Old Testament, and the Catholic attitude towards it, wholly unacceptable. Both Jesus, in Luke 24:44, and Paul in 1 Corinthians 10:6 and 11, demonstrate, he argues, that the purpose and value of the Old Testament lies in that it points forward to, and helps Christians to understand the New (IV:2). Against the charge that Christians are dishonest in their attitude towards the Old Testament, Augustine maintains that Faustus has failed to distinguish between the moral and symbolical precepts contained within it.

> "Faustus...displays ignorance of the difference between moral and symbolical precepts. For example, "Thou shalt not covet" is a moral precept; "Thou shalt circumcise every male on the eighth day" is a symbolical precept. From not making this distinction, the Manichaeans and all who find fault with the Old Testament, not seeing that whatever observance God appointed for the former dispensation was a shadow of future things, [Colossians 2:17] because these observances are now discontinued, condemn them, though no doubt what is unsuitable now was perfectly suitable then as prefiguring the things now revealed. In this they contradict the apostle who says, "All things happened to them for

an example, and they were written for our learning, on whom the end of the world is come." [1 Corinthians 10:6]. The apostle here explains why these writings are to be received, and why it is no longer necessary to continue the symbolical observances. For when he says, "They were written for our learning," he clearly shows that we should be very diligent in reading and in discovering the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, and that we should have great veneration for them, since it was for us that they were written." (VI:2).

Having expounded the correct approach to the Old Testament, Augustine turns to the specific issue of circumcision, maintaining that had the Manichees really understood and possessed that which circumcision prefigured, namely the justification which comes through faith in Christ's resurrection, and the circumcision of the heart, they would have recognised the true value of circumcision as a prefigurative sign, although they would not enforce practice of it:

"Assuredly, if the Manichees were justified by the resurrection of the Lord,—the day of whose resurrection, the third after His passion, was the eighth day, coming after the Sabbath, and is, after the seventh day,—their carnal minds would be delivered from the darkness of earthly passions which rests on them; and rejoicing in the circumcision of the heart, they would not ridicule it as prefigured in the Old Testament by circumcision in the flesh, although they would not enforce this observance under the New Testament." (VI:3).

Indeed, Augustine notes how appropriate it was that circumcision took place in the member that it did,

"for in what member could the stripping away of carnal and mortal concupiscence be more aptly figured, than in that from which carnal and mortal offspring takes its origin?" (ibid.) (46)

3. Proinde si Manichaei resurrectione domini iustificarentur, cuius resurrectionis dies ex die quidem passionis tertius, post diem tamen sabbati, hoc est post septimum octauus fuit, profecto spoliarentur carnali uelamento mortalium desideriorum

et cordis circumcisione gaudentes non eam in carne adumbratam figuratamque deriderent tempore ueteris testamenti, quamuis iam tempore noui testamenti fieri obseruarique non cogerent. in quo enim membro congruentius expoliatio carnalis et mortalis concupiscentiae figuratur, quam unde carnalis et mortalis fetus exoritur?

The occurrence of the relatively rare noun "expoliatio" in the statement "expoliatio carnalis et mortalis concupiscentiae", occurring as it does in a context in which the spiritual significance of circumcision is discussed, suggests that Colossians 2:11a has influenced Augustine's thought here.

Augustine explains here that carnal circumcision prefigured two things. First, Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. Since he develops this theme at greater length in Book XVI:s29, which is discussed in section 5.9.2.2 below, I have reserved consideration of Augustine's exposition of it until then. Second, carnal circumcision prefigured a present spiritual circumcision in the life of the believer. This is variously described as "the circumcision of the heart"; the deliverance of carnal minds from the darkness of earthly passions; and "the stripping off of carnal and moral concupiscence". These descriptions indicate that Augustine has in mind here a moral transformation and change.

The allusion to Colossians 2:11 here has reference to this latter theme. It confirms that Augustine understood "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the spiritual circumcision that is effected in the life of the believer rather than to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Here Augustine paraphrases Paul's meaning, understanding the phrase "corporis carnis" in the light of his understanding of man's fallen condition, rather than explaining the precise significance of the actual words that Paul uses.

The reference here to being "justified by the resurrection of our Lord" is an allusion to Romans 4:25b. That Augustine here, in the *Answer to the letters of Petillian the Donatist* Book II: xxxvii. 87, and in the *Sermon* 231 section 2 (see sections 5.9.3 and 5.9.4 below) connects this verse with the theme of spiritual circumcision suggests that he understood justification to

involve moral transformation. St. Paul, however, uses the term *δικαιοῦν* in a forensic sense, to mean "acquit" or "confer a righteous status on", rather than to mean a moral transformation. It is interesting to speculate whether the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day, understood as a symbol of moral regeneration, and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day contributed to this changed understanding of Paul's teaching concerning justification. Whether this was the case or not, the reference to justification in Romans 4:25b, understood in this way, and the reference in Romans 6:4 to Christ being raised from the dead "so that we might walk in newness of life" probably contributed to the emphasis upon Christ's resurrection, rather than his death, as the means by which the spiritual circumcision, understood in terms of a moral transformation, was effected. Augustine does not, however, explain here in what sense this is accomplished "by the resurrection of Christ".

It is noteworthy that Augustine makes no reference here to the rite of baptism. Carnal circumcision, he argues, prefigures the spiritual circumcision of the heart—an inward transformation and change effected in the life of the believer. If baptism is in mind here as the occasion upon which this spiritual circumcision is effected, then circumcision is viewed here as a figure for the inner effects of baptism, not the outward rite of baptism itself.

5.9.2.2 Book XVI: s29

Another ground upon which Faustus sought to discredit the Old Testament was that, in his opinion, Moses said much that was contrary to Christ (XVI:1). He rejected as inauthentic (47) the saying attributed to Christ in John 5:46, that "Moses wrote of me; and if you believed Moses, you would also believe me", tauntingly challenging Augustine to demonstrate a prophecy of Christ from the writings of Moses (XVI:3). Rather, echoing Christian polemic against the Jews, Faustus maintains it was the attachment of the Jews to the precepts of Moses that had prevented them from believing in Christ.

> "you must surely acknowledge", he maintains, "that the teaching of Jesus is opposed to that of Moses, and that the Jews did not believe in Christ on account of their attachment to Moses. How can it be otherwise than false that Jesus said to the Jews, "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also," when it is perfectly clear that their belief in Moses prevented them from believing in Jesus, which they might have done had they left off believing in Moses?" (XVI:7).

Circumcision was one such precept:

> "Moses places circumcision among the rites pleasing to God, and commands every male to be circumcised in the foreskin of his flesh, and declares that this is a necessary sign of the covenant which God made with Abraham, and that every male not circumcised would be cut off from his tribe, and from his part in the inheritance promised to Abraham and to his seed. In this observance, too, the Jews were very zealous, and consequently could not believe in Christ, who made light of these things, and declared that a man when circumcised became a twofold child of hell. (Matthew 23:15)." (XVI:6).

After an attempt to demonstrate how Christ was prefigured in the writings of Moses (the Pentateuch), Augustine considers the specific issue of circumcision. The real reason, he argues, why the precepts of Moses hindered the Jews from believing in Christ was that the Jews sought to understand them carnally, and therefore were opposed to Christ when he began to open up their spiritual meaning (XVI:28). The spiritual meaning of circumcision was that the removal of the foreskin on the eighth day prefigured both Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, in which he put off from the body corruption and mortality, and of the future resurrection of the believer, when he will exchange his mortal body for one that is incorruptible and immortal. Indeed, Christ, far from rejecting the precept of circumcision as Faustus maintained, deliberately chose to rise again on the eighth day in order to prove that circumcision on the eighth day was prophetical of him:

qui cum propria uoluntate, sicut ipse in eius laude posuisti, pateretur ideoque tempora passionis et resurrectionis suae haberet in potestate, id egit, ut caro eius in sepultura sabbato requiesceret ab omnibus operibus suis, ut tertio die resurgens, quem dominicum dicimus, qui post sabbatum numeratur octauus, etiam circumcisionem octaui diei ad se prophetandum pertinere declararet. quid enim significat circumcisio carnis? quid? nisi expoliationem mortalitatis, quam de carnali generatione portamus. propter hoc dicit apostolus: exuens se carnem principatus et potestates exemplauit fiducialiter, triumphans eos in semet ipso. quod enim dicit exuisse se carnem, eo loco carnem mortalitatem carnis intellegimus, secundum quam proprie corpus hoc caro nominatur. quae mortalitas proprie caro est appellata, quia in illa resurrectionis immortalitate non erit. propterea scriptum est: caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt. de quibus uerbis soletis calumniari fidei nostrae, qua credimus huius corporis futuram resurrectionem, quae in ipso deo iam praecessit, dissimulantes ea, quae sequuntur; in quibus aperte apostolus quid dicat exponit. uolens enim ostendere, quid eo loco dixerit carnem, continuo subiecit: neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit. hoc enim corpus, quod propter mortalitatem proprie caro nominatur, mutari dicit in resurrectione, ut iam non sit corruptibile atque mortale. quod ne putetur nostra suspicione dici, ipsa eius quae sequuntur uerba consulite. ecce, inquit, mysterium dico: omnes quidem resurgemus, non tamen omnes inmutabimur, in atomo, in ictu oculi, in nouissima tuba: canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos inmutabimur; oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale hoc induere inmortalitatem. ut ergo induatur inmortalitate, exuitur mortalitate. hoc est circumcisionis mysterium, quae octauo die fieri iussa est, et octauo die, id est dominica post sabbatum, iam in ueritate a domino inpleta. unde dicitur: exuens se carnem principatus et potestates exemplauit. per hanc enim mortalitatem nobis inuidae diabolicae potestates dominabantur; quas exemplasse dictus est, quia in se ipso capite nostro praebuit exemplum, quod in toto eius corpore, id est ecclesia ex diaboli potestate liberanda, in ultima resurrectione conplebitur. haec est fides

nostra. et quoniam, sicut testimonium propheticum Paulus commemorat. iustus ex fide uiuit, haec est iustificatio nostra. mortuum quippe Christum et pagani credunt; resurrexisse autem Christum propria fides est christianorum. si enim confitearis, ait apostolus, in ore tuo, quia dominus est Iesus, et credideris in corde tuo, quia deus illum suscitauit a mortuis, saluus eris. quia ergo ex ista resurrectionis fide iustificamur, ideo et illud de Christo apostolicum est, quia mortuus est propter delicta nostra et resurrexit propter iustificationem nostram. et quia ista resurrectio, quae credita nos iustificat, illa octaui diei circumcisione figurata est, propterea de ipso Abraham, cui primum tradita est, dicit apostolus: et signum accepit circumcisionis signaculum iustitiae fidei. ergo et istam circumcisionem inter alias figuras propheticas de Christo scripsit Moyses, de quo ipse dicit: de me enim ille scripsit. quod autem dicit dominus: uae uobis, scribae et pharisaei hypocritae, qui circuitis mare et aridam facere unum proselytum; et cum feceritis eum, facitis eum filium gehennae duplo quam uos estis, non quia circumciditur, dixit. sed quod eorum mores imitatur, a quibus imitandis cohibet suos dicens: in cathedra Moysi sedent scribae et pharisaei: quae dicunt, facite, quae autem faciunt. facere nolite; dicunt enim, et non faciunt. in quibus dominicis uerbis utrumque debetis aduertere, et quantus honor delatus sit doctrinae Moysi, in cuius cathedra etiam mali sedentes bona docere cogebantur, et unde fieret proselytus filius gehennae, non scilicet a pharisaeis uerba legis audiendo, sed eorum facta sectando. hoc ergo dici posset tunc proselyto circumciso, quod Paulus dicit: circumcisio quidem prodest, si legem custodias. quia uero ille in non custodienda lege pharisaeos imitabatur, fiebat filius gehennae; propterea, quantum arbitror, duplo quam illi, quia hoc neglegebat implere, quod propria uoluntate susceperat, non ex Iudaeis natus, sed sponte Iudaeus factus.

"For when, as you say in praise of Christ, He suffered voluntarily, and so could choose His own time for suffering and for resurrection, He brought it about that His body rested from all its works on Sabbath in the tomb, and that His resurrection on the third day, which we call the Lord's day, the day after the Sabbath, and therefore the eighth, proved the circumcision of the eighth day to be also prophetical of Him. For what does circumcision

mean, but the eradication of the mortality which comes from our carnal generation? So the apostle says: "Putting off from Himself His flesh, He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself." The flesh here said to be put off is that mortality of flesh on account of which the body is properly called flesh. The flesh is the mortality, for in the immortality of the resurrection there will be no flesh; as it is written "flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God." You are accustomed to argue from these words against our faith in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which has already taken place in the Lord Himself. You keep out of view the following words, in which the apostle explains his meaning. To show what he here means by flesh, he adds, "Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." For this body, which from our mortality is properly called flesh, is changed in the resurrection, so as to be no longer corruptible and mortal. This is the apostle's statement, and not a supposition of ours, as his next words prove. "Lo," he says, "I show you a mystery: we shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the last trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." To put on immortality, the body puts off mortality. This is the mystery of circumcision, which by the law took place on the eighth day; and on the eighth day, the Lord's day, the day after the Sabbath, was fulfilled in its true meaning by the Lord. Hence it is said, "Putting off His flesh, He made a show of principalities and powers." For by means of this mortality the hostile powers of hell ruled over us. Christ is said to have made a show or example of these, because in Himself, our Head, He gave an example which will be fully realized in the liberation of His whole body, the Church, from the power of the devil at the last resurrection. This is our faith. And according to the prophetic declaration quoted by Paul, "The just shall live by faith." This is our justification. Even Pagans believe that Christ died. But only Christians believe that Christ rose again. "If thou confess with thy mouth," says the apostle, "that Jesus is the Lord, and believest in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Again, because we are justified by faith in Christ's resurrection, the apostle says, "He died for our offenses, and rose again for our justification." And because this resurrection by faith in which we are justified was prefigured

> by the circumcision of the eighth day, the apostle says of Abraham, with whom the observance began, "He received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith." Circumcision, then, is one of the prophecies of Christ, written by Moses, of whom Christ said, "He wrote of me." In the words of the Lord, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves," it is not the circumcision of the proselyte which is meant, but his imitation of the conduct of the scribes and Pharisees, which the Lord forbids His disciples to imitate, when He says: "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: what they say unto you do; but do not after their works, for they say, and do not." These words of the Lord teach us both the honor due to the teaching of Moses, in whose seat even bad men were obliged to teach good things, and the reason of the proselyte becoming a child of hell, which was not that he heard from the Pharisees the words of the law, but that he copied their example. Such a circumcised proselyte might have been addressed in the words of Paul: "Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law." His imitation of the Pharisees in not keeping the law made him a child of hell. And he was twofold more than they, probably because of his neglecting to fulfill what he voluntarily undertook, when, not being born a Jew, he chose to become a Jew." (XVI:29)

Here Augustine explicitly states that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection in which he put off his flesh. This aspect of his argument is not specifically dependent upon Colossians 2:11, but upon the analogy with the eighth day and the variant reading "exuens se carnem" in Colossians 2:15.

Augustine probably derived the view that circumcision on the eighth day prefigured Christ's resurrection on the eighth day from Cyprian. Cyprian was the last great African theologian prior to Augustine, and his influence was perpetuated by the fact that both sides in the Donatist controversy appealed to his views for support. There was almost certainly a copy of his *Letter 64 to Fidus*, in which he outlines the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, and the view that infants need to be baptized because they are subject to original sin, in the

bishops' library in Carthage. Augustine several times refers to this letter (48) though his early uncertainty concerning the reason why the church practiced infant baptism and the fact that in his *Letter 23 to Maximus*, s4, he maintains that Christ abrogated the requirement of circumcision when he was crucified, indicates that he was not initially aware of this letter.

The phrase "expoliationem mortalitatis" in the statement "quid enim significat circumcisio carnis? quid? nisi expoliationem mortalitatis, quam de carnali generatione portamus" is, almost certainly, however, an allusion to the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11. This is suggested not only by the fact that Augustine is here explaining the spiritual significance of circumcision, but also by the occurrence of "expoliatio" rathern than "exuo", as in the variant reading Colossians 2:15, and in the other references to that which is put off in spiritual circumcision.

It is also suggested by Augustine's interpretation of "carnem" in the variant reading in Colossians 2:15. On the basis of Paul's comments in 1 Corinthians 15:50–54 he argues that the flesh that Christ stripped off was not his physical flesh, but "mortality". If, as is probable, he understood "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 in the same way, there is clearly a parallel between the phrase "expolitationem mortalitatis" and the phrase "in expoliationem corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11. Although Augustine states that it is on account of this mortality that the body is properly called flesh, it is unlikely that he understood "carnis" to be a genitive of apposition or identity. Augustine affirms, against the Manichees, the resurrection of the body, emphasizing that in the resurrection it is not the body that is stripped off, but mortality that is stripped off from the body. It is probable, therefore, that here Augustine takes "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 as a genitive of separation, and the whole phrase "in expoliatone corporis carnis" to mean "the stripping off of mortality from the physical body."

Although Augustine does not further refer to Colossians 2:11, it is reasonable to conjecture that the allusion here to Colossians 2:11 indicates that Augustine had connected Colossians 2:11 with Colossians 2:15, and that he understood "in circumcisione Christi" as a subjective genitive, referring to

the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, and that he understood "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer both to what happened to Christ in his resurrection and to what will happen to the believer in the final resurrection when he participates in the resurrection of Christ his "Head", namely in the stripping off of mortality from the body. This is confirmed by the fact that in his Sermon *To the Newly Baptized: on the Octave of Easter* Augustine uses "expoliatio", rather than "exuo" as in the variant reading in Colossians 2:15, to refer to that which Christ effected in his resurrection. (See section 5.9.4 below).

In Book VI section 3, as we have seen, the allusion to Colossians 2:11 has reference to a present spiritual circumcision, effecting a moral transformation in the life of the believer: here in Book XVI it has reference to the future removal of mortality from the body in the physical resurrection. Augustine appears to see scriptural confirmation for both these themes in Colossians 2:11. Exegetically, however, the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" cannot refer to both. Indeed, the former view does not readily cohere with the view that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. Augustine believed that although Christ's humanity was absolutely real, the fact that he was born of a pure virgin preserved it from concupiscence and original sin. (49) Clearly, therefore, the removal of "carnal and mortal concupiscence" from the believer cannot logically be a union with Christ in the circumcision that he effected upon the humamity that he had assumed. However, in Book VI s3 he seems to imply that it was.

When Augustine has the theme of a moral transformation in mind, the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" cannot exegetically speaking refer to both Christ and the believer, since it is not of course possible for the phrase to have one meaning when it applies to Christ, but another when it applies to the believer.

The root problem here is that circumcision was understood as a figure for the remedying of man's fallen condition, but there was a development in the understanding of man's fallen condition which is no longer perceived simply in terms of mortality, but in terms of a flaw in human nature, the

remedy for which could not adequately be expressed in terms of the traditional exposition of the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. The connection of the theme of moral renewal with Christ's resurrection was not simply due to the analogy with the eighth day, but also, as we have seen, due to Romans 6:4 and Augustine's understanding of Romans 4:25b. However, the fact that circumcision was used as a figure for moral renewal, and that Christ was understood to have effected a circumcision in his resurrection led Augustine to connect the theme of moral renewal specifically with the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection.

There may indeed be an intrinsic connection between the two in Augustine's thought. He may have in mind that it is as we participate in the new humanity constituted by Christ our Head in his resurrection, that the power of sin is broken in us. However, whilst this moral renewal may be regarded as the benefit or result of the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, it is not a union with Christ in that circumcision itself.

Once again, it is relevant to note that there is no mention here of baptism. Circumcision is not here regarded as a type of baptism, but of the resurrection of Christ and the eschatological circumcision that the believer will undergo in the final resurrection.

5.9.2.3 Book XIX: s9

As part of his rejection of the Old Testament Faustus had to explain away those passages of the New Testament which spoke favourably of the God of the Old Testament, and in particular Moses and the law. Sometimes, as we have seen was the case with Jesus' statement in John 5:46, he regarded these as forged interpolations. On other occasions he regards them as authentic, but advances somewhat fanciful interpretations to explain that they do not in fact imply a favourable attitude to the Old Testament. His treatment of Jesus' statement in Matthew 5:19, "Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them", falls into this latter category. Faustus maintains that Jesus said this in order "to pacify the Jews, who

were enraged at seeing their sacred institutions trampled on by Christ", and argues that "There was no falsehood in this, for he used the word law in a general sense, not of any particular law" (XIX.1). Again, he draws attention to what he sees as the inconsistency in the Catholic attitude towards the Old Testament law:

> "you seem disposed, in mere mischief, to induce me to believe that Christ said what you evidently do not yourself believe him to have said. On the strength of this verse you accuse me of dullness and evasiveness, without yourself giving any indication of keeping the law instead of destroying it. Do you too, like a Jew or a Nazarene, glory in the obscene distinction of being circumcised? Do you pride yourself in the observance of the Sabbath? Can you congratulate yourself on being innocent of swine's flesh? Or can you boast of having gratified the appetite of the Deity by the blood of sacrifices and the incense of Jewish offerings? If not why do you contend that Christ came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it?" (XIX:4).

Faustus then develops each of these examples of what he believes to be the Catholics dishonesty in claiming to accept the Old Testament law whilst not adhering to its prescripts. With regard to circumcision he argues:

> How can you refuse to receive in your person the unseemly mark of circumcision, which the law and all the prophets delcare to be honorable, especially in the case of Abraham, after what was thought to be his faith; for does not the God of the Jews proclaim that whatsoever is without this mark of infamy shall perish from his people?" (IX:6).
>
> "Why," he concludes, "...do you treat so lightly the...carnal observances of the law and the prophets, if Christ did not destroy them?...you must either abandon your profession of being Christ's disciple, or acknowledge that Christ himself has already destroyed them."(ibid.)

Augustine's reply is especially interesting because before considering the specific instances of the Catholics' non-observance of the law to which Faustus had drawn attention, Augustine explains the true purpose of the law in God's plan of salvation, and the sense in which it was fulfilled by Christ. He

emphasizes that whilst "the law is holy, and the commandment holy, just, and good" (Romans 7:12), it was nonetheless interim, and prefigurative in character. It was given as a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ (Galatians 3:23 and 25) in the sense that it both showed up man's sinfulness for the sin that it was, and man's inability to do that which God required of him save by the grace of Christ. (XIX:7) With respect to this latter point he maintains that:

> "Before we received in humility the grace of the Spirit, the letter was only death to us, for it required obedience which we could not render. Thus Paul also says: "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life" (2 Corinthians 3:6)." (ibid.)

Augustine was later to develop this theme at greater length in his treatise *On the Spirit and the Letter*.

Christ fulfilled the law, Augustine argues, both by his life of perfect obedience, whereby he fulfilled the positive requirements of the law, the power to do which is made available to us by the grace of the Spirit, and by his sacrificial death on the cross, whereby he obtained pardon for our failure to keep the law (XIX:7). Christ also fulfilled the law, Augustine argues, in the sense that it contained both acts and observances that were types of his advent. Since the things prefigured have now come, it is no longer necessary to keep the types. Thus the fact that Christians do not keep the prefigurative requirements of the law, far from showing that Christ did not fulfil the law, indicates rather that he did. (XIX:8)

With regard to the specific issue of circumcision Augustine replies:

> cum quaeris, cur iam non circumcidatur carne christianus, si Christus non uenit legem soluere, sed adimplere, respondeo: immo ideo iam non circumciditur christianus, quia id, quod eadem circumcisione prophetabatur, iam Christus impleuit. expoliatio enim carnalis generationis, quae in illo facto figurabatur, iam Christi resurrectione adimpleta est, et quod in nostra resurrectione futurum est, sacramento baptismi commendatur. nam neque penitus auferri debuit nouae uitae sacramentum, quia restat adhuc in nobis futura resurrectio mor-

tuorum. et in melius tamen idem succedente baptismo debuit commutari, quia iam factum est, quod numquam factum erat, ut futurae uitae aeternae in resurrectione Christi nobis praeberetur exemplum.

"When you ask why a Christian is not circumcised if Christ came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, my reply is that a Christian is not circumcised precisely for this reason, that what was prefigured by circumcision is fulfilled in Christ. Circumcision was the type of the removal of our fleshly nature, which was fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ, and which the sacrament of baptism teaches us to look forward to in our own resurrection. The sacrament of new life is not wholly discotinued, for our resurrection from the dead is still to come; but this sacrament has been improved by the substitution of baptism for circumcision, because now a pattern of the eternal life which is to come is afforded us in the resurrection of Christ, whereas formerly there was nothing of the kind." (XIX:9)

Augustine repeats here in summary form that which he had previously outlined in Book VI:s3 and Book XVI:s29. The occurrence of "expoliatio" in the statement "expoliatio enim carnalis generationis quae in illo facta figurabatur iam Christi resurrectione adinpleta est" again suggests that Augustine has Colossians 2:11 in mind in developing this argument.

It is relevant to note that Augustine does not here maintain, as he later does, that the Jewish rite of circumcision is a type of the Christian rite of baptism, nor, as he later does, that the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision prefigures that which is effected in baptism. (See sections 5.9.11 and 5.9.12 below). Circumcision, he argues, prefigured the putting off of our fleshly nature. In one sense this was fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ when he put off mortality and corruption from the body (cf. XVI:29). In another sense, in so far as believers are concerned, this will be fulfilled in our own future resurrection from death. In that circumcision has, in one sense, been fulfilled in Christ, the rite is discontinued. In that it remains as yet unfulfilled in so far as the believer is concerned, it has been replaced by another sacramental sign, which teaches us to look forward to the removal of our fleshly nature in our own resurrection. Thus, whilst Augustine argues

here, that baptism has replaced circumcision as a sacramental sign, he does not argue that circumcision was a type of baptism, nor that baptism is the fulfillment of that which was prefigured by circumcision.

In view of this, I think it improbable that, at this stage in the development of his thought, Augustine understood "in circumcisione Christi" in Colossians 2:11 to refer, in a secondary sense, to the rite of baptism. Baptism is rather the means by which we are joined to Christ as our Head, and thereby the means by which we are united with Christ in the circumcision that he effected in the resurrection. "in circumcisione Christi" thus has reference to the inner effects of baptism, but is not a periphrasis for the outward rite of baptism itself.

5.9.2.4 Book XXV: s2

Faustus claimed that the description of God in the Old Testament as the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob was an indication that he was a finite God, and that "the mark of circumcision, which separated these men from fellowship with other people marked the limit of God's power as extending only to them." (XXV:1)

> "The Jews and then God," he maintains, "seem to have set marks upon one another for the purpose of recognition, that they might not lose each other. So God gave them the disgusting mark of circumcision, that, in whatever land or among whatever people they might be, they might by being circumcised be known to be His."(ibid.)

Why, Faustus taunts, do the Catholics claim to worship the God of the Jews, but not pretend to have Abraham's sign?

Rather than repeating all that he had previously said concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, and why Christians no longer observe the rite, Augustine simply points out that he has already discussed the matter in several places, adding:

> "The Manichees would find nothing to indicate in this sign if they would view it as appointed by God, to be an appropriate

> symbol of the putting off of the flesh (isti autem signum in parte corporis congrua divinitus datum, quo carnis expoliatio figura est)". (XXV:2)

The occurrence of "expoliatio" again suggests the influence of Colossians 2:11. This extract adds nothing to what we have already noted concerning the way in which Augustine understood Colossians 2:11. That he speaks here simply of the "the stripping off of the flesh" rather than of "the body of the flesh" is because he understood "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 to be a genitive of separation, and Paul's meaning in Colossians 2:11 to be that the flesh, that is mortality, is stripped off from the body. (See section 5.9.2.2 above).

Once again, it is significant that there is no mention here of baptism. Given that Faustus had drawn attention to the fact that the Jews had circumcision as a mark of belonging to God, but Christians do not have this sign, Augustine could have replied that they have instead baptism, by which circumcision has been replaced. That he does not do so is, I suggest, further confirmatory evidence that at this stage in his career he did not regard circumcision as a type of baptism, or baptism to be the fulfilment of circumcision. (See section 5.9.2.3 above).

5.9.3 Answer to the Letters of Petillian the Donatist. Book II:xxxvii.87

Although St. Augustine was engaged in controversy with the Donatists for nearly thirty years of his life (from his ordination in 392 until 420, when his last anti-Donatist treatise, "Against Gaudentius the Donatist" was published), there are only two references to our text in the extant corpus of his anti-Donatist works, both of which occur in relatively early works.

Petillian was the Donatist bishop of Cirta. About the year 400 he had written a letter to his clergy in which he attacked the Catholic Church. The three books of Augustine's *Answer to the Letters of Petillian the Donatist* were written between 401 and 405. (50) In the second book, which was directed to Petillian himself, Augustine quotes from Petillian's letter,

answering him point by point.

In his letter Petillian had advanced the Donatist view, derived ultimately from Cyprian, that the validity of the sacrament was dependent upon the worthiness of the minister (II:iii.6; iv.8), and maintained that since Catholic bishops were descended from the "traditores"—those who had compromised under persecution, thus placing themselves outside the "true" (that is, the Donatist) church—their baptism was invalid. Hence it was necessary, he maintained, to re-baptize Catholics, or more accurately, to baptise them for the first time since their Catholic baptism was not valid (II:xxv.8).

One of the several arguments that Petillian advanced in support of this position was the view, again ultimately derived from Cyprian, that those outside the Church do not possess the Holy Spirit. Hence, he maintained, Catholic baptism could not convey the Holy Spirit.

> "how", Petillian argued, "can you baptize in the name of the Holy Ghost, when the Holy Ghost came only on those apostles who were not guilty of treason?" (II:xxxiii.77).

In support of the Donatist practice of re-baptism, Petillian appealed to the practice of St. Paul who, finding at Ephesus certain men who had been baptized only with the baptism of John and who had thus not received the Holy Spirit, caused them to be baptized with the baptism of Christ so that they might receive the Holy Spirit. By the same token, he argued, Catholics need to receive Donatist baptism in order to receive the Holy Spirit.

> "For if the apostles were allowed to baptize those whom John had washed with the baptism of repentance, shall it not likewise be allowed to me to baptize men guilty of sacrilege like yourselves?" (II:xxxiv.79).
>
> "If, therefore, they [the disciples of John] were baptized that they might receive the Holy Ghost, why do not you, if you wish to receive the Holy Ghost, take measures to obtain a true renewing, after your falsehoods? And if we do ill in urging this, why do you seek after us? or, at any rate, if it is an offence, condemn Paul in this instance; the Paul who certainly washed off what had already existed, whereas we in you give baptism which does not as yet exist. For you do not, as we have often said before,

> wash with a true baptism; but you bring on men an ill repute by your empty name of a false baptism" (II:xxxvii.85).

In reply Augustine maintains that the reason why St. Paul commanded the disciples at Ephesus who had been baptized only with John's baptism to be rebaptized with the baptism of Christ was not in order to supply something that was deficient in John's baptism, but rather because "the baptism of John was one thing, the baptism of Christ another" (II:xxxvii.87). John's baptism was amongst those sacraments contained in the Law and the prophets which foreshadowed things to come, and since these things were fulfilled in Christ, the Old Testament prefigurements are now replaced by sacraments which bear witness to the fact that that which they foreshadowed has now been fulfilled.

> "For the law and the prophets up to the time of John the Baptist had sacraments which foreshadowed things to come: but the sacraments of our time bear testimony that that has come already which the former sacraments foretold should come. John therefore was a foreteller of Christ nearer to Him in time than all who went before him. . . . the sacrament of his baptism is still connected with the foretelling of Christ's coming, though as of something very soon to be fulfilled, seeing that up to this time there were still foretellings of the first coming of our Lord, of which coming we now have announcements, but no longer predictions." (ibid.)

Augustine emphasizes, however, that Christ did not reject these sacraments which foretold his coming, but by his acceptance of them taught us to revere those sacraments which have replaced them, bearing witness that he has already come:

> "the Lord, teaching the way of humility, condescended to make use of the sacraments which he found here in reference to the foretelling of His coming, not in order to assist the operation of His cleansing, but as an example for our piety, that so He might show to us with what reverence we ought to receive those sacraments which bear witness that He is already come, when He did not disdain to make use of those which foreshadowed His coming in the future." (ibid.)

Augustine cites circumcision as another example of a rite which, belonging to the old dispensation, foretold Christ's coming, but which it is now no longer necessary to keep since that which it foretold has been fulfilled, and which has been replaced by another sacrament, baptism, to indicate that that which it foretold has been fulfilled:

> sic ergo circumcisio octaui diei quae patribus data est praenuntiabat iustificationem nostram in expoliatione carnalium concupiscentiarum per resurrectionem domini, quae post septimum id est sabbati diem octauo die id est dominico facta est, qui dies tertius post sepulturam eius occurrit; eandem tamen praenuntiantem circumcisionem carnis infans Christus accepit. et quemadmodum pascha quod a Iudaeis celebrabatur in occisione agni praenuntiabat domini passionem et transitum de hoc mundo ad patrem, et ipsum tamen pascha quod erat in eadem praenuntiatione idem dominus cum discipulis celebrauit, quando ei suggesserunt dicentes: ubi uis paremus tibi pascha? sic et baptismum Iohannis qui erat in proxima eius praenuntiatione etiam ipse suscepit. sed sicut aliud est carnis circumcisio Iudaeorum, aliud autem quod octauo die baptizatorum nos celebramus, et aliud est pascha quod adhuc illi de oue celebrant, aliud autem quod nos in corpore et sanguine domini accipimus, sic alius fuit baptismus Iohannis, alius est baptismus Christi. illis enim uentura ista praenuntiabantur, istis completa illa praedicantur;

"In like manner...circumcision on the eighth day, which was given to the patiarchs, foretold our justification, to the putting away of carnal lusts through the resurrection of our Lord, which took place after the seventh day, which is the Sabbath day, on the eighth day, that is the Lord's day, which fell on the third day after his burial; yet the infant Christ received the same circumcision of the flesh with its prophetic signification. And as the Passover, which was celebrated by the Jews with the slaying of a lamb, prefigured the passion of our Lord and His departure from this world to His Father, yet the same Lord celebrated the same Passover with His disciples, when they reminded Him of it, saying, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover? and so too He Himself also received the baptism of

> John, which formed a part of the latest foretelling of His coming. But as the Jews' circumcision of the flesh is one thing, and the ceremony which we observe on the eighth day after persons are baptized is another; and the Passover which the Jews still celebrate with the slaying of a lamb is one thing, and that which we receive in the body and blood of our Lord is another,—so the baptism of John is one thing, and the baptism of Christ is another. For by the former series of rites the latter were foretold as destined to arrive; by these latter the others are declared to be fulfilled." (ibid.)

The reason why the disciples at Ephesus who had already been baptized with the John's baptism needed to be baptized also with the baptism of Christ was, Augustine argues, because there was a time of overlap immediately subsequent to the coming of Christ when those who had undergone rites which signified Christ's coming needed to undergo rites which bore witness to the fact that Christ had now come. However, Augustine emphasizes, this situation was peculiar to that time alone, and there is now no need for those who have received these latter rites to receive the former:

> "But when the coming of our Lord was as yet recent, it was necessary for anyone who had received the former that he should be imbued with the latter also; but it was wholly needless that anyone who had been so imbued should be compelled to go back to the former rites." (ibid.)

The occurrence of "expoliatio" in the phrase "in expoliationem carnalium concupiscentiarum per resurrectionem Domini" in a context in which the spiritual significance of circumcision is discussed, again indicates that Colossians 2:11 has influenced Augustine's argument here.

There is no need to repeat points which we can learn from this extract concerning the way in which Augustine understood Colossians 2:11 which we have already noted above in relation to other allusions to this verse. It is important to note, however, the manner in which Augustine explains the relationship between circumcision and baptism. Although he argues that circumcision has been replaced by baptism, it is noteworthy, once again, that Augustine does not argue that the Jewish rite of circumcision prefigured, or was a type of the Christian rite of baptism, or that baptism is the

fulfilment of circumcision. It confirms that at this stage in the development of his thought, although Augustine understood baptism to be the means by which we participate in the resurrection of Christ, it is improbable that he understood "in circumcisione Christi" in Colossians 2:11 to have a secondary reference to the Christian rite of baptism.

5.9.4 Sermon To the Newly Baptized: On the Octave of Easter: s4

Although it is not possible to give a precise date to this sermon, the references to the Donatist controversy, and the fact that, in the extract cited below, circumcision is regarded as a figure for the removal of mortality rather than sin, suggests that it is an early sermon, and was certainly delivered prior to the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy. According to H. Kunzelmann (51) it belongs to the period 393–405.

In section 4 Augustine comments:

> Hodie dies octavus est nativitatis vestrae: hodie completur in vobis signaculum fidei, quod apud antiquos patres in circumcisione carnis fiebat octavo die carnalis nativitatis; figurabatur enim expoliatio mortalitatis in eo membro humano per quod moriturus nascitur homo. Unde et ipse dominus mortalitate carnis resurgendo se expolians, et non quidem aliud, sed tamen ultra non moriturum corpus exsuscitans, dominicum diem in sua resurrectione signavit, qui post diem passionis eius tertius, in numero autem dierum post sabbatum octavus est, idemque primus. Unde et vos nondum re, sed certa iam spe, quia et huius rei sacramentum habetis, et pignus Spiritus accepistis,

> "Today is the octave of your nativity, and the seal of faith is completed in you today. In the Old Law, the seal used to be effected through the circumcision of the flesh on the eighth day after birth, because the divesting of mortality used to be figuratively represented in that bodily member through which man is born to die. Even the Lord Himself divested Himself of the mortality of the flesh by rising again, for He did not raise up

> another body; He raised up the same body, which nevertheless will die no more. By His resurrection he has therefore put the seal of 'Lord's Day' on the day which is the third from the day of His passion, and which is at once the eighth after the first day after the Sabbath. Hence, you have received also the pledge of the Spirit. For, while you have not actually received His pledge in its fulfilment, you have received it in a hope that is certain, because you have received the sacrament of that which is pledged."

The use of "expoliatio" in a context in which the spiritual significance of circumcision is discussed again suggests the influence of Colossians 2:11. It is significant that here Augustine uses "expoliatio" to refer to that which Christ effected in his resurrection rather than "exuo" as in the variant reading in Colossians 2:15. This confirms that, at this stage in the development of his thought, Augustine understood the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11 to refer both to what happens to the believer and to that which Christ effected in his resurrection. This extract also confirms that at this stage in the development of his thought, Augustine understood "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 figuratively to mean mortality, and the genitive "corporis" to be a genitive of separation, the whole phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" meaning "the stripping off of mortality from the body." The body in which Christ rose again, Augustine emphasizes, is the same body which he bore prior to the resurrection, and that which he stripped off in his resurrection was the mortality of the flesh, so that the body is now no longer subject to death.

Once again it is relevant to note that, at this stage in his career, Augustine did not understand circumcision to prefigure baptism. The relationship between circumcision and baptism being that they both signify the removal of mortality in the resurrection of Christ, baptism being a pledge ("pignus") of the believer's future participation in the resurrection of Christ. It is, however, the Spirit, who is received in baptism, not the mere submission to the outward rite, that is this pledge.

5.9.5 Sermon 210: sii.3

The date of this Lenten sermon is also uncertain, though that Augustine speaks here of the putting off of the old carnal life, rather than of sin, suggests that this sermon was also delivered before the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy.

In section ii.3.Augustine maintains that

> melius est sacramentum resurrectionis Christi, quo ad expoliandam carnalem ac veterem vitam circumciditur christianus, ut audiat Apostolum dicentem : *Sicut Christus resurrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, sic et nos in novitate vitæ ambulemus* (Rom. vi, 4). Sicut ipsum vetus Pascha, quod agni occisione celebrare præceptum est, non ideo quia hoc cum discipulis celebravit Christus, melius est quam Pascha nostrum, quo immolatus est Christus. Pertinuit enim ad præbendum nobis humilitatis et devotionis exemplum, ut illa etiam sacramenta veniens suscipere dignaretur, quibus venturus ipse prænuntiabatur : ut hinc ostenderet quanta religione nos oportet hæc suscipere sacramenta, quibus jam venisse nuntiatur.

> "the mystery of the Resurrection of Christ, by which the Christian is circumcised for the destruction of the old, carnal life, so that he may hearken to the Apostle when he says: 'Just as Christ has risen from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life,' is better than the circumcision of the flesh which no Christian now receives, although Christ received it. Likewise, the old Pasch which the Jews were commanded to celebrate by the slaying of a lamb is not, by reason of the fact that Christ celebrated it with His disciples, better than our Pasch on which Christ Himself was immolated. For it was in keeping with His desire to furnish us an example of humility and devotion that He, on coming to us, deigned to share in those symbolic mysteries by which His coming was foreshadowed, so that in this way He might indicate the great devotion with which we should receive these sacraments that proclaim that He has come."

The phrase "expoliandam carnalem ac veterem vitam", occuring as it does in a context in which the spiritual significance of circumcision is dis-

cussed, suggests the influence of Colossians 2:11. The phrase "veterem vitam" is due to the influence of Romans 6:4. Circumcision is a figure for the moral renewal of the believer effected by the resurrection of Christ. According to Romans 6:4 Christ rose again so that we might walk "in newness of life". By implication, therefore, that which is put off is "the old life". That this is described as the old "carnal" life is due to the influence of "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 which Augustine understands metaphorically.

5.9.6 Sermon 231: On the Resurrection According to St. Mark: s2

The date of this Easter sermon is also uncertain. However, the lack of reference to guilt ("reatus") in the list of the inherited consequences of Adam's sin, suggests that it was written before the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy. According to Kunzelmann (52) it was delivered after the year 400.

In section 2 Augustine comments:

> Non enim Christo debebatur mori. Vnde uenerit mors, originem si quaeramus, pater mortis peccatum est. Si enim numquam peccaretur, nemo moreretur. Legem dei, hoc est praeceptum dei, cum condicione homo primus accepit, ut si seruaret, uiueret, si corrumperet, moreretur. Non sese credendo moriturum fecit unde moreretur et inuenit uerum fuisse quod dixerat qui legem dederat. Inde mors, inde mortalis, inde labor, inde miseria, inde etiam post mortem primam mors secunda [3], id est, post mortem temporalem mors sempiterna. Huic ergo condicioni mortis, his legibus inferni obstrictus nascitur omnis homo ; sed praeter illum hominem qui homo factus est ne periret homo.
>
> Non enim legibus mortis uenit obstrictus, ideo dicitur in psalmo : *Inter mortuos liber* [a]. Quem sine concupiscentia uirgo concepit, quem uirgo peperit — et uirgo permansit, qui uixit sine culpa, qui non est mortuus propter culpam, communicans nobiscum poenam, non communicans culpam — *poena culpae mors* [b] — dominus Iesus Christus mori uenit, peccare non uenit.
>
> Communicando nobiscum sine culpa poenam et culpam soluit et poenam [1]. Quam poenam soluit ? Quae nobis debebatur post istam uitam. Ergo crucifixus est ut in cruce

ostenderet ueteris hominis nostri occasum et resurrexit ut in sua uita ostenderet nostrae uitae nouitatem. Sic enim docet doctrina apostolica : *Traditus est*, inquit, *propter peccata nostra et resurrexit propter iustificationem nostram* [c]. Huius rei signum circumcisio data erat patribus ut octaua die circumciderctur omnis masculus. Circumcisio fiebat *ex cultellis petrinis* [d], quia *petra erat Christus* [e]. In ista circumcisione significabatur exspoliatio carnalis uitae octaua die per Christi resurrectionem. Septimus enim dies ebdomadis sabbato completur. Sabbato dominus iacuit in sepulchro, septimo sabbati; resurrexit octauo. Resurrectio ipsius innouat nos. Ergo octauo die circumcidit nos. In ipsa spe uiuimus.

"Truly, Christ was under no obligation to die. Let us examine the source from which death arose. Sin is the father of death. If there had been no sin, there would have been no death. The first man received the law of God, that is, the command of God, with this stipulation: that, if he kept the law, he would live; if he violated it, he would die. By not believing that he was going to die, man brought about his own death; and he discovered that He who had given the law had said what was true. Thence [came] death; thence, mortality; thence fatigue; thence, wretchedness; thence, even after the first death, came a second death, that is, after the death in time came death for all eternity. Therefore, every man is born subject to this condition of death, subject to these laws of the lower world, with the sole exception of that Man who became Man so that man might not perish. For He came, hampered by no laws of death, as the Psalmist says: 'Free among the dead.' Without concupiscence a virgin conceived Him to whom she, still a virgin, gave birth, remaining a virgin. He lived without sin; He did not die because of His own sin; He shared with us our punishment, but not our sin. Death is the punishment of sin. The Lord Jesus Christ came to die; He did not come to sin. By sharing with us the penalty without the sin, He cancelled both the penalty and the sin. What penalty did He cancel? That which was destined for us after this life. Hence, He was crucified, so that on the cross He might show the destruction of our old man; and He rose again so that He might point out the newness of our life. For thus the apostolic teaching expresses it: 'He was delivered up for our sins, and rose again for our justification.' To symbolize this fact, circumcision was imposed

> upon the ancients, so that on the eighth day every male child was circumcised. The circumcision was performed with stone knives 'because Christ was the rock.' That circumcision typified the stripping off of the carnal life on the eighth day through the Resurrection of Christ. For the seventh day of the week is completed by the sabbath. On the sabbath, the seventh day being the day of the sabbath, the Lord lay in the tomb. He arose on the eighth day; and His Resurrection renews us. Therefore, by rising on the eighth day He circumcises us; in this hope we live."

The occurrence of "expoliatio" in the phrase "expoliato carnalis vitae" again suggests the influence of Colossians 2:11. The reference here to the knives of stone is probably an allusion to Joshua 5:2. This, together with the reference to Christ as the "Rock" (1 Corinthians 10:4) confirms that Augustine understood "in circumcisione Christi", at one level at least, as a subjective genitive, referring to a circumcision that Christ himself effects. That Augustine speaks of this circumcision, in so far as the Christian is concerned, as a matter of future hope suggests that he has in mind primarily the removal of mortality, and that when he states that Christ "circumcises us" by rising again on the eighth day he probably has in mind the removal of mortality from our human nature. However, the fact that he states that Christ "rose again so that He might point out the newness of life" (cf. Romans 6:4) and also the quotation of Romans 4:25 (see section 5.9.2.1 above) indicates that he also has in mind the theme of moral renewal. It is difficult, therefore, to determine whether the phrase "carnalis vitae" means "mortal life", in which case the whole phrase "expoliatio carnalis vitae" could refer to both the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection and the circumcision that he will effect in the life of the Christian, or to our old sinful life, in which case it would refer to the latter only.

Augustine's argument here suggests that he attributed separate functions to Christ's death and his resurrection, his death being the means by which the penalty of sin is cancelled, and his resurrection being the means by which the power of sin, and the consequence of sin, death, were overcome.

5.9.7 Easterday Sermon: s2

There is a more clear allusion to Colossians 2:11 in Augustine's Easterday sermon, delivered in 410. (53)

Si enim sic nos exhilarant praetereuntes dies, quibus Christi passionem et resurrectionem devota sollemnitate recolimus, quomodo beatificabit aeternus, ubi eum videbimus, et cum eo permanebimus, quem nunc desiderando et sperando gaudemus? Quantam dabit exultationem ecclesiae suae, cui regeneratae per Christum tollit quodammodo carnalis naturae praeputium, hoc est, nativitatis opprobrium? Hinc dictum est: ET VOS, CUM ESSETIS MORTUI IN DELICTIS ET PRAEPUTIO CARNIS VESTRAE, VIVIFICAVIT CUM ILLO, DONANS NOBIS OMNIA DEBITA. SICUT ENIM IN ADAM OMNES MORIUNTUR, SIC ET IN CHRISTO OMNES VIVIFICABUNTUR. Quocirca in Christi baptismo revelatur, quod in veteris circumcisionis umbra tegebatur; et hoc ipsum ad eandem circumcisionem non manu factam nihilominus pertinet, cum carnalis ignorantiae tollitur tegmen. CUM TRANSIERIS, inquit, AD CHRISTUM, AUFERTUR VELAMEN. EXPLICIT · II ·

This allusion to Colossians 2:11 confirms that Augustine understood "non manufacta" as an adjectival phrase, qualifying "circumcisione", emphasizing the spiritual nature of the circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ.

Augustine does not explicitly refer to the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis". The foreskin, however, is understood to signify original sin—"the reproach of birth", though the subsequent reference to the removal of the covering of fleshly ignorance suggests that Augustine has also in mind the theme of a moral transformation and change. Augustine identifies the foreskin with the veil mentioned in 2 Corinthians 3:26. (Compare Gregory Nyssen: Commentary On Canticles of Canticles Homily XIII: see p.252 above).

Here Augustine maintains that God took away the foreskin of the fleshly nature through Christ. The subsequent quotation of Colossians 2:13 and 2 Corinthians 15:22 indicates that he has in mind here that which was effected through Christ's death and resurrection. Augustine does not however, state or even imply here that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. Nor indeed does he develop here the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. Rather he maintains that carnal circumcision was a shadow of the baptism of Christ. In view of this and the subsequent allusion to Colossians 2:11 it is possible that the phrase "in Christi baptismo" is an allusion to the phrase "in circumcisione Christi", which would indicate that Augustine now understood this as a periphrasis for baptism.

5.9.8 On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins and the Baptism of Infants

The treatise was Augustine's first anti-Pelagian work. It was written in 412 in response to a request from Augustine's friend, Count Marcellinus, the imperial commissioner who had been charged with the settlement of the Donatist issue, who had sent to Augustine a writing of Pelagian origin, asking for his comment. Augustine does not actually mention Pelagius by name until Book III (the final book), and, as Peter Brown notes, (54) it is extremely difficult to identify the opinions and pamphlets that had provided Augustine with his material for this work.

5.9.8.1 Book I:xxvi.39

In the first Book of this treatise Augustine considers original sin and the necessity of infant baptism. The reason why infants were baptized was a recurring theme in the Pelagian controversy. Augustine appealed to the fact that infants were baptised to confirm the attribution of original sin to newborn infants. Augustine understood "in quo" in the Latin translation of Romans 5:12 to mean "in whom", that is, "in Adam", and Paul's meaning here to be that the whole human race was seminally present in Adam when

he sinned and thus to have shared in his sin (cf. I:ix.10), (55) finding support for this view in the Adam-Christ parallelism of the second half of Romans 5, and 1 Corinthians 15. Subsequent generations, he argued, not only inherit a corrupt nature which, since man's will has also been impaired by the fall, he is unable to control without the grace of God, but also share in the guilt of Adam's sin, and God's punishment for it (physical and spiritual death). Hence, in addition to the "original sin" which he inherits from Adam, man adds his own "actual sins".

This distinction between original and actual sin is important for Augustine's understanding of baptism. Even though a new born infant has not committed any actual sins, it is still necessary for him to be baptized in order to be cleansed from the guilt of original sin, lest he be excluded on account of Adam's sin from the kingdom of heaven. It is important to note, however, that for Augustine baptism is effective for the cleansing of all sins, both original and actual. Thus infant baptism is effective also for the cleansing of actual sins committed in later life, and adult baptism is effective for the cleansing not merely of former sins (sins committed prior to baptism) but all sin.

Although Pelagius did not question the necessity of infant baptism, he did dispute the reason why it was necessary. The reason for this lay in his understanding of human nature and of the origins of sin. He maintained that Adam's sin impaired himself only and not the whole human race, and that his sin is transmitted by imitation of his conduct, not by natural descent. His concern was a laudable one, that people should accept responsibility for their actions and not claim that they were unable to help themselves because they had inherited a corrupt nature from Adam. New-born infants, he maintained, were in the same state as was Adam before the Fall. Hence, he rejected the view that infants needed to be baptized because they were subject to original sin. Rather, he maintained on the basis of John 3:5 and 6 that infants need to be baptized so that they might be spiritually re-born in Christ and enter the Kingdom of heaven (I.xviii.23; xxx.58).

Augustine was quick to point out the weakness of Pelagius' position,

namely that it fails to explain why new-born infants need to be spiritually reborn, and why unbaptized infants should be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. In addition, he drew attention to the fact that baptism is for the forgiveness of sins, and is the means by which, through burial with Christ, we are incorporated into him as his members, and appropriate the benefits of his death. Since new-born infants are not guilty of any actual sin, from what then, he argues, are they cleansed if not from original sin? (I.xxvi. 39).

> "...the Lord Jesus Christ came in the flesh, and, in the form of a servant, became obedient even to the death of the cross, for no other reason than, by this dispensation of His most merciful grace, to give life to all those to whom, as engrafted members of His body, He becomes Head for laying hold upon the kingdom of heaven: to save, free, redeem, and enlighten them,—who had aforetime been involved in the death, infirmities, servitude, captivity, and darkness of sin, under the dominion of the devil, the author of sin: and thus to become the Mediator between God and man, by whom (after the enmity of our ungodly condition had been terminated by His gracious help) we might be reconciled to God unto eternal life, having been rescued from the eternal death which threatened such as us. When this shall have been made clear by more than sufficient evidence, it will follow that those persons cannot be concerned with that dispensation of Christ which is executed by His humiliation, who have no need of life, and salvation, and deliverance, and redemption, and illumination. And inasmuch as to this belongs baptism, in which we are buried with Christ [baptismus quo Christo consepeliuntur] in order to be incorporated into Him as His members (that is, as those who believe in Him): it of course follows that baptism is unnecessary for them, who have no need of the benefit of that forgiveness and reconciliation which is acquired through a Mediator. Now, seeing that they admit the necessity of baptizing infants,—finding themselves unable to contravene that authority of the universal Church, which has been unquestionably handed down by the Lord and His apostles,—they cannot avoid the further concession, that infants require the same benefits of the Mediator, in order that, being washed by the sacrament and charity of the faithful, and thereby incorporated into the body of Christ, which is the Church, they may be reconciled to God,

> and so live in Him, and be saved, and delivered, and redeemed, and enlightened. But from what if not from death, and the vices, and guilt, and thraldom, and darkness of sin? And, inasmuch as they do not commit any sin in the tender age of infancy by their actual transgression, original sin only is left."

The phrase "baptismus quo Christo consepeliuntur" may be an allusion to Colossians 2:12. This extract indicates that Augustine understood burial with Christ in baptism not simply to mean a union with him in this one specific respect, but to be the means by which we are united with Christ in all respects as our Head.

5.9.8.2 Book I:xxvii.47

Augustine also quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 in s47, as part of a series of quotations from the New Testament intended to confirm that the purpose of Christ's death was to reconcile sinners to God, and that since baptism is the means by which we are united with Christ and reconciled to God, it follows that the reason why new-born infants are baptized is because they too are in need of this reconciliation on account of being subject to original sin.

Although Augustine simply quotes Colossians 2:11 and 12 without further comment, this reference is important in that it enables us to establish Augustine's text of these verses. His text is as follows:

> "in quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta, in expoliatione corporis carnis, in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismo, in quo et conresurrexistis per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis."

Augustine's text here differs from the Vulgate in that it has "etiam" not "et", and "conresurrexistis" not simply "resurrexistis" in v 12. There are a number of other differences between the text of Augustine's Pauline quotations in sections 43–49 and the Vulgate. For example, in his text of Colossians 2:15 Augustine again reads the variant "exuens se carnem". Augustine's text of Colossians 2:11 agrees with Cyprian's text in the reading

of "etiam", but includes "corporis" and omits "sed". It illustrates that the African Old Latin text of the Pauline Epistles, like the European Old Latin Version, existed in a number of recensions.

5.9.9 Letter 149: To Paulinus: s26

In 410, Paulinus, bishop of Nola, had written to Augustine seeking his help in interpreting a number of difficult passages, including Paul's reference in Colossians 2:18 to "voluntary humility and worship of angels" (Epistle 121). Unfortunately Augustine's original reply did not reach Paulinus (cf. s2), who thus wrote a further lettter, now lost, in which he repeated his questions, and to which this letter, written in 414, is Augustine's reply.

Augustine does not attempt to understand the verse in isolation, but considers it in the context of chapter 2 as a whole.

> "Let us, then," he writes, "look at the whole setting of that sentence, and we may thus grasp the Apostle's meaning, so far as we can, by examining his intention." (s24)

This is an interesting statement of Augustine's approach to exegesis, illustrating his concern both to understand the context in which a passage occurs, and also to discern the original intention of the writer. The result is a brief exposition of the whole of Colossians chapter 2.

St. Paul, Augustine argues, was concerned because the Colossian Christians

> "were being led astray by the shadows of things and by the fair name of knowledge, that were being turned away from the light of truth which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. He perceived that they should be put on their guard against that preoccupation with vain and useless observances under the name of wisdom and knowledge, against the superstition of the Gentiles, especially those who were called philosophers, and against Judaizing tendencies, for these shadows of things to come were to be rolled away since Christ their light had now come." (ibid.)

Augustine emphasizes that to argue, as the Gentiles did, that there is truth outside of Christ, or that a person is in need of the mediatorial work

of the principalities and powers, or, as the Jews did, that a person needs to adhere to the rites and observances of the Jewish law in order to be saved, is to detract from the centrality of Christ, since "in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (v3), and "in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (v8), and in him we are "complete" (v10) and because he is "the head of all principality and power" (v10).

Circumcision was one of the Jewish "shadows of things to come" which had been "rolled away since Christ their light had come." Having just quoted Colossians 2:10 Augustine continues:

> Hinc iam, ne umbris Iudaismi seducantur, adiungit: In quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in expoliatione corporis carnis — uel, sicut aliqui habent, in expoliatione corporis peccatorum carnis —, in circumcisione Christi consepulti ei in baptismum, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis dei, qui suscitauit illum a mortuis. uide, quem ad modum et hic corpus Christi eos ostendit, ut ista contemnant, cohaerentes tanto capiti suo, mediatori dei et hominum Christo Iesu, et nullum falsum uel inualidum medium, per quod deo cohaereant, requirentes. et uos, inquit, cum essetis mortui in delictis et praeputio carnis uestrae — praeputium uocauit, quod significatur praeputio, hoc est delicta carnalia, quibus expoliandi sumus —, uiuificauit, inquit, cum illo donans uobis omnia delicta, delens, quod aduersus nos erat, chirographum in decretis, quod erat contrarium nobis — quia reos lex faciebat, quae subintrauerat, ut abundaret delictum —, tollens, inquit, illud de medio et affigens illud cruci, exuens se carne principatus et potestates exemplauit fiducialiter triumphans eos in semet ipso. non utique bonos sed malos principatus et malas potestates diabolicas scilicet et daemoniacas exemplauit, id est exemplum de illis dedit, ut, quem ad modum ipse se exuit carne, sic suos ostenderet exuendos carnalibus uitiis, per quae illi eis dominabantur.

"Following this, lest they be led astray by the 'shadows of Judaism', he adds: 'In whom also you were circumcised with a cir-

> cumcision made without hand, in the putting off of 'the body of the flesh'—or, as some have it: 'in the putting off of the body of the sins of the flesh'—in the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism, in whom also you are risen again by the faith of the operation of God who hath raised him up from the dead.' See in what way he shows here also that the body of Christ sets them forth that they may despise these things [Jewish shadows] cleaving to their head, Christ Jesus, the mediator between God and men, and needing no false or worthless medium by which they may cleave to God. 'And uncircumcision of your flesh'—he calls it uncircumcision which is signified by the foreskin, that is, carnal sins, of which we are to be despoiled—'he hath quickened together with him, forgiving you all offenses, blotting out the hand-writing of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us' - because the Law made them guilty when it had entered in that sin might abound—'taking it from our midst and fastening it to the cross, stripping himself of the flesh, he hath confidently exposed the principalities and powers, trumphing over them in himself.' Certainly it was not the good, but the wicked principalities and the wicked powers, namely the diabolical and demoniac ones, which He exposed; that is, He made an example of them, so that by stripping Himself of the flesh He might show that His followers were to be stripped of the carnal vices through which these evil powers lorded it over them."

Of particular note here is that Augustine refers to the addition "peccatorum" in Colossians 2:11b, though this is the only occasion on which he does so. This is in fact the only example of this addition in a Latin writer before the sixteenth century. It was included by Erasmus in his Latin translation of the New Testament, first published in 1516, and in an annotation he justifies its inclusion on the grounds that it was present in the Greek. In the subsequent editions of 1527 and 1541 he cites this letter of Augustine as evidence that the addition was found in several Latin texts, adding that, lest anyone should despise the reading, he had checked the Greek. However, in view of the fact that there is no evidence for this addition in Latin texts of Colossians 2:11 in the Patristic Period, I think it probable that Augustine has in mind here Greek, not Latin texts. Bonner notes that by about 415–16 Augustine had a reasonable working knowledge of Greek. (56) In-

deed he had evidently consulted the Greek of at least some of the texts that Paulinus had included in his letter (cf. s3–5,6,12–14, and 27) including that of Colossians 2:18. Noting that his text of Colossians 2:18 had "cultura" angelorum, whereas Paulinus' text had "religione" angelorum, he records that the Greek underlying both translations is *θρησκεία*. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that he also read Colossians 2:11 in Greek, and, in view of the fact that the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* is common in Greek texts from the late fourth century onwards whereas the addition "peccatorum" is not otherwise attested in Latin texts of Colossians 2:11 in the Patristic Period, that even though he makes the point in Latin, he is here referrring to Greek texts which included the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*.

Whereas previously Augustine understood the foreskin to signify mortality and our fallen human nature, here he maintains that the foreskin signifies "carnal sins (delicta carnalia)". This interpretation, however, is not based upon the addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* (or "peccatorum") in Colossians 2:11, but upon Colossians 2:13 where Augustine understands "in the uncircumcision of your flesh" metaphorically to mean the same as "being dead in your sins". If to be spiritually uncircumcised means to be dead in sin, then, by implication, to be spiritually circumcised involves putting off sins. Hence Augustine interprets the phrase "corporis carnis" to mean "delicta carnalia".

This difference of interpretation is not simply exegetical. In Book XVI of the Reply to Faustus the Manichee Augustine had interpreted the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" in terms of the putting off of mortality in an exegetically satisfactory manner with reference to 1 Corinthians 15:50–54. Underlying this changed interpretation of that which the foreskin signified and therefore also of the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11 is a difference of emphasis in Augustine's understanding of original sin. Whereas in his earlier works the emphasis was upon the removal of mortality and upon the remedying of the flaw ("vitium") in our human nature, there is clearly a greater emphasis in his anti-Pelagian writings upon the removal of sin, and in particular, as we shall see, the inherited guilt of Adam's sin. That this difference of emphasis can be detected here in this

letter to Paulinus, which is not specifically anti-Pelagian, indicates that it was not simply polemical—the Manichaean denial of the bodily resurrection leading Augustine in his anti-Manichaean writings to emphasize that mortality is put off from the body, not the body itself, and the Pelagian denial of original sin leading him in his anti-Pelagian writings to emphasize this aspect of man's fallen condition—but a more fundamental difference of emphasis in his thought. It is a difference of emphasis rather than a change in understanding since to some extent each of these ideas can be found in both his early and his later writings. However, as N. P. Williams notes (57) the distinction between the inheritance of a corrupt nature ("vitium") from Adam, and inherited guilt ("reatus") is explicit in his anti-Pelagian works, whereas previously it was not.

Augustine again reads the variant "exuens se carne ...", in the light of which the fact that he uses the verb "exuo" to describe the stripping off of carnal sins, rather than the verb "expolio" or noun "expoliatio" suggests that he understood the stripping off of carnal sins to be the result of union with Christ in the circumcision that he effected in his resurrection. Clearly, however, Christ cannot be said to have put off carnal sins from himself in his resurrection. This passage illustrates the inconsistency involved in associating the theme of the circumcision as a figure for cleansing from sin with the traditional analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day in which Christ was understood to have effected a circumcision in his resurrection. Augustine develops the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day because he is here considering the spiritual significance of circumcision, and this was the traditional exposition of this theme. He is, apparently, not conscious that his more developed understanding of man's fallen condition no longer coheres with this.

5.9.10 Letter 157: To Hilary: s14

Augustine's polemic against Pelagianism was carried on in his correspondence as well as in formal treatises. This letter, written in 414, is Augus-

tine's reply to a letter that he had received from a correspondent named Hilary, who had informed him of Pelagianizing tendencies in Sicily. It takes the form of a refutation of the main tenets of Pelagianism.

Augustine alludes to Colossians 2:11 in s14 where he considers the question of how those "good men" who had lived before the coming of Christ were saved. The issue was prompted by Augustine's reply to the Pelagian view that "an unbaptized infant, cut off by death, cannot be lost because it is without sin", in which, developing the Adam-Christ parallelism of Romans 5, he had argued that in the same way that "it is impossible to find a man carnally born outside Adam's line, so no man is found spiritually reborn outside the grace of Christ" (s11; cf. s13). This inevitably raised the issue of those who had lived before Christ, and thus not known him, though it is probable that in introducing this question Augustine had in mind also that Pelagius had argued that there were certain men in the Old Testament who lived without sin, which they were able to do in virtue of the natural endowments given to man at his creation (cf. *On Nature and Grace* xxxv.40: xxvii.44).

In answering this question Augustine draws attention to the fact that Paul, in 1 Corinthians 4:13, introduces his quotation from Psalm 116:10 ("I believed, and therefore I did speak; we also believe, and therefore also we speak") by saying the Christians have "the same spirit of faith", and concludes that the "good men of old" were saved by precisely the same faith by which the Christian is saved, namely faith in the incarnation of Christ.

> "To them," he continues, "this was foretold as something about to come, while to us it is proclaimed as something accomplished; in the time of the Old Testament it was veiled, in the time of the New it is revealed; consequently, the rites in both were different, so that the Old Testament had one kind, the New another, yet faith itself, which is true, does not vary, because, 'as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.'"

Circumcision, was amongst those rites in the Old Testament which foretold the Incarnation of Christ:

> "amongst ancient rites the circumcision of children was prescribed to be performed on the eighth day, because Christ, in whom carnal sin was despoiled, which circumcision signified, rose again on Sunday, which is the eighth day following the seventh or the sabbath [in veteribus Sacramentis circumcisio parvulorum octava die fieri praecepta est [Leviticus 12:3], quoniam Christus, in quo fit delicti carnalis exspoliatio, quam significat circumcisio, die dominico resurrexit, qui post septimum sabbati octavus est]."

The phrase "in quo fit delicti carnalis exspoliatio" occuring, as it does, in a context in which the spiritual significance of circumcision is discussed, is almost certainly an allusion to Colossians 2:11.

The phrase "delicti carnalis" again indicates that, at the stage in the development of his thought, Augustine interpreted Colossians 2:11 in the light of Colossians 2:13. The context here suggests that "in quo fit delicti carnalis exspoliatio" has reference to that which Christ effected in his resurrection on the eighth day, and again that he understood "in expoliatione corporis carnis" thus to refer to both that which Christ effected in his resurrection and that which is effected in the life of the believer, despite the logical inconsistency involved. The phrase cannot, as we have already noted, have one meaning when it has reference to Christ, and another when it has reference to the believer.

5.9.11 On Original Sin: xxx.35–xxxii.37

Augustine again refers to the question of the Old Testament saints who had died before the coming of Christ in his book *On Original Sin*, written in 418, after the condemnation of the Pelagian heresy by Pope Zosimus who had at first acquitted Pelagius. This was the second of two complementary books, the first being *On the Grace of Christ*, written for the Roman matron Albina, her daughter Malinia, and Finian, Melinia's husband, all three of whom had been influenced by Pelagius and turned to Augustine for guidance. (58)

Caelestius, Pelagius' friend and disciple, had maintained that raising questions about original sin did not endanger the faith. Such questions, he

argued, were "beyond the compass of the faith", that is, the official teaching of the church expressed in the creeds, and thus that whilst a person could be in error in these matters, and in need of correction, such a person "for all that is not adjudged a heretic." (xxiii.26)

Augustine vehemently opposed this view on the grounds that, in addition to calling into question the scriptural teaching that we are sold under sin by Adam, the Pelagian rejection of the doctrine of original sin, and the assertion that it is possible for a man to live without sin, cut at the heart of the Christian faith in that it undermines the doctrine of the Mediatorial role of Christ since it implies that it is possible to be reconciled to God and rise again part from him (xxvi:31).

Augustine argues that the Old Testament saints, whom Caelestius had maintained lived without sin (xi:12) could not have been saved except through faith in Christ, the self-same faith by which we are now saved (xxiv:28). Circumcision in the old dispensation was given as a sign of this faith (xxx:35), and the reason why every male child not circumcised on the eighth day was to be cut off from God's people was because infants, far from being born with a pure nature, are born subject to original sin (xxx.35; xxxi.36). The fact that circumcision took place on the eighth day bore witness to Christ's coming in that it prefigured his resurrection on the eighth day:

> "Now there was a forecast of His [Christ's] coming undoubtedly contained not only in the other sacred institutions of the ancient Jews, but also in their circumcision of the foreskin. For the eighth day, in the recurrence of weeks, became the Lord's day, on which the Lord arose from the dead; and Christ was the rock whence was formed the stony blade for the circumcision; and the flesh of the foreskin was the body of sin." (xxxi.36).

Since the coming of Christ, there has been a change in the sacramental ordinances, in that circumcision has been replaced by baptism, but, Augustine emphasizes, there has been no change in the Mediator's help:

XXXII. 37. Mutatis proinde sacramentis posteaquam uenit qui eis significabatur esse uenturus, non tamen mutato mediatoris auxilio, qui etiam priusquam uenisset in carne, antiqua sua membra liberabat suae incarnationis fide, et nos cum essemus mortui delictis et praeputio carnis nostrae, conuiuificati sumus Christo, in quo circumcisi sumus circumcisione non manu facta, quam figurabat circumcisio manu facta, ut euacuaretur corpus peccati, cum quo sumus ex Adam nati. damnatae originis propagatio nos damnat, nisi mundemur similitudine carnis peccati, in qua missus est sine peccato, qui tamen de peccato damnaret peccatum; factus est enim pro nobis peccatum. unde dicit apostolus: obsecramus pro Christo, reconciliamini deo. eum qui non nouerat peccatum pro nobis peccatum fecit, ut nos simus iustitia dei in ipso. deus ergo, cui per eum reconciliamur, fecit eum pro nobis peccatum, id est sacrificium per quod dimitterentur nostra peccata, quoniam peccata uocantur sacrificia pro peccatis. et utique ipse pro peccatis nostris est immolatus nullum habens uitium solus in hominibus, quale quaerebatur etiam tunc in pecoribus, quo significabatur unus sine uitio ad uitia sananda uenturus. quocumque igitur die suae natiuitatis infans baptizatur in Christo, tamquam octauo circumciditur die, quoniam in illo circumciditur, qui tertio quidem ex quo crucifixus est, sed octauo in hebdomadibus resurrexit die. circumciditur autem in expoliationem corporis carnis, id est ut debitum, quod contagio carnalis generationis attraxit, gratia spiritalis regenerationis absoluat; nullus enim est mundus a sorde — qua, obsecro, sorde nisi peccati? — nec infans, cuius est unius diei uita super terram.

"There was a change of the sacramental ordinances made after the coming of Him whose advent they prefigured; but there was no change in the Mediator's help, who, even previous to His coming in the flesh, all along delivered the ancient members of His body by their faith in His incarnation, and in respect of ourselves too, though we were dead in sins and the uncircumcision of our flesh, we are quickened together in Christ, in whom we are circumcised with the circuumcision not made with the hand, such as was prefigured by the old manual circumcision, that the body of sin might be done away which was born with us from Adam. The propogation of a condemned origin condemns us, unless we are cleansed by the likeness of sinful flesh,

> in which He was sent without sin, who nevertheless concerning sin condemned sin, having been made sin for us. Accordingly the apostle says: "We beseach you in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." God, therefore, to whom we are reconciled, has made Him to be sin for us,—that is to say, a sacrifice by which our sins may be remitted; for by sins are designated the sacrifices for sins. And indeed He was sacrificed for our sins, the only one among men who had no sins, even as in those early times one was sought for among the flocks to prefigure the Faultless One who was to come to heal our offences. On whatever day, therefore, an infant may be baptized after his birth, he is as if circumcised on the eighth day; inasmuch as he is circumcised in Him who rose again on the third day indeed after He was crucified, but the eighth according to the weeks. He is circumcised for the putting off of the body of the flesh in other words that the grace of spiritual regeneraion may do away with the debt which the contagion of carnal generation contracted. "For no one is pure from uncleanness" (whatever uncleannes, pray, but that of sin?) "not even the infant, whose life is but that of a single day upon the earth." (xxxii.37)

Here Augustine argues that the foreskin symbolizes "the body of sin" (Romans 6:6). This is further explained both in terms of the corrupt nature that we inherit from Adam, and in terms of original guilt: "the debt which the contagion of carnal generation contracted." Corresponding to this, the emphasis here is upon Christ's sacrificial death, as the focus of his redemptive activity. This is as one would expect. In section 5.9.5 above we noted that Augustine, with Romans 4:25 in mind, appears to attribute separate functions to Christ's death and his resurrection, his death being the means by which the penalty of man's sin is cancelled, and his resurrection as the means by which the power of sin, and death, the consequence of sin, were overcome. Logically, therefore, the foreskin ought only to be a symbol of that in respect of which the believer is circumcised, not that which Christ put off in his resurrection, and "in expoliatione corporis carnis" ought only to refer to that which the believer puts off, not have a dual reference to both Christ and the believer.

Augustine once again, however, argues on the basis of the analogy with the eighth day that carnal circumcision prefigured Christ's resurrection, and although he does not explicitly state that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection, this is, perhaps, suggested by the statement, "On whatever day, therefore, an infant may be baptized after his birth, he is as if circumcised on the eighth day; inasmuch as he is circumcised in Him who rose again on the third day indeed after He was crucified, but the eighth according to the weeks". This implies that the circumcision that the Christian undergoes in baptism is a union with Christ in a circumcision that Christ himself underwent in his resurrection. Augustine may indeed have in mind here Fidus' view that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that infants ought to be baptized on the eighth day after birth. Augustine's point appears to be that although baptism has replaced circumcision as a sacramental sign, baptism, unlike circumcision, does not need to take place on the eighth day since baptism is the means by which a person participates in the circumcision that Christ effected on the eighth day, which circumcision, not baptism, is the fulfillment of carnal circumcision.

Once again, I suggest, Augustine repeats the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth because he is considering the spiritual significance of circumcision, and because this was the traditional exposition of this theme, without, apparently realizing, that his more developed understanding of man's fallen condition no longer cohered with this.

5.9.12 Defence Against Julian the Pelagian Heretic

Julian of Eclanum was "the last and most formidable of the Pelagian controversialists". (59) In 419 he wrote his *Four Books for Turbantius* in reply to the first book of Augustine's *On Marriage and Concupiscence*, in which Augustine had sought to show that his teaching on original sin was not a comdemnation of marriage. When Augustine responded to Julian's attack by writing the second Book of *On Marriage and Concupiscence* he had access only to extracts from Julian's work. However, in 421 he obtained a

complete text of it, and in his treatise *Against Julian* he wrote a complete refutation of it.

5.9.12.1 Book II:vi.18.

In Book two of *Against Julian* Augustine seeks to refute the Five Arguments that the Pelagians had put forward against original sin by appealing to the testimony of "the Doctors of the Catholic Church", and thereby demonstrate that it was the Pelagians, not he, who had departed from their teaching. In vi.18 he quotes s2 of Basil's *Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism*, which he mistakenly attributes to John Chrysostom:

> 18. Merito idem beatus Joannes, etiam ipse, sicut et martyr Cyprianus (*Epist.* 64, *ad Fidum*), circumcisionem carnis in signo præceptam commendat esse Baptismatis. « Et vide quomodo Judæus, » inquit, « circumcisionem non differt propter comminationem, quia omnis anima quæcumque non fuerit circumcisa die octavo, exterminabitur de populo suo » (*Gen.* xvii, 14). « Tu autem, » inquit, « non manufactam circumcisionem differs, quæ in exspoliatione carnis in corpore perficitur, ipsum Dominum audiens dicentem, *Amen, amen dico vobis, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non introibit in regnum cœlorum* » (a) [*Joan.* iii, 5]

> "Rightly the same blessed John tells us, just as the martyr Cyprian did, that circumcision was commanded for a sign of baptism. 'And see', he says, 'how because of the threat the Jew does not defer circumcision, because every soul not circumcised on the eighth day shall be destroyed from his people.' 'But you', he says, defer a circumcision made without hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, although you hear the Lord Himself saying: "Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."" (vi.18).

Augustine himself continues:

? « Cernis quemadmodum circumcisionem circumcisioni, comminationem comminationi vir ecclesiastica doctrina præditus comparavit? Quod ergo est octavo die non circumcidi, hoc est in Christo non baptizari : et quod est perire de populo suo, hoc est non intrare in regnum cœlorum. Et tamen vos in Baptismate parvulorum exspoliationem carnis, hoc est, circumcisionem non manufactam, celebrari negatis ; quia nihil eos, quo exspoliari debeant, habere contenditis. Non enim eos fatemini mortuos in præputio carnis suæ, quo peccatum significatur, maxime quod originaliter trahitur : per hoc enim est corpus nostrum corpus peccati, quod evacuari dicit Apostolus per crucem Christi (*Rom.* VI, 6).

"You see how a man versed in the doctrine of the Church compared circumcision with circumcision, threat with threat. Therefore, what it is not to be circumcised on the eighth day is the same as what it is not to be baptized in Christ, and to be destroyed out of his people has the same significance as not to enter the Kingdom of God. And yet you deny that in the baptism of infants this putting off of the body of the flesh, that is the circumcision made without hands, is solemnized, because you contend they have nothing which they need to put off. For you do not admit that they are dead in the foreskin of their flesh, which signifies sin, especially that which is contracted by way of origin. For through this our body is the body of sin, which the Apostle says is destroyed through the cross of Christ." (ibid.)

It is a moot question whether, in fact, the quotation from Basil does actually support, as Augustine claims, the view that infants need to be baptized because they are subject to original sin. Basil does not actually explain why, under the old covenant, an infant would be cut off from his people if he were not circumcised, or why now an infant will not inherit the Kingdom of God if he is not baptized. In fairness to the Pelagians, we must note that this, and some of the other passages Augustine cites in this book, are ambiguous and one can sympathize, therefore, though not agree with, their conviction that they were simply repeating what others had taught, and that it was Augustine, not they, who was advancing a new doctrine. Indeed, as we have already seen (section 5.9.8.1 above), the Pelagians accepted the necessity of infant baptism on the basis of John 3:5, and they would, no doubt, have accepted Basil's remarks here—though not

Augustine's interpretation of them.

Here again Augustine explains that the foreskin "signifies sin, especially that which is contracted by way of origin",—in other words both original and actual sin. That he speaks of the foreskin "of the flesh (praeputium carnis)", rather than simply the foreskin, is due to the influence of the phrase "corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11, and indicates that he understood carnis there to mean "sin". This was probably due to the parallel between the phrase "corporis carnis" in Colossians 2:11 and "corpus peccati" in Romans 6:6 to which he also alludes. That he has in mind here the putting off of both original and actual sin suggests that he understood "corporis" in Colossians 2:11 figuratively, to mean "the totality" of sin.

This is the first time that Augustine argues that the Jewish rite of circumcision is a sign ("signum") of the Christian rite of baptism, and the putting off of the foreskin prefigures the putting off in baptism. This is also the first time that Augustine uses the analogy between circumcision and baptism to confirm the attribution of original sin to new-born infants.

Augustine's statement that the body of sin is destroyed "through the cross of Christ" is an allusion to Paul's reference in Romans 6:6 to our old man being crucified with Christ. It is a further indication of the change in emphasis in Augustine's thought from Christ's resurrection to his death as the focus of his redemptive activity. The circumcision from sin is here thought to take place through union with Christ in his death, rather than in his resurrection as Augustine had maintained in his *Reply to Faustus the Manichee.* In view of this, and the fact that many writers understood crucifixion with Christ and burial with Christ to refer to the same action, it is probable that at this stage in the development of his thought Augustine understood circumcision to be a figure for burial with Christ in baptism.

Underlying the reference to the body of sin coming "through the body" is Augustine's belief that original sin is transmitted through the act of sexual intercourse which, although not a sin in itself, inevitably involves an element of concupiscence (*On Original Sin* xxxciii.43), that is, as Bonner notes, (60) "that element of lust which is inseparable from fallen sexuality, even in

Christian marriage".

5.9.12.2 Book VI: vi.18 and 20

One of the arguments that Julian had advanced against Augustine's attribution of original sin to new-born infants was that if all sins are forgiven in baptism, then those born of baptized parents cannot contract original sin:

> "By the very nature of things it cannot be proved that parents transmit what it is believed they do not possess. If they transmit it, they have not lost it." (Cited by Augustine: VI.vi.18; cf. II.iv.41). (61)

Augustine refutes this view by referring to the analogy between circumcision and baptism. The removal of the foreskin, he emphasizes, signified the removal of sin, both original and actual, in baptism, and in the same way that a man, who has himself been circumcised nonetheless begets sons who bear the foreskin, so also Christian parents who have been cleansed from sin in baptism nonetheless transmit original sin to their children:

> Quid enim præputii retinet circumcisus, de quo præputiatus tamen gignitur, et quod jam non est in homine, traditur in hominis semine? Nec ob aliud credendum est, antiquis patribus hoc divinitus fuisse præceptum, ut octavo die circumciderent parvulos ad significandam[1] regenerationem quæ fit in Christo, qui post diem septimum sabbati, quo die jacuit in sepulcro, traditus propter delicta nostra, sequenti, id est, octavo in hebdomadibus die resurrexit propter justificationem nostram (*Rom.* IV, 25). Quod sacramentum circumcisionis in figura præcessisse Baptismatis, quis vel mediocriter sacris Litteris eruditus ignoret; cum apertissime de Christo dicat Apostolus, *Qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis, in quo etiam circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta, in exspoliatione corporis carnis, in circumcisione Christi; consepulti ei in Baptismo, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis : et vos cum essetis mortui in delictis et præputio carnis vestræ, vivificavit cum illo, donans nobis omnia delicta* (Coloss. II, 10-13)? Hujus ergo circumcisionis non manufactæ, quæ nunc fit in Christo, similitudo præmissa est illa circumcisio manu facta, quæ data est Abrahæ.

" "Is there any part of the foreskin retained by a circumcised man," he argues, "whence a man may yet be born with a foreskin? and what is no longer in man is conveyed in the seed of man? We believe the commandment to circumcize infants on the eighth day was divinely given to the ancient fathers to signify the regeneration which is made in Christ, who after the seventh day of the week, on which He lay in the tomb delivered up for our sins, on the following day, that is on the eighth day in the sequence of weeks, rose again for our justification. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of the sacred Scripture knows that the sacrament of circumcision was a figure of baptism, for the apostle says of the clearest terms of Christ: 'Who is the head of every Principality and Power, in whom you too have been circumcized with a circumcision made without hand in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ. For you were buried together with him in baptism in which [or whom] you were also raised through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead. And you, when you were dead by reason of the uncircumcision of your flesh, he quickened together with him, forgiving you all your sins.' The circumcision wrought by hand, given to Abraham, is a likeness of the circumcision wrought without hand, which is now made in Christ." (s18)

Julian had also maintained that the foreskin cannot symbolize sin, since that would make God the creator of evil. Although Augustine had already repudiated this view in Book III, he briefly refers to it again in s20, emphasizing that:

> Sic et præputium quoniam particula est humani corporis, quod totum est bona susbstantia, utique bonum est per naturam; sed malum significat per figuram, cum die octavo circumcidi præcipitur parvulus, propter Christum, in quo, sicut Apostolus dicit, circumcisi sumus circumcisione non manu facta, quam sine dubio præfiguravit circumcisio manu facta. Præputium itaque non est peccatum, sed significat peccatum, et maxime originale; quia per ipsum membrum est origo nascentium, per quod peccatum dicti sumus natura filii iræ: nam et ipsum membrum natura proprie dicitur. Proinde circumcisio carnis non solum illam quasi generalem sententiam

vestram sine ambiguitate subvertit, qua dicitis, « Per rerum naturam fieri non posse, ut quo ipse caruit, tradat proli parens : » verum etiam quia præputium peccatum significat, et invenitur in nascente, quod jam non erat in parente ; profecto originale peccatum quod jam remissum est parentibus baptizatis, manere demonstrat in parvulis, nisi et ipsi baptizentur, id est, spirituali circumcisione mundentur : vosque convincit esse verissimum quod negatis ; quia et ipse parvulus, de quo dictum est, *Peribit anima ejus de populo suo*, si octavo die non fuerit circumcisus (*Gen.* xvii. 14, 12), invenire sub justo judice cur pereat non potestis, negantes originale peccatum.

"The foreskin is a part of the human body, the whole of which is a good substance, a natural good, but by figure it signifies an evil, when an infant is commanded to be circumcised on the eighth day because of Christ, in whom the Apostle says we have been circumcized with a circumcision made without hand, the circumcision wrought by hand undoubtedly prefiguring it. Thus the foreskin is not sin, but it signifies sin, and above all, original sin, for the origin of those who are born is through that member, and through the sin we are said to be by nature children of wrath, for that member is also properly called nature. The circumcision of the flesh, then, more than refutes with certainty your supposedly general proposition that 'From the very nature of things, a parent cannot transmit to his offspring what he himself does not possess'. Since the foreskin signifies sin, and since something no longer formed in the parent is found in the offspring, it follows that the original sin which has already been remitted in baptized parents remains in the infants, unless they also are baptized, that is, cleansed by spiritual circumcision. Thus, what you deny is most true; for those who deny original sin can find no reason why the infant of whom it is said 'That soul shall be destroyed out of his people unless he is circumcized on the eighth day', should perish under the just judge." (s20)

Although Augustine refers to the traditional analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, he does not explicitly state that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection. The foreskin is again understood to symbolize sin, both original and actual, but especially original sin. Clearly upon this view the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" can have reference only to that which is removed from

the baptized.

Here Augustine argues that "the sacrament of circumcision was a figure of baptism" and that to be baptized is to be "cleansed by spiritual circumcision (spirituali circumcisione mundentur)" (s20). This suggests that at this stage in the development of his thought Augustine may have understood "in circumcisione Christi" in Colossians 2:11 as a periphrasis for the rite of baptism.

5.9.13 On the Trinity: Book IV.vii.11

Augustine's treatise *On the Trinity* is "one of the high points of Patristic literature" (62). Whilst it is partly directed against the Arian heresy, it is dogmatic rather than polemical in character, Augustine's primary purpose, as Rusch, notes (63) being "to strengthen the understanding of, and faith in, the Trinity among orthodox believers", rather than to refute the specific errors of the Arians point by point. The work was composed in two stages: Books I-XII were written between 399 and 412, and were published without his permission; the remaining books, and a revised version of Books I-XII were published in 419 or 420.

In Book IV.iii.5 and 6 Augustine had sought to explain how the one death of Christ brought salvation to our double death, that is both spiritual and physical, and how the one resurrection of Christ is effective for both our spiritual and physical resurrection. After a somewhat tortuous and dubious digression (iv.7–vi.10) Augustine returns to the theme, concluding that it is necessary that

> ueniremus ad unum, et multis *peccatis* in anima *mortui* et *propter peccatum* in carne morituri amaremus sine peccato mortuum in carne pro nobis unum, et in resuscitatum credentes et cum illo *per fidem* spiritu resurgentes iustificaremur in uno iusto facti unum, nec in ipsa carne nos resurrecturos desperaremus cum multa *membra* intueremur praecessisse nos *caput unum* in quo *nunc per fidem* mundati et *tunc per speciem* redintegrati et per mediatorem deo reconciliati haereamus uni, fruamur uno, permaneamus unum.

> "we should come to that One [Christ], and dead as we were in our souls by many sins, and destined to die in the flesh on account of sin, that we should love that One, who, without sin, died in the flesh for us; and by believing in Him now raised again, and by rising again with Him in the spirit through faith, that we should be justified being made one in the one righteous One; and that we should not despair of our own resurrection in the flesh itself, when we consider that the one Head had gone before us the many members; in whom, being now cleansed through faith, and then renewed by sight, and through Him as mediator reconciled to God, we are to cleave to the One, to feast upon the One, to continue one." (vii.11).

It is possible that the phrase "cum illo per fidem spiritu resurgentes" is an allusion to Colossians 2:12b, though this is by no means certain. If Colossians 2:12b is in mind, then that Augustine speaks of being raised "cum illo" rather than "in quo" suggests that he understood "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to Christ, not baptism. Despite the fact that Augustine speaks of being raised with Christ ("resurgentes"), not jointly raised ("conresurgentes") it is unlikely that "cum illo" represents the "con" of "conresurrexistis" rather than "in quo", which, were this the case, would have been taken to refer to baptism. There is no mention here of baptism, and baptism is, for Augustine, the means by which we are united with Christ as our Head, and thus participate in his resurrection, but it is not the direct cause of our resurrection.

Augustine's argument here also suggests that, if Colossians 2:12b is in mind, he had duly noted the perfect "conresurrexistis", and understood this to refer to the present spiritual resurrection from sin rather than to the future physical resurrection from death; and that he understood "operationis" to be an objective genitive—that is, that we are raised through our faith "in the operation" of God. Augustine believed that ultimately faith was a gift from God, but this never led him to minimize the need for a response from the individual. (64)

5.9.14 On the Trinity Book XIV:xvi.22; XV:xix.36; On the Soul and Its Origin: IV.xxii.36

These three passages may conveniently be considered together since Augustine's argument in each case is substantially the same.

Book XIV of *On the Trinity* was written in 416 or 417. In XVI.22. Augustine explains that when Paul speaks in Ephesians 4:22, of "the spirit of the mind" he does not mean that the "spirit" and the "mind" are separate entities. The term spirit, he notes, is ambiguous, and can itself mean several things. But, he argues, in Ephesians 4:23 "the apostle intended to express by the "spirit of the mind" that spirit which is called the mind." In support of this Augustine appeals to Colossians 2:11 where the phrase "the body of the flesh" similarly simply means "the flesh":

> Sicut ait etiam idem apostolus : *In exspoliatione corporis carnis*. Non duas utique res intellegi uoluit quasi aliud sit caro, aliud corpus carnis, sed quia corpus multarum rerum nomen est quarum nulla caro est (nam multa sunt excepta carne corpora caelestia et corpora terrestria), corpus carnis dixit, corpus quae caro est.

> "the same apostle also, when he says," In the putting off of the body of the flesh," certainly did not intend two things, as though the flesh were one, and the body of the flesh another: but because body is the name of many things that have no flesh (for besides the flesh, there are many bodies celestial and bodies terrestrial), he expressed by the body of the flesh that body which is flesh."

Augustine's argument here is clearly dependent upon that of Jerome: *Against John of Jerusalem* s27. (See section 5.6.3 above).

We find a similar argument in Book IV of the treatise *On the Soul and its Origin*, which was written between 419 and 421:

> ac per hoc quod ait idem apostolus: renouamini spiritu mentis uestrae, quid aliud dixit quam 'renouamini mente uestra'? sic enim spiritus mentis nihil est aliud quam mens, quomodo corpus carnis nihil aliud potest esse quam caro. nam et hoc scriptum est: in expoliatione corporis carnis, ubi carnem corpus carnis appellat.

> "When the apostle says, "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind," what else does he mean than, Be ye renewed in your mind? "The spirit of the mind" is, accordingly, nothing else than the mind, just as "the body of the flesh" is nothing but the flesh: thus it is written, "In the putting off of the body of the flesh," where the apostle calls the flesh "the body of the flesh"." (xxii.36)

In book XV of *On the Trinity*, which was written about the year 417, a similar reasoning is applied to the phrase "the gift of the Holy Spirit" in Acts 10:45:

> cum audiunt *donum spiritus sancti*, illud genus locutionis agnoscant quod dictum est *in exspoliatione corporis carnis*. Sicut enim corpus carnis nihil aliud est quam caro, sic donum spiritus sancti nihil aliud est quam spiritus sanctus.

> "the phrase "the gift of the Holy Spirit" is a form of expression of the same kind as "putting off the body of the flesh": just as "body of the flesh" means no more than "the flesh", so "the gift of the Holy Spirit" means no more than "the Holy Spirit". (xix.36)

These passages indicate that, on these occasions at least, Augustine took "carnis" in Colossians 2:11 as a genitive of apposition or identity, the phrase "corporis carnis" meaning "that body which is the flesh". It is probable that, on these occasions, Augustine, like Jerome, understood the phrase to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. Elsewhere, however, as we have seen, he understands the phrase to refer to that which is stripped off from the believer in the spiritual cirumcision. This inconsistency cannot be explained by a development in Augustine's understanding of the verse, since during the period covered by these works, Augustine advances both interpretations of the phrase. The inconsistency may in part be due to

the fact that Augustine understood the foreskin to prefigure that which is put off in the spiritual circumcision that the Christian undergoes in Christ. However, it is difficult to escape the unhappy conclusion that Augustine advanced that interpretation of the phrase that best suited his purpose at any given time, without realizing that it contradicted what he had written elsewhere. This may, perhaps, be forgiven given the many administrative and pastoral, as well as theological demands, made upon him.

5.9.15 Tractate Against the Jews: ii.3

The last reference to our text in the corpus of Augustine's writings is an allusion to Colossians 2:11 in his *Tractate Against the Jews* which was written towards the end of his life, almost certainly after 425, and possibly as late as 429 or 430. (65) There were sizeable Jewish communities in both Hippo and Carthage, and Augustine's purpose in this tractate is, as Rusch notes, (66) to explain the justice of God in rejecting the Jewish people and to provide Christians with answers to Jewish criticisms.

One of the criticisms that the Jews had levelled against the Christians was that they did not accept the Old Testament Law since they did not keep its precepts. The same objection had, as we have seen, also been levelled at the Christians by the Manichees, and it is interesting to speculate whether the Manichees found fuel for their anti-Christian polemic in the Jewish polemic against the Christians. Augustine responds to the criticism levelled by the Jews in much the same way that he had done previously to that of the Manichees: the Old Testament precepts were "shadows of things to come" (Colossians 2:17), and since that which they foreshadowed had been fulfilled in Christ, they have been replaced by signs which bear witness to the fact that Christ has now come. The realities to which both sets of signs bear witness, Augustine emphasizes, remain the same, but the signs themselves have been changed to suit the changed situation (ii.3-iii.4.).

With respect to the specific charge that Christians do not observe the rite of circumcision Augustine replies:

"He is circumcised by putting off the old man not in the despoil-

> ing of his body of flesh (exuendo veterem hominem circumciditur, non in exspoliatione corporis carnis)." (ii.3)

Here, as in *On the Trinity* XIV:xv.22; XV.xix.36. and in *On the Soul and Its Origin* IV.xxii.36, Augustine takes the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

5.9.16 Concluding Observations

Given the number of Augustine's references to Colossians 2:11 and 12 and that there is a gradual development in his understanding of these verses, it is appropriate here to bring together in summary form some of the points that have been made above. In general terms, it is clear that Augustine understands these verses in the light both of prior traditions concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, and of his understanding of man's fallen condition, the emphasis in his anti-Pelagian works upon the inherited guilt of Adam's sin being mirrored in his interpretation of the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to mean cleansing from sin, and in particular the guilt of Adam's sin.

Previous to Augustine circumcision had been understood as a figure for both a present moral renewal and the future removal of mortality. Augustine connects both these themes with Colossians 2:11, though exegetically the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" cannot refer to both. Augustine also understands Colossians 2:11 in the light of the traditional exposition of the analogy between circumcision the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, confirmation of which he finds in the variant reading "exuens se carnem" in his text of Colossians 2:11. In the light of this, initially at least, he understands, "in circumcisione Christi" to refer to the circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection, and the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer both to the believer and Christ. This interpretation of the verse is coherent when he has in mind the removal of mortality, but not when he has in mind the theme of moral regeneration and of cleansing from sin since clearly the phrase cannot have one meaning when it refers to Christ and another when it refers to the believer.

Corresponding to this, the view that the foreskin signifies sin, and the resultant incompatibility of this view with the view that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection upon the humanity that he had assumed, resulted in a gradual emphasis away from the view that Christ effected a circumcision in his resurrection (even though Augustine continues to repeat this view, it being part of the traditional exposition of the spiritual significance of circumcision) to the view that circumcision prefigured a circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the baptized. Corresponding to this, the Jewish rite of circumcision is understood to prefigure the Christian rite of baptism, and in Book VI of *Against Julian* the phrase "in circumcisione Christi" may be a periphrasis for the rite of baptism.

5.9.16.1 Additional Note: On Baptism Against the Donatists: Book IV:xxiii.31–xxv.33

In his polemic against the Donatists Augustine advanced the view that the response of repentance and faith that is necessary for baptism to be effective need not necessarily be concomitant with the reception of the rite of baptism itself. He accepted the validity of Donatist baptism, since it is Christ who baptizes, and the power of baptism derives from Christ himself, not from those who administer it. However, he also maintained that the effect of baptism depends upon the state of the recipient. If received in sin, which Augustine emphasizes, includes schism and heresy, it results in condemnation not salvation. However if a person subsequently repents and is reconciled with the Church, his baptism becomes effective for salvation, and there is, thus, no reason for him to be re-baptized. At the end of Book Four of his treatise *On Baptism*, the largest and most important of his anti-Donatist works, which was written about the year 400, Augustine appeals to the analogy between circumcision and baptism to confirm his view that the response of repentance and faith that is necessary for baptism to be effective need not necessarily be concomitant with the reception of the rite itself, but, as in the case of infants, may be subsequent to it:

31. "...And this is the firm tradition of the universal Church, in respect of the baptism of infants, who certainly are as yet unable "with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth to make confession unto salvation," as the thief could do; nay, who even, by crying and moaning when the mystery is performed upon them, raise their voices in opposition to the mysterious words, and yet no Christian will say that they are baptized to no purpose.

32. "And if any one seek for divine authority in this matter, though what is held by the whole Church, and that not as instituted by Councils, but as a matter of invariable custom, is rightly held to have been handed down by apostolical authority, still we can form a true conjecture of the value of the sacrament of baptism in the case of infants, from the parallel of circumcision, which was received by God's earlier people, and before receiving which Abraham was justified, as Cornelius also was enriched wih the gift of the Holy Spirit before he was baptized. Yet the apostle says of Abraham himself, that "he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith," having already believed in his heart, so that "it was counted unto him for righteousness." Why, therefore, was it commanded him that he should circumcise every male child in order on the eighth day, though it could not yet believe with the heart, that it should be counted unto it for righteousness because the sacrament in itself was of great avail? And this was made manifest by the message of an angel in the case of Moses' son; for when he was carried by his mother, being yet uncircumcised, it was required, by manifest present peril, that he should be circumcised, and when this was done, the danger of death was removed. As therefore in Abraham the justification of faith came first, and circumcision was added afterwards as the seal of faith; so in Cornelius the spiritual sanctification came first in the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the sacrament of regeneration was added afterwards in the laver of baptism. And as in Isaac, who was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, the seal of this righteousness of faith was given first, and afterwards, as he imitated the faith of his father, the righteousness itself followed as he grew up, of which the seal had been given before when he was an infant; so in infants, who are baptized, the sacrament of regeneration is given first, and if they maintain a Christian piety, conversion also in the heart will follow, of which the mysterious sign had gone before

in the outward body. And as in the thief the gracious goodness of the Almighty supplied what had been wanting in the sacrament of baptism, because it had been missing not from pride or contempt, but from want of opportunity; so in infants who die baptized, we must believe that the same grace of the Almighty supplies the want, that, not from perversity of will, but from insufficiency of age, they can neither believe with the heart unto righteousness, nor make confession with the mouth unto salvation. Therefore, when others take the vows for them, that the celebration of the sacrament may be complete in their behalf, it is unquestionably of avail for their dedication to God, because they cannot answer for themselves. But if another were to answer for one who could answer for himself, it would not be of the same avail. In accordance with which rule, we find in the gospel what strikes every one as natural when he reads it, "He is of age, he shall speak for himself."

33. "By all these considerations it is proved that the sacrament of baptism is one thing, the conversion of the heart another; but that man's salvation is made complete through the two together. Nor are we to suppose that, if one of these be wanting, it necessarily follows that the other is wanting also; because the sacrament may exist in the infant without the conversion of the heart; and this was found to be possible without the sacrament in the case of the thief, God in either case filling up what was involuntarily wanting. But when either of these requisites is wanting intentionally, then the man is reponsible for the omission. And baptism may exist when the conversion of the heart is wanting; but, with respect to such conversion, it may indeed be found when baptism has not been received, but never when it has been despised. Nor can there be said in any way a turning of the heart to God when the sacrament of God is treated with contempt. Therefore we are right in censuring, anathematizing, abhorring, and abominating the perversity of heart shown by heretics; yet it does not follow that they have not the sacrament of the gospel, because they have not what makes it of avail. Wherefore, when they come to the true faith, and by penitence seek remission of their sins, we are not flattering or deceiving them, when we instruct them by heavenly discipline for the kingdom of heaven, correcting and reforming in them their errors and perverseness, to the intent that we may by no means do violence to what is sound in them, nor, because of man's fault, declare that any-

> thing which he may have in him from God is either valueless or faulty." (xxiii:31–xxv.33)

Augustine's argument here is particularly interesting in that it indicates that he did not hold an "ex opere operato" view of the efficacy of the sacraments. However, it is his exposition of the analogy between circumcision and baptism that concerns us here. This is the first reference, as far as I am aware, of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism in the corpus of Augustine's works. It indicates that even though at this stage in the development of his thought Augustine did not understand circumcision to prefigure baptism, he nonetheless accepted the analogy between circumcision and baptism as a basis for infant baptism.

Initially, as E. W. Fairweather notes, (67) Augustine was uncertain why the church practiced infant baptism. In his treatise *On the Greatness of the Soul*, written in 387–8, Augustine speaks of infant baptism as an "obscurissima quaestio" (xxxvi.80). He was conscious of the traditional teaching of the Church that faith was a prerequisite for receiving the grace of baptism, and as Fairweather notes,

> "When Augustine speaks of infant Baptism as an 'obscurissima quaestio', the chief difficulty lies in the inability of the infant to make a personal act of faith. Since he knows that grace must be appropriated by faith, Augustine finds it hard to explain how grace can be received by the young child, and how, therefore, the sacraments can be properly administered to such children." (68)

It was, as Fairweather notes, (69), the fact that Augustine believed that infant baptism was an ancient practice, derived from the Apostles that led him to accept the practice, and to seek some explanation for it.

Augustine's initial uncertainty concerning the motive for infant baptism suggests that he did not derive his understanding of this practice from the sermons of Ambrose during his period in Milan, 384–386AD. It is probable that he became aware of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism, and the view that infants need

to be baptized because they are subject to original sin, from Cyprian's *Letter 64 to Fidus*, with which, as we have already seen, he was acquainted. Indeed, Augustine's statement in *On Baptism* IV.xxiii.31 that infant baptism was not instituted by Councils but is of Apostolic authority is probably a reference to the decision of the Council of Carthage which Cyprian reports in that letter.

Before moving on from this passage it is appropriate to note that the appeal here to apostolic authority for infant baptism is not convincing. As Jewett notes, Augustine "never cites by name anyone who teaches it earlier than Cyprian", and he makes the same claims for the practice of infant communion (*On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins* I.xxiv.34) the improbability of which "considerably abates, if it does not destroy, the force of Augustine's appeal to apostolic authority for infant baptism." (70) This appeal may have been prompted by the fact that Augustine himself had not been baptized as an infant. It indicates that Augustine believed infant baptism to be an ancient practice which had been neglected by his parents, rather than a recent innovation. The fact that Augustine considers it necessary to state that infant baptism was not instituted by Councils, rather than simply affirming that custom was handed down by apostolic authority may indeed imply that some rejected the practice of infant baptism on the grounds that it was not an apostolic institution, but an innovation, instituted by Councils. In this respect it is interesting to note that the second canon of the Council of Carthage held in 417 not only condemns those who deny that new-born infants need to be baptized for the remission of sins because they are subject to original sin derived from Adam, but also "any one [who] says that new-born children need not be baptized". Infant baptism, I suggest, was probably not as firmly established and universally practised in the late fourth and early fifth century as is often assumed.

Augustine found in the application of the analogy between circumcision and baptism to infant baptism an answer to the question how infants, who are not capable of making a personal response of repentance and faith may nontheless be baptized. He notes that although in the case of Abraham

circumcision was the seal of a prior righteousness by faith, in the case of Isaac (and also Abraham's later descendants) it was the sign of a future righteousness by faith. The analogy between circumcision and baptism enabled Augustine to distinguish between the reception and the efficacy of the sacrament, and to maintain that although a response of repentance and faith is necessary for the sacrament to become effective in a person's life, this is not a pre-requisite for the reception of the sacrament itself. The response of repentance and faith need not necessarily be concomitant with the reception of the rite itself, but may, in the case of infants be subsequent to it.

That we are able to identify Cyprian's *Letter 64 to Fidus* as the source of Augustine's awareness of the application of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism is important in that it indicates that Augustine's reasoning here is a later development in the outworking of that analogy. Initially the analogy between circumcision and baptism was used to confirm the attribution of original sin to infants. Only later was it used to explain how infants can be baptized despite their inability to make a personal response of repentance and faith. There is no evidence that this reasoning was used as an argument for infant baptism from the first. It would appear, rather, that it was derived from the fact that the analogy between circumcision was already in use as an argument for infant baptism to confirm the attribution of original sin to infants.

5.10 Pseudo-Augustine: Against Fulgentius the Donatist: Book I:c2

According to Frede (71) this work was possibly written in Africa between 430 and 450. In Book I c2 the author uses the analogy between circumcision and baptism, as Augustine previously had done (e.g. *Letter 23 to Maximinus* s4) as an argument for the unrepeatabiliy of baptism:

... Sicut ergo tunc Samaritanorum circumcisio secundo dari non poterat, ita nunc Donatistarum Baptisma iterari non debet, Domino Christo dicente, *Qui semel lotus est, non habet necessitatem iterum lavandi* (*Joan.* XIII, 10). Circumcisio enim Samaritanorum Baptisma significat Donatistarum, dicente Apostolo, *Circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in exspoliatione corporis carnis, sed in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in Baptismo* (*Coloss.* II, 11, 12). Quod autem ait Dominus, *Qui biberit ex hac aqua, sitiet iterum;* non de Baptismate, sed de terreno locutus est elemento. Nam si Baptisma hic vellet ostendere, nullo modo a Samaritana muliere postulasset. Denique puteus ille non Samariæ dictus est, sed Jacob, et utique Jacob non fuit hæreticus; sed Deo dilectus, semper charus, et ipse ex eo bibit, et filii ejus, et pecora ejus.

That the author reads the addition "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" suggests that he understood "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. That the author directly compares the rite of circumcision with the rite of baptism, assuming that what was true with regard to circumcision is automatically true of baptism (namely that since circumcision is unrepeatable so now is baptism) suggests that he understood "in circumcisione Christi" as a periphrasis for baptism.

5.11 Eucherius of Lyons (died between 450 and 455): Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae: c10

This treatise, dedicated to his son Veranus, is a defence of the allegorical interpretation of scripture. (72) According to Frede (73) it was written between 428 and 434. In chapter 10 Eucherius considers, amongst other things, the spiritual significance of circumcision.

Præputium, vita gentilis. In Apostolo : *In præputio aliquis vocatus est, non circumcidatur* (*I Cor.* VII, 18), id est, etiam qui ex gentibus ad fidem Christi venit, corpore non circumcidatur.

Circumcisio, exspoliatio vitiorum. In Apostolo : *Circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta, in exspoliatione corporis carnis* (*Coloss.* II, 11).

It is difficult to determine from the extract how Eucherius interpreted the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis". On the one hand, that Eucherius uses "expoliatio" in his explanation that circumcision signifies "the putting off of sins" may suggest that he understood the phrase to refer to that which is put off in the spiritual circumcision which the believer undergoes. On the other hand, the view that circumcision signifies the putting off of sins is not due to the addition "peccatorum" which is not present in his text of Colossians 2:11. This, together with the fact that he maintains that Gentiles coming to faith in Christ should not be circumcised in the body ("corpore"), suggests that Eucherius probably understood the phrase "in expoliatione corporis carnis" to refer to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision. It is clear, however, that Eucherius understood there to be a spiritual counterpart to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision in the spiritual circumcision that the Christian has undergone in Christ.

5.12 Peter Chrysologus (c380–450): Sermon 82: On Mark 16:1–12

Peter Chrysologus was bishop of Ravenna in Northern Italy. Little is known of his life: he is famous mainly for his sermons. In this sermon he draws a spiritual meaning from the various elements in the account of the visit of the women to the tomb on the first Easter morning, and Jesus' appearance to the two men on their way into the country. He quotes from Colossians 2:12 when drawing a parallel between the entry of the women into the tomb and burial with Christ in baptism:

> *Et introeuntes monumentum uiderunt iuuenem sedentem a dextris, coopertum stola candida.* Introierunt sepulchrum, ut consepultae Christo, Christo consurgerent de sepulchro, et impleretur illud apostoli: *Consepulti* estis *illi, in quo et resurrexistis*. Vident *iuuenem*, ut cernerent nostrae resurrectionis aetatem. Vident *iuuenem*, quia nescit resurrectio senectutem, neque aetates recipit aeterna perfectio. Homo, ubi nescit nasci, mori nescit; et ubi nasci morique nescit, ibi aetatum nec admittit detrimenta, nec indiget incrementis. Vident *iuuenem sedentem a dextris*, quia

resurrectio recipit nil sinistrum. *Vias*, inquit, *quae a dextris sunt, nouit dominus*. Et: *Tunc statuet* iustos *ad dexteram suam*. Orate, fratres, ut et nos moriamur uitiis, sepeliamur temporalibus pompis, ut aeternitati resurgamus in Christo, et a dextris positi mereamur audire: *Venite, benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum, quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi*.

5. *Coopertum stola candida*. Stola ista non est ex mortali uellere, sed ex uirtute uitali; splendens caelesti lumine, non colore terreno; et clara creatoris munere, non arte fullonis, dicente propheta: *Amictus lumen sicut uestimentum*. Et de iustis: *Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol*. Terreni terrenis uelati sunt uestimentis, et ideo sicut nouitate splendent, ita uetustate sordescunt. Caelestes uero amictu caelestis luminis ambiuntur, et a terreno squalore suspensi nec foedantur uetustate unquam, nec ullis sordibus obscurantur; sed uestes, quas semel dederit resurrectio, ad lumen perpetem uestiuntur.

This extract indicates that Peter Chrysologus understood burial with Christ in baptism to mean a participation in Christ's historic burial, not simply the appropriation of the benefits of Christ's death, and that he understood this to involve an ethical change: a death to sin and to all earthly glory, and to be freed from earthly filth. This extract also suggests that he understood "conresurrexistis" to refer to the future physical resurrection from death rather than to a present spiritual resurrrection.

5.13 Leo the Great (died 461)

With Leo we reach the terminus ad quem for our study of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted in the Western Church. Leo is famous especially for his teaching concerning the person of Christ and concerning Roman primacy. Although there are no clear references to Colossians 2:11 and 12 in his works, there are four occasions in his sermons on which he may have Colossians 2:12 in mind. These may conveniently be considered together since his thought, in so far as it may have a bearing on his interpretation of Colossians 2:12, is similar in each case. According to Rusch (74) "almost all the genuine sermons most probably come from the first ten years of Leo's pontificate", that is, from the years 440–450.

In *Sermon 63: On the Fruits of the Passion*, s7 Leo remarks: "et in quo commortui, et consepulti, et conresuscitati sumus"; in *Sermon 64* s3: "in quo omnes crucifixi, omnes mortui, omnes sepulti, omnes etiam sint

suscitati"; in *Sermon 65* s5: "in quo crucifixi, in quo sepulti, in quo sumus etiam suscitati"; in *Sermon 72: On the Resurrection of our Lord II* s3: "nos in Christo crucifixi, nos sumus mortui, nos sepulti, nos etiam in ipso die tertio suscitati."

The sequence crucifixion, death, burial, resurrection in these extracts, and in particular the reference to being raised on the third day in *Sermon 72* reflect the similar sequence in the Apostles' Creed. However in each case it is possible that Leo may also have Colossians 2:12 in mind. In three of these sermons other passages from Colossians are quoted in the immediate context which strengthens the case for regarding these extracts as allusions to Colossians 2:12. In *Sermon 63* Colossians 3:3 and 4 are quoted just after the extract cited; in *Sermon 68* Colossians 2:9 and 10 are quoted and considered immediately prior to the extract cited; and in *Sermon 72* Colossians 3:1–4 are quoted immediately following the extract cited. Leo's language in these extracts may also reflect that of Colossians 2:12. "et in quo" in *Sermon 63*, "in quo" in *Sermons 64* and in *Sermon 65*, and "in Christo" in *Sermon 72* are reminiscent of the repeated "in quo" in Colossians 2:9–12. Further, the use of "suscito" to describe the resurrection of Christ rather than "resurgo :" as in the Apostle's Creed and Colossians 2:12b may reflect the presence of "suscito" in the Vulgate of Colossians 2:12c: "qui suscitavit illum a mortuis".

If Colossians 2:12 is in mind, then the fact that Leo speaks of being raised "in him" ("in quo etiam suscitati", *Sermon 65*; "nos etiam in ipso...suscitati" *Sermon 72*) suggests that he understood "in quo" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to Christ rather than to baptism. It is probable also that he understood "conresurrexistis" in Colossians 2:12b to refer to the physical resurrection rather than to a present spiritual resurrection. He is referring in these extracts to the fact that our human nature was crucified, died, buried and raised in Christ, and it is in this sense that he speaks of "all" ("omnes": *Sermon 64*) having been crucified, died, buried and raised in Christ. Through baptism (*Sermon 63*:6) and the Eucharist (*Sermon 63*:7) we are personally united with Christ and participate in his humanity.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter I shall draw together the main conclusions made during the course of this study in order to provide a summary and overview of the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted and of their use as an argument for infant baptism.

6.1 St. Paul's understanding of Colossians 2:11 and 12, and the implications of this for the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism.

In chapter two we concluded that the comparison of Colossians 2:11 with Ephesians 1:13 suggests that περιετμήθητε is (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to be), not a figure for baptism, but rather for conversion; and that in the phrase διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ the genitive ἐνεργείας is objective (section 2.1.1). The latter conclusion was also suggested by the comparison of Colossians 2:11 with Ephesians 1:19 and 20 (section 2.1.2).

The comparison of Colossians 2:11 with Ephesians 2:11 suggests that σάρξ in Colossians 2:11 is used (or was understood by the author of Ephesians) in an evil sense; and that explains further (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to explain further) what it means to have been cir-

cumcised in Christ, emphasizing that the circumcision that Christians have undergone in Christ has freed them from the controlling power of the flesh. The parallel between Colossians 2:11 and Ephesians 2:13 suggests that the genitive *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 is (or was understood by the author of Ephesians to be) objective, referring to Christ's death on the cross, which is viewed metaphorically as a circumcision. It was also suggested that a comparison of Colossians 2:11 with Ephesians 2:14–16 may suggest that the phrase *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ.* in Colossians 2:11 may have reference to both Christ and to the believer (page 66).

It was suggested that Paul understood there to be a correspondence not between the outward rite of circumcision and the outward rite of baptism, nor indeed the subjects of circumcision and baptism, but between the spiritual significance of circumcision and the inner effects of baptism; spiritual circumcision and burial being figures for the same process, namely participation in the death of Christ; and that Paul's point is not that the Christian no longer needs to be physically circumcised because he has been baptized, but rather because he has participated in the death of Christ which is the fulfilment of circumcision, and has brought to an end the requirement for circumcision (page 69). Paul may also have understood circumcision and baptism to be analogous in that circumcision and baptism both bear witness to a person's righteousness by faith (page 76).

It was argued that the extension of the analogy between circumcision and baptism to mean that since infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized presses the analogy between circumcision and baptism beyond what was intended by St. Paul. It was further argued that the argument that although circumcision was in the case of Abraham a sign of a prior righteousness by faith, the fact that Abraham's descendants were circumcised means that on the basis of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, although in the case of converts to Christianity faith is a prerequisite for baptism, the children of believing parents ought to be baptised, their baptism pointing to the need for a future righteousness by faith, contradicts the teaching of Jesus, John the Baptist, St. Paul and St. John that a

person becomes a true son of Abraham not by physical descent but through personal faith (pages 75–78).

6.2 The Patristic Period

6.2.1 Introduction

Before summarizing how specific words and phrases were understood by Patristic writers, it is relevant to make two introductory points. First, in the Patristic Period Colossians 2:11 and 12 are generally understood in the light of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, which in turn is understood in the light of man's fallen condition. Justin, who understands man's fallen condition primarily in terms of ignorance and error, understands circumcision to be a figure for a person's response to the Christian message.

Clement, who understands man's fallen condition in terms of being subject to passion and ignorance, understands circumcision as a figure for the freeing of the soul from passion which is a necessary prelude to attaining to knowledge of God.

Alexandrian writers generally understand circumcision as a figure for an inner spiritual transformation and change.

Antiochene writers, who lay particular stress upon mortality as an important aspect of man's fallen condition understand circumcision to be also a figure for the removal of mortality. The connection between circumcision and baptism also meant that both Eastern and Western writers understand circumcision to be a figure for cleansing from sin.

From the mid-third century Western writers understand circumcision as a figure for cleansing from the effects of Adam's sin. Initially this was in terms of cleansing from the corrupt nature that we inherit from Adam. Later it was understood to include cleansing from the guilt of Adam's sin.

Second, Colossians 2:11 and 12 are introduced to confirm at least four traditions that had originally been developed independently of them, and which effect the way in which these verses were understood. First, the Testimony tradition concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision. Barn-

abas and Justin develop the Testimonies concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision on the basis of Old Testament texts, and without specific reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12. Tertullian, who was dependent upon Justin, similarly does not refer to Colossians 2:11 and 12. Cyprian, writing nearly fifty years later, adds Colossians 2:11 to provide a New Testament confirmation for this tradition. By the time of Zeno, both Colossians 2:11 and 12 had been added to the Testimony tradition concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision, and by this time the analogy beween circumcision and baptism was, in Africa and Italy at least, used as an argument for infant baptism. Second, the typology of the crossing of the Jordan and the second circumcision, which was originally developed without reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 (cf. Justin: *Dialogue* c113–4; Tertullian: *An Answer to the Jews* c9). Origen several times expounds this theme, but only on one occasion (*the Extract from the Catena on Joshua 5:2*) does he link this with Colossians 2:11. Even here, however, Colossians 2:11 adds nothing to his exposition of the theme. The text is simply quoted at the end of his exposition of the theme, without comment, to provide New Testament confirmation for the exposition which had originally been developed on the basis of Old Testament texts alone.

The connection of Colossians 2:11 with this theme led to the view that *Χριστοῦ* in Colossians 2:11 is a subjective genitive, the whole phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* refering to a circumcision that Christ effects in the life of the believer, and the connection between the second spiritual circumcision and the crossing of the Jordan contributed to the view that circumcision in Colossians 2:11 is a figure for baptism.

Third, the analogy between circumcision on the eighth day and Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. This theme was also originally developed without reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 (*Barnabas* XV.9; Justin: *Dialogue* s41:4). Origen was the first writer as far as we know explicitly to connect this tradition with Colossians 2:11 and 12 (*On Psalm 118*). The connection of Colossians 2:11 with this theme resulted in the phrase *ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* being understood to refer to a circumcision that

Christ effected in his resurrection rather than in his death.

Fourth, the typology of the Deluge was originally developed without reference to Colossians 2:11 and 12 (1 Peter 3:20–21; Justin: Dialogue: 138–139), Colossians 2:12 being added later to this theme (Asterius: *Homily XX (on Psalm VI)* s7.).

6.2.2 Exegetical Overview

There are a number of specific comments to make concerning the way in which Colossians 2:11 and 12 were interpreted in the Patristic Period.

1. *ἐν ᾧ*. The use of Colossians 2:11 in the Testimonies and elsewhere as a proof text, in isolation from its context, weakened the connection between the spiritual circumcision that is effected in the life of the believer and union with Christ. This spiritual circumcision is often understood to be effected by Christ, rather than as a result of union with him, *ἐν ᾧ* being taken as an instrumental rather than an incorporative dative.

2. *ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός*. The use of Colossians 2:11 in anti-Jewish polemic led to the view that this phrase refers to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision, and to the translation of *ἀχειροποιήτῳ* as "non manu facta" rather than "sine manibus" in the Old Latin versions of Colossians 2:11, and to the inclusion of "sed" before "in circumcisione Christi" in the Old Latin versions. Most writers who understand the phrase in this way, however, understand that the circumcision of Christ forms a spriritual counterpart in the circumcision of Christ to the removal of the foreskin in carnal circumcision.

3. *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. The addition *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* after *τῆς σαρκός* was probably due to the conflation of *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός* with *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in Romans 6:6. There is a common link between these verses not only in that they both occur in contexts which speak of baptism, but also in the reference in Romans 6:6 to the "old man". It

was natural to link ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. in Colossians 2:11 with the phrase ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον in Colossians 3:9, and thereby with Romans 6:6 which also speaks of the "old man". Having done so it was natural to compare the phrase ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας in Romans 6:6, with the phrase ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. in Colossians 2:11. A contributory factor in this may have been the fact that baptism is for the remission of sins, and that from early on sins were said to be "put away" through baptism. This addition effectively restricts the meaning of the phrase ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει κ.τ.λ. to the removal of actual sins, rather than to the cleansing of our fallen human nature that gives rise to them. However, not all authors who include this addition understand the phrase in this more limited respect.

4. ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This phrase is variously understood to mean the circumcision that Christ underwent in his infancy; a circumcision that Christ effected in his resurrection; a circumcision that Christ effects in the believer, which is sometimes understood to indicate conversion, sometimes the inner effects of baptism, sometimes the putting off of mortality in the resurrection; and the rite of baptism. Often writers connect more than one of these themes with the phrase ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Antiochene writers, however, generally attribute a single meaning only to this phrase.

5. συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. Patristic authors generally understand the phrase to mean that through baptism a person actually participates in Christ's own death on the cross. We have seen no evidence to suggest that Patristic writers drew a distinction between death with and burial with Christ.

6. ᾧ is variously understood to mean either baptism or Christ.

7. συνηγέρθητε is variously understood to mean either a present spiritual or a future physical resurrection. Antiochene writers, noting the aorist tense, generally understand the word in the former sense. Several

authors who understand the word in the latter sense maintain that there is nonetheless a sense in which we have already been raised in that our human nature has been raised when Christ rose from the dead.

8. *πίστεως*. There is no evidence to suggest that Patristic writers understood *πίστις* to mean God's faithfulness rather than man's faith.

9. *ἐνεργείας*. There is no evidence that Patristic writers understood the genitive to be subjective, and the whole phrase *διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.* to mean faith which is the result of God's working in us. The phrase is rather understood to mean our faith in the working of God, and several writers maintain that *ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ* refers specifically to God's action in raising Christ from the dead, which encourages us to believe that he will also raise us from the dead.

6.2.3 The use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular as an argument for infant baptism

In chapter one we noted that those who defend infant baptism on the basis of the analogy between circumcision and baptism frequently assume that from Apostolic times onwards infants were baptized on the basis of this analogy. (See page 18). However, this assumption is not born out by the evidence. The evidence suggests rather that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was only used as an argument for infant baptism after the practice had already arisen on other grounds. Tertullian makes no reference to this analogy when he refutes the arguments advanced in favour of infant baptism in Africa at the beginning of the third century. Origen similarly was not aware of the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. In his *Homily XIV on Luke* and his *Homily VIII on Leviticus* where we would expect him to make reference to this analogy as an argument for infant baptism, were he aware of its being used in this way, he makes no mention of it. This suggests that the analogy

between circumcision and baptism was not used as an argument for infant baptism in Palestine in the mid-third century, nor in Alexandria prior to Origen's departure from there about the year 229, nor in Rome prior to his visit there in the year 222. Indeed, the early emphasis upon the circumcision of the heart and the ears may have delayed the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism in that it focused attention upon the baptism of adults and those who were old enough to understand and accept the Christian faith for themselves.

The earliest explicit use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism is recorded in Cyprian's *Letter 64 to Fidus* in which he reports the decision of the synod held at Carthage in 251 or 253, by which time infant baptism was an established practice in North Africa. The main reason advanced for infant baptism then was that infants are subject to Adam's sin, which argument took precedence over the analogy between circumcision and baptism in determining when infants were to be baptized. The fact that the view that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that infants should not be baptized before the eighth day had not hitherto been raised suggests that the application of the analogy between circumcision and baptism was a fairly recent one, and that the possible implications of this analogy for the administration ofinfant baptism were only now being thought through. The manner in which the analogy between circumcision and baptism was expounded by the Council of Carthage suggests that they were dependent upon Justin. However, their argument represented a development from that of Justin in that the Jewish rite of circumcision was understood to prefigure the Christian rite of baptism, and in that the analogy between circumcision and baptism is explicitly used as an argument for infant baptism. There is no evidence that Colossians 2:11 and 12 played a part in the decision of Carthage.

It is only in the Fourth century that Colossians 2:11 and 12 occur in connection with the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. (Asterius, Chrysostom, Zeno, Ambrose, Augustine).

There are two stages in the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism. First, it was used along with John 3:5 to confirm that infants needed to be baptized because they were subject to original sin. (Cyprian, Asterius, Zeno, Ambrose, Augustine). The second, later stage was its use to explain how infants, despite their inability to make a personal response of repentance and faith, may nonetheless be baptized: whereas in the case of Abraham circumcision was a sign of a prior righteousness by faith; in the case of Isaac it was a sign of a future righteousness by faith; thus, on the basis of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, a response of repentance and faith need not necessarily be concomitant with the reception of the actual rite of baptism. This is clearly a second stage in the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism, its only proponent in the Patristic period being St. Augustine. It was derived from the fact that the analogy between circumcision and baptism was already in use as an argument for infant baptism, yet some paedobaptists assume that it was in this form that the analogy was used, from the first, as an argument for infant baptism.

6.2.4 The development of the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism.

Although it has been demonstrated that the analogy between circumcision and baptism in general was not explicitly used as an argument for infant baptism until the mid-third century, and Colossians 2:11 and 12 in particular until the fourth century, it could nonetheless be argued that the use of the analogy in this way was implicit from the first. One way in which we may verify our conclusion, and evaluate the possible counter-reply, is to study the development of the analogy between circumcision and baptism and to consider at what stage in its development its use is consistent as an argument for infant baptism.

The use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism is dependent upon the view that the Jewish rite of

circumcision was a type of the outward rite of Christian baptism. In the mid-second century, however, Justin, and probably also, somewhat earlier, Barnabas, understood circumcision to be a figure for a person's response to the gospel message, not the rite of baptism itself. A factor that probably contributed to the view that the rite of circumcision was a type of the rite of baptism was the emergence of a more sacramental typology. Justin's typology was primarily Christological and spiritual: that is to say, the correspondences that he develops are with the saving work of Christ, and the inner spiritual life of the believer. The development of a more sacramental typology which saw correspondences between Jewish and Christian rituals and rites contributed to the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism. The pressures of anti-Jewish polemic may have contributed to this. It would have been much easier to answer the Jewish criticism that Christians are inconsistent in that whilst they claim to accept the Old Testament they do not keep its precepts, of which their non-observance of circumcision was a obvious example, by replying that they had been spiritually circumcised through baptism, than to refer to a less tangible inner circumcision which is characteristic of a person's Christian life as a whole.

Another factor which probably contributed to the view that the rite of circumcision was a type of baptism was the common description of circumcision and baptism as seals. Although baptism is described as a seal from the first half of the second century onwards it is by no means clear that the analogy between circumcision and baptism is the origin of the description of baptism as a seal, and even if this is the case the connection between sealing, hearing and believing in Hermas suggests that he had in mind the baptism of those old enough to understand and respond to the Christian message themselves. Indeed, it is possible that connection between sealing and faith initially delayed rather than precipitated the extension of the analogy between circumcision and baptism to mean that because infants were circumcised so now infants ought to be baptized. It was only after the Pauline connection between sealing and faith had been lost, or after the

practice of infant baptism had arisen on other grounds, that the analogy between circumcision could be extended in this way. Once this had taken place, however, the common description of circumcision and baptism as seals became an important element in the use of the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism.

A further factor that probably contributed to the view that the Jewish rite of circumcision was a type of the Christian rite of baptism was the fact that baptism took place on Sunday, the eighth day. It was the description of Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection, as the eighth day that led to the view that circumcision on the eighth day was a type of Christ's resurrection, rather than, as Rordorf argues, the analogy between circumcision and baptism (which took place on Sunday), leading to the description of Sunday as the eighth day. Significantly, however, although Justin Martyr develops the typological significance of circumcision on the eighth day as a type of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day, he does not develop the possible typological connection between circumcision which took place on the eighth day and baptism which also took place on the eighth day. The latter view was a later development in the tradition concerning the spiritual significance of circumcision and its relation to baptism.

6.2.5 Infant baptism and faith

The main reason why Tertullian rejected the practice of infant baptism was that it conflicted with the traditional teaching of the church that repentance and faith were prerequisites for baptism. Once the analogy between circumcision and baptism was in use as an argument for infant baptism, this analogy became the means by which, in Cappadocia at least, the traditional view that repentance and faith were prerequisites for baptism was by-passed.

Augustine was the first to argue that the analogy between circumcision and baptism means that the response of repentance and faith, which is necessary for the sacrament to be effective, need not necessarily be concomitant with the reception of the rite itself, but may be subsequent to it.

However, this argument as we have seen represents a second stage in the use of the analogy betweeen circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism, derived from the fact that the analogy between circumcision was already in use an as argument for infant baptism, and did not give rise to the practice of infant baptism from the first as some Paedobaptists assume.

END NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Beryl Smalley: *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (O.U.P., 2nd edition, 1952) p.46

2. According to C. F. D. Moule (*The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* (C.U.P. 1957, p.13 n 11)) Reitzenstein, Wendland, Schlier, Käsemann, Bultmann and Bornkamm are among recent scholars who doubt the Pauline authorship of Colossians. The majority of modern scholars, however, accept the authenticity of Colossians.

3. Martin Luther is to some extent an exception to this general rule. Although he does sometimes use the analogy between circumcision and baptism as an argument for infant baptism, more frequently he maintains that circumcision was a type not of baptism but of the circumcision of the heart. However, he maintains that the fact that infants were circumcised indicates that they are capable of receiving spiritual blessing, and thus infants may be baptized. See further, the treatise: "The Holy and Blessed Sacrament of Baptism" in Luther's Works, volume 35: *Word and Sacrament*, ed. E. J. Bachmann (Concordia and Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1961).

4. P. Marcel: *The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism* (James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London 1953) p.191. Cf. also John Murray: *Christian Baptism* (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1972) p.52–3: Church of Scotland, Report on Baptism, *The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism;* The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1958) p.45–6. This argument is open to the objection that equally there is no positive command to exclude children from the Lord's Supper, nor to discontinue the Old Testament priesthood, nor is there any express warrant for the baptism of females, yet these fundamental changes are assumed in the New Testament. See further: David Kingdon: *Children of Abraham* (Carey Publications Ltd., Haywards Heath, 1973) p.48 n3.

5. On this question see further: P.K. Jewett: *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1978) p.238–43.

6. *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Editions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris): *Volume 1: Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* (1975); *Volume 2. Le troisième siècle (Origène excepté)* (1977); *Volume 3: Origène* (1980).

7. *Vetus Latina: volume 24/2: Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (H.J. Frede, Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1965–1971).

8. Even if the character of Trypho is a literary invention, the views attributed to the character probably reflect those current among Jews in the second century AD.

9. J.D.G. Dunn, for example, maintains that "Paul is not here speaking of Baptism under the figure of circumcision: he is speaking directly of the circumcision of the heart." (*Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (S.C.M. Press, 1970) p.153).

10. For a modern exposition of this view see, for example, G.R. Beasley-Murray: *Baptism in the New Testament* (Paternoster Press, Exeter, 1963) p.152–160.

11. For a classic exposition of this view see, for example, J. Calvin: *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* IV. vii. 16

12. See further: C.F.D. Moule: *The Origin of Christology* (C.U.P. 1977), Chapter 2. "The Corporate Christ" (pp.47–96).

13. Cf. J.B. Lightfoot: "It is not external but inward, not made with hands but wrought by the Spirit." (*St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians & Philemon* (Macmillan & Company, revised edition, 1879) p.183).

14. This possibility is noted by C.F.D. Moule: *op. cit. n2* p.95.

15. For a discussion of Paul's anthropological terms see G.E. Ladd: *A Theology of the New Testament* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1974) chapter 33: "The Pauline Psychology" (pp.457–478).

16. Cf. Moule: *op. cit. n 2*, p.95.

17. Cf. C.A. Anderson Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul* (Cambridge 1932) p.34–6; C.F.D. Moule *op. cit. n2*, p.95–6.

18. Several commentators note that in Ephesians and Colossians the resurrection of the believer is spoken of as having already taken place, whereas Romans 6:5 speaks of our resurrection as still being in the future, arguing either that this represents an advance in Pauline thought, or that this is an indication that these two works are not by St. Paul. It is possible, however, that ἐσόμεθα in Romans 6.5 may be a logical rather than a temporal future.

19. Dunn: *op.cit. n9*, p.141. R. Schnackenburg maintains that burial involves "a complete succumbing to death" (*Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* (ET, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1964) p.34).

20. Cf. M. Barth: *Die Taufe ein Sacrament?* (Zollikon, Zurich, 1951).

21. Beasley-Murray: *op. cit. n10* p.127.

22. The eschatological character of baptism has been emphasized by R. C. Tannehill: *Dying and Rising with Christ: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Alfred Topelmann, Berlin, 1966) and E. Schweizer: "Dying and Rising with Christ" in: *New Testament Issues* (ed. R. Batey, S.C.M. Press, London, 1970) pages 173–90; cf. C. E. B. Cranfield: *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans: volume I* (I.C.C., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1975) p299–300.

23. Cf. A. G. Hebert "Faithfulness" and 'Faith"'. (*Theology*, vol. 58 (Oct.1955) pages 373–79) p.376. Cf. also T. F. Torrance: "One aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith", *E.T. vol. 68* (January 1957) p.111–14; C. F. D. Moule's letter in reply; *E.T.* vol.68 (February 1957) p.157; the counter reply by Torrance: *E.T.* vol. 68 (March 1957) p.221–2; and the further reply by Moule: *ibid.* p.222.

Chapter 2

1. J. Moffatt (*An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 3rd edition. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1918, p.159) gives the names of twelve scholars who have maintained the priority of Ephesians over Colossians. According to C. L. Mitton (*The Epistle to the Ephesians: Its Autorship, Origin and Purpose*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951, p.68) of these only E. T. Mayerhoff (*Der Brief an die Kolosser*, Berlin, 1838) asserts the priority of Ephesians over Colossians basing his argument for this position on the identification of Ephesians with the Letter from Laodicea referred to in Colossians 4:16. H. J. Holtzmann (*Kritik der Epheser-und Kolosser-Briefe*, Leipzig, 1872) maintained that the author of Ephesians used a shorter form of Colossians which he, or a later author subsequently expanded incorporating extensive borrowings from Ephesians. Holtzmann's theory has not, however, won acceptance (cf. Mitton, *op. cit.* p.72–4). According to Mitton (*op. cit.* p.69) "Not only those who claim that both [Ephesians and Colossians] are Pauline but also those who deny Pauline authorship to either, and those too who claim that Ephesians is a non-Pauline writing based on a letter of Paul to the Colossians, are almost unanimous in asserting the priority of Colossians."

2. See J. A. Allen: "The 'In Christ' Formula in Ephesians", *N.T.S.* 5 (Oct. 1958) p.54–62.

3. T. K. Abbott: *The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*, (I.C.C., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897) p.22.

4. See further M. Barth: *Ephesians 1–3*, (Anchor Bible vol. 34, Doubleday, New York New York, 1974) p.139–142.

5. Eg. E. F. Scott: *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, (Moffatt New Testament Commentary vol. 11, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1930) p148; J. A. Allen: *Ephesians*, (Torch Commentary, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1959) p.53.

6. Eg. G. R. Beasley-Murray: *Baptism in the New Testament*, (Paternoster Press, Exeter, 1972) p.174.

7. Eg. J. D. G. Dunn: *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1970) p.160.

8. J. C. Kirby: *Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1968) p.153. Cf. also W. F. Flemington: *The New Testament Doctrine Of Baptism*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1948) p.67–68.

9. Eg. Kirby: *op. cit. n8;* H. Sahlin: *Die Beschneidung Christi*, (Symbolae Biblicae Upsaliensis 12, Lund, 1950, p.5–22).

10. Eg. *2 Clement*: vii.6; *Hermas*: Sim.viii.6:3; ix.16:3–6;17:4; *Acts of Thomas* 131. See further G. W. H. Lampe: *The Seal of The Spirit*, (second edition, S.P.C.K., London, 1967).

11. Eg. Kirby: *op. cit. n8*, p.153.

12. Eg. Allen: *op. cit. n5*, p.53.

13. *S.J.T.* 22 (1969) p.225f.

14. *J.T.S.* 20 (1969) p.615f.

15. Eg. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.133; Beasley-Murray: *op. cit. n6*, p.172.

16. Cf. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.108.

17. Cf. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.150.

18. Cf. C. E. B. Cranfield: *The Epistle to the Romans: vol. I* (I.C.C., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1975) p.432; C. K. Barrett: *The Epistle to the Romans* (A. & C. Black, London, 1957) p.170.

19. Cf. C. K. Barrett: *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* A. & C. Black, London, second edition 1971) p.141.

20. Cf. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.121.

21. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.133.

22. *Op. cit. n7.*

23. *Op. cit. n7*, p.171–2.

24. *Op. cit. n7*, p.160.

25. *Op. cit. n18*, p.175 n3.

26. See Barth: *Op. cit. n4*, p.128–30.

27. *Op. cit n4*, p.141 n372.

28. *Op. cit n4*, p.141.

29. See, however, the objections raised by D. E. Nineham: "The Case against Pauline Authorship" in: *Studies in Ephesians* edited by F. L. Cross, (Mowbray, London, 1956) p.25.

30. Eg. J. O. F. Murray: *Ephesians*, (Cambridge Greek Testament, C.U.P., 1914) p.33; G. B. Caird: *Paul's Letters From Prison*, (O.U.P., 1976) p.45.

31. The contrast in Phil. 1:29: *οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπερ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν* could suggest that the ability to believe, as well as the honour of suffering on Christ's behalf, has been given by God.

32. Augustine argues on the basis of such texts as 1 Corinthians 4:7 ("What hast thou that thou hast not received?") and Romans 13:11 ("There is no power but comes from God") that faith is a gift from God. See, for example: *On the Spirit and the Letter* xxxi.54.

33. Eg. F. F. Bruce: *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, (Pickering & Inglis, Glasgow, 1961) p.51; F. Foulkes: *Ephesians*, (Tyndale New Testament Commentary, I.V.P. 1963) p.75; C. L. Mitton: *Ephesians*, (New Century Bible Oliphants, London, 1976) p.96–97.

34. *Op. cit. n3*, p.30–31.

35. Cf. J. B. Lightfoot: *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, (Macmillan & Co., revised ed. 1879) p.185.

36. Eg. C. L. Mitton: *The Epistle to the Ephesians: Its authorship, Origin and Purpose*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951) p.16.

37. Eg. J. L. Houlden: *Paul's Letters From Prison.* (Pelican Commentary, S.C.M. Press, London, 1977) p.241f.

38. Cf. E. Kasëmann: "Ephesians and Acts" in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (S.P.C.K., London, 1968) p.291; C. L. Mitton: *op. cit. n33*, p.101; J. L. Houlden: *op. cit. n37*, p.286; R. P. Martin: *Reconciliation, A Study of Paul's Theology*, (Marshall's Theological Library, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, London 1981) p.160.

39. F. W. Beare: *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (The Interpreter's Bible, vol. 10, Nashville, 1953) p.600.

40. Eg. Martin: *op. cit. n38*, p.160.

41. Mitton: *op. cit. n36*, p.229: cf. p.23.

42. D. Guthrie: *New Testament Introduction*, (Tyndale Press, London, 3rd ed. 1970) p.488.

43. S.C.M. Press, London 1976.

44. S.C.M. press, London, 1977.

45. See T. W. Manson: "The Corinthian Correspondence (1)", in T. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles,* ed. by M. Black (Manchester University Press, 1962) p.190–209.

46. *Op. cit. n42,* p.502.

47. *Op.cit. n4,* p.244.

48. *Loc. cit.*

49. C. E. B. Cranfield: *The Epistle to the Romans:* Volume II (I.C.C., T. &. T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1979) p.553.

50. *Op. cit. n37,* p.287f.

51. Cf. Barth, *op. cit. n4,* p255 n7.

52. See H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch,* (Beck, Munich, 3rd ed. 1961) vol.I: p.713–4; vol.II: p.705.

53. *Op. cit. n33,* p.102.

54. *Op. cit. n8,* p.156f; cf. Houlden, *op. cit. n37,* p.288.

55. *Op. cit. n4,* p.254.

56. *Loc. cit.*

57. F. C. Baur: *Paulus, der Apostel Jesus Christi,* (second edition Leipzig, 1867) p.436.

58. J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1930.

59. For a survey of authors who see a possible relationship between Ephesians and Gnosticism see Barth: *op. cit. n4,* p.12–18, and Bibliography 2, p.404–405; and W. Rader: *The Church and Radical Hostility: A history of Interpretation of Ephesians 2:11–22,* (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1978) p.177–85.

60. E. Käsemann: *Leib und Leib Christi,* (Tübingen, 1933) p.139–44.

61. *Op. cit.* p.140.

62. *Op. cit.* p.141.

63. Barth (*op. cit. n4*) and Rader (*op. cit. n59*) refer to the researches of Carsten Colpe, *Die Religiongeschichtliche Schule*, (F.R.L.A.N.T. 60, Gottingen, 1961) and Hans Martin Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis*, (Berlin, 1962).

64. Rader, *op. cit. n59*, p.185.

65. Ibid.

66. J. T. Sanders: *The New Testament Christological Hymns*, (Cambridge, 1971) p.89–92.

67. E. Percy: *Der Leib Christi*, (Lunds Universitets Årskrift, Lund, 1942) p.223–4.

68. Stig Hanson: *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament, Colossians and Ephesians* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 14, Upsala, 1946) p.143.

69. *Op. cit. n38*, p.172.

70. Cf. Martin: *loc. cit.*

71. *Op. cit. n59*, p.196.

72. Eg. Mitton: *op. cit. n33*, p.19; Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.21; Martin: *op. cit. n38*, p.172; F. Mussner: *Der Leib das Messias*, (Assen, 1961) p.178.

73. According to Martin (*op. cit. n38*, p.163) E. Percy *(Probleme der Kolosser-und Epheserbriefe*, Lund, 1946, p.285), Fr. Mussner (*Christus, das Alle und die Kirche*, Trier, 1968, p.94–6), R. J. McKelvey (*The New Temple*, Oxford, 1968, p.118–20), B. Gärtner (*The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1965, p.60–65), M. Barth (*op. cit. n4*, p.285) and M. Wolter (*Rechtfertigung und zukünftiges Heil Untersuchungen zu Röm. 5.1–11*, Berlin, 1968, p.62–73) maintain this position.

74. Cf. Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.276.

75. *Op. cit. n38*, p.189.

76. Against Martin, *op. cit. n38*, p.191, who states: "Isaiah 57:19 as a proof text was restricted to a difference within Israel of 'righteous' and 'sinners' and is not applied to Gentile proselytes, even though the 'near'/'far' language occassionally is so found ... Isaiah 57:19 which

does have the 'near'/'far' contrast was not applied to proselytes, probably since this would indicate a preference for proselytes over natural Jews. The text mentions the 'far ones' before the 'near ones', and this precedence would create an embarrassment for the Rabbis." According to Martin the Isaiah text was introduced by Gentile converts to argue for their superiority over Jewish Christians. (Ibid.)

77. *Op. cit. n8*, p.157.

78. *Op. cit. n4*, p.276.

79. *Op. cit. n8*, p.158.

80. G. Vermes: "Baptism and Jewish exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources", *N.T.S.* 4 (1958) p.308–319. This article was included, with minor alterations in the author's *Scripture and Tradition*, (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1961) p.178–192.

81. "After the beginning of the Hellenizing movement, and particularly after the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the formation of such a tradition is inconceivable": *op. cit.* p.313. Vermes notes that in early Rabbinic Literature, however, Moses' life (or in some traditions that of his son) was saved by the obsevance of the commandment of circumcision as prescribed by the law. "The redemptive and sacrificial *blood* of the circumcision is replaced by the redemptive *observance* of the law of circumcision." (p.318). Vermes argues that this change took place after the Edict of Hadrian (132 AD) which forbade circumcision: The spiritual authorities of Palestinian Judaism emphasized, as a consequence, the greatness and necessity of this essential rite, and explained away, for the sake of those who were afraid or who hesitated, all possible biblical excuse for delaying the circumcision of their children." (Ibid.)

82. *Loc. cit.*

83. *Op. cit.* p.319.

84. *Op. cit. n4*, p.282. The evidence for this is given in n123.

85. *Op. cit. n8*, p.157–8.

86. Cited *Op. cit. n8*, p.158.

87. G. F. Moore: *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of Tannaim* (3 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1912–30) vol. I p.331–32. Cf. Yeb. 47a-47b: " ...If the potential proselyte assents to all, they

circumcise him at once and when he is healed, they baptize him, and two scholars stand by, and tell him of some of the light and some of the heavy laws. When he has been baptized, he is regarded in all respects as an Israelite." No mention is made here to the proselyte's sacrifice. This statement is quoted in full in C .G. Montefiore and H. Loewe ed. *A Rabbinic Anthology* (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1939) p.579. Because of the context of this extract the editor is "inclined to assign an early date to the material contained in the passage." (Ibid). One would not, of course, expect a reference to the proselyte's sacrifice in statements made after the destruction of the Temple in AD 70.

88. See Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.261–62.

89. *Op. cit. n33*, p.22.

90. Cf. Mitton: *op. cit. n33* p.24.

91. *Op. cit. n4*, p.282.

92. *Op. cit. n4*, p.283.

93. Cf. Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.283; cf. p.286–87.

94. Against Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.300.

95. *Op. cit. n33*, p.107.

96. Cf. Cranfield: *op. cit. n18*, p.383 n2: "Christ's life before His actual ministry and death was not just a standing where Adam had stood without yielding to the temptation to which Adam succumbed, but a matter of starting from where we start, subjected to all the evil pressures that we inherit, and using the altogether unpromising and unsuitable material of our corrupt nature to work out a perfect, sinless obedience."

97. Eg. Martin: *op. cit. n38*, p.172–72; Barth: *op. cit. n4*, p.261 n37.

98. *Op. cit. n18*, p291.

99. E. Best: *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, (Cambridge Bible Commentary, C.U.P., 1967) p.89.

100. The meaning of this passage for Christians today is thus not simply that if Christ was able 2000 years ago to break down such an apparently impenetrable barrier as that between Jew and Gentile, so now he can break down the barriers that exist between men today (the conflict between Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Arab, black and white,

East and West), but rather that he has overcome the root cause of all potential divisions, namely our sinfulness, and that as we are united to him, and share his new life, so we are united with each other.

101. *Op. cit. n2*, p.59.

102. *Op. cit. n2*, p.57–8.

103. *Op. cit. n2*, p.55.

104. *Op. cit. n4*, p.281.

105. *Op. cit. n7*, p.109.

106. *Op. cit. n7*, p.140.

107. *Op. cit. n60*, p.139.

108. H. Sahlin: *Die Beschneidung Christi: Eine Interpretation von Eph. 2:11 -22* (Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, 12, Lund, 1950 p.5–22) p.5.

109. *Loc. cit.*

110. *Op. cit.*, p.12.

111. J. W. Dalton: *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*, (Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1965) p.216.

112. J. N. D. Kelly: *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude* (Black's New Testament Commentaries, A. & C. Black, London, 1969) p.161.

113. *Op. cit. n111*, p.216.

114. *Op. cit. n112*, p.161.

115. G. Estius: *In omnes D. Pauli epistolas, item catholicas* commentarii,*(ed. J. Holzammer, Moguntiae, 1858–9) vol. III p.752:* "Quidam depositionem sordium carnis interpretantur circumcisionem."

116. E. G. Selwyn: *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London 1946) p.205: "St. Paul's language [in Col. 2:11] takes its colour from the point he is making to the effect that baptism is the Christian counterpart of circumcision, which it supersedes. Is it possible that that idea is present also to St. Peter's mind, and that in the words *οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* he is implicitly contrasting Christian baptism both with Jewish circumcision and with pagan lustration-rites?"

117. *Op. cit. n111*, p.218.

118. *Op. cit. n112*, p.162.

119. *Loc. cit. n116.*

120. *Op. cit. n111*, p.217–18.

121. C. E. B. Cranfield: *The First Epistle of Peter*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1950) p.87.

122. *Op. cit. n112*, p.162.

123. Cf. Dunn: *op. cit. n7*, p.217.

124. *Op. cit. n112*, p.162.

125. See B. Reicke: *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism* (Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1946) p.182–85.

126. *Op. cit. n121*, p.88.

127. *Op. cit. n111*, p.224.

128. *Op. cit. n7*, p.219.

129. *Loc. cit.*

130. *Op. cit.*, p.218.

131. *Op. cit.*, p.219.

132 Eg. J. Calvin: *Institutes* IV.16.20; Augustine: *Against the Donatists*: IV. xxiii.31-xxv 33 (see section 5.9.16.1).

133. C. E. B. Cranfield: *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (C.U.P., 1959) p.43.

Chapter 3

1. See R. M. Grant, "The New Testament Cannon", in *The Cambridge History of the Bible volume One: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (edited by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, C.U.P., 1975, pages 284–297), p.294.

2. *Op. cit.* p.297.

3. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly: *Early Christian Doctrines* (A. & C. Black, 5th edition, London, 1977), p.32.

4. Cited by Eusebius: *Ecclesiastical History*, III:39:4.

5. See *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, (Oxford Society of Historical Theology, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905).

6. *Op. cit. n1*, p.291.

7. Cf. R. M. Grant: *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, (A. & C. Black, London, 1965) p.43.

8. J. N. D. Kelly: *Early Christian Creeds*, (3rd edition, Longmans, London, 1972) p.71.

9. Eusebius: *Ecclesiastical History*: IV:18.6.

10. For a discussion of the historicity of the debate and the possible identity of Trypho see L. W. Barnard: *Justin Martyr: His Life and His Thought*, (C.U.P., 1967) p.23–25.

11. J. Rendel Harris: *Testimonies* (2 volumes, Cambridge, 1916 and 1920).

12. Cf. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (Fontana Books, 1965), especially p.29.

13. See further: L. W. Barnard: "The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church and in the Epistle of Barnabas" in: *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1966, chapter 9 (pages 109–136)).

14. Cf. s19: "Even you, who are circumcised according to the flesh, have need of our circumcision; but we, having the latter, do not require the former."

15. *Apol.* I. 23.

16. *Dial.* 113.

17. *Apol.* I. 61.

18. *Dial.* 41:1, 45:4; 49:8; etc.

19. *Dial.* 30:3.

20. Eg. c27; 47; 92.

21. As J. N. D. Kelly notes: "Plainly St. Justin's church had orderly arrangements for instructing converts in Christian doctrine and for satisfying itself that they had properly absorbed it." (*Op. cit. n8*, p.43).

22. *Op. cit. n8*, p.51.

23. *Loc. cit.* The citation is from *Against Heresies*; 1:9,4.

24. *Op. cit. n8*, p.43 and 72.

25. *Op. cit. n8*, p.43–4.

26. *Op. cit. n8*, p.44.

27. *Op. cit. n13*, p.130.

28. Cf. B. F. Westcott: *On the Canon of the New Testament*, (3rd edition, MacMillan & Company 1870 p.153.

29. *Apol.* I: 58:3: *καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῆς γῆς μὴ ἀπαίρεσθαι δυναμένους γηίνοις καὶ χειροποιήτοις προσήλωσαν καὶ προσηλοῦσι*; *Dial.* 35:6: *καὶ χριστιανοῦς ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν, ὃν τρόπον οἱ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγράφουσι τοῖς χειροποιήτοις καὶ ἀνόμοις καὶ ἀθέως τελεταῖς κοινωνουσι.*

30. Eg. Paul in Romans 5:14; Peter in 1 Peter 3:20 and 21.

31. K. J. Woollcombe: "The Biblical Origins of Typology" in G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe: *Essays on Typology* (S.C.M. Press, London, 1957, pages 39–75) p.49.

32. Cf. Woollcombe: *op. cit.* p.39–40.

33. Barnabas, for example, speaks of man's condition prior to conversion as "wasted by death, and given over to the iniquity of error." (24.5).

34. Eg. W. Stott in R. T. Beckwith and W. Stott: *This is the Day: The Biblical Doctrine of Christian Sunday in its Jewish and Early Church Setting* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1978) p.121; cf. W. Rordorf: *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1968) p.278.

35. J. Daniélou: *The Bible and the Liturgy* (E. T. Darton, Longmann & Todd, London, 1960) p.66.

36. *Op. cit. n34,* p.277–8.

37. *Ibid.* p4; cf. p.282–4.

38. *Op. cit. n34,* p.117

39. *Op. cit. n1* p.293.

40. *Op. cit. n1,* p.294.

41. Cf. J. Quasten: *Patrology: volume I: The Beginnings of Christian Literature,* (Spectrum Publishers, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1962) p.291.

42. *Op. cit. n3* p.57.

43. R. P. C. Hanson: "Biblical Exegesis in the Early Church" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: vol I* (op. cit. n1, p.412–453) p.427.

44. As. W. Foerster notes this is a pun: soul - psyche, cold - psychros: *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts: volume 1: Patristic Evidence* (ET, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972) p.310.

45. This appears to be the view of W. Foerster: *op. cit.* p.306.

46. J. H. MacMahon: *Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome: volume 1*: (A.N.C.L., vol. VI, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1868,) p.315.

47. G. Salmon: "Docetae" in: W. W. Smith and H. Wace ed.: *Dictionary* of Christian Biography: *volume 1: p.865–7, (John Murray, London,* 1877) p.865–6.

48. Eg. Basilides: cf. Irenaeus: *Against Heresies* I: 24.4.

49. Cf. R. P. Casey: *The Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria, edited with translation and notes* (Studies and Documents, London 1934) Introduction p.19. Cf. The Acts of Thomas s80 and s158.

50. Cf. Foerster: *Gnosis: Volume II: Coptic and Mandean Sources* (ET, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974) p.97.

51. Foerster *ibid*; R. McL. Wilson: *Gnosis and the New Testament* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1968) p.98; idem: *The Gospel of Philip* (A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., London 1962): p.3–5

52. Wilson: *Gnosis and the New Testament op. cit. n51,* p.98: idem: *The Gospel of Philip* (op. cit. n51) p.5; Foerster *op. cit. n50)* p.77.

53. *The Gospel of Philip* (op. cit. n49) p.3.

54. J. É. Ménard: *L'Evangile Selon Philippe: Introduction, Texte, Traduction, Commentaire* (Letouzey & Ané, Paris, 1967); noted by Wilson: *Gnosis and the New Testament* (op. cit. n51 p.98); no page reference given.

55. Cf. R. McL. Wilson: *Gnosis and the New Testament* (op. cit. n51) p.98.

56. *The Nag Hammadi Library*, Translated into English under the Editorship of James M. Robinson, (2nd Edition, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1984) p.130–151.

57. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hamadi Codices* (Editor in chief J. M. Robinson, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 12 volumes 1972–82), codex 2 (1974).

58. *Op. cit. n56*, Introduction p.4–5.

59. M. L. Peel: *The Epistle to Rheginos: A Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection* (S.C.M. Press, London 1969) p.83.

60. J. Quasten: *Patrology: volume II: The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus* (Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1987) p.1.

61. *Ecclesiastical History*: II:16.

62. I am grateful to Professor Barrett for drawing my attention to this reading.

63. Quasten: *op. cit. n60*, p.17.

64. H. Chadwick and J. E. Oulton: *Alexandrian Christianity* (Library of Christian Classics, volume II, A.C.M. Press, London 1954) p.18–22.

65. *Op. cit.* p.18

66. Cf. Chadwick: *Op. cit.* p.21.

67. *A History of Early Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea Volume Two: Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture* (Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, London 1972) p.410.

68. Eg. E. F. Osborn: *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (C.U.P. 1957); C. R. C. Lilla: *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (O.U.P1941); Daniélou: *op. cit. n8* p.408–415.

69. Cf. Daniélou: *op. cit. n67*, p.410.

70. Cf. Daniélou: *ibid.*

71. *Op. cit. n67*, p.408.

72. Cf. Daniélou: *Op. cit. n67*, p.409.

73. Cf. Lilla: *op. cit. n68*, p.84–92.

74. *The Epistle to the Romans, volume 1* (I.C.C., T. & T. Clark Ltd. Edinburgh, 1975) p.337.

75. *Op. cit. n68*, p.106.

76. *Op. cit. n68*, p.87.

77. Cf. also IV: 26; and the quotation of Galatians 3:8 in IV:7.

78. *Op. cit. n7*, p.60.

79. Cf. also *Miscellanies*: IV.25 where those who are uncircumcised in heart and in flesh (Ezekiel 44:9) are interpreted as the "unclean in body and soul." Note, however, that in this passage it is the purification that the priest offers on the eighth day (Ezekiel 44:27) not circumcision that is regarded as a type of baptism. The typological significance of the purification on the eighth day may, however, have been suggested by an assumed typological link between circumcision on the eighth day and baptism on Sunday, the eighth day. Equally, however, it could have been suggested by the use made by the gnostics of he number eight as a symbol of perfection and rest.

80. The date and place of composition of the works included in this section are those given by P. Nautin: *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Beauchesne, Paris 1977) p.409–412.

81. C. H. Turner: "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles", *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, Extra Volume with Indexes* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1947) p.490 (s5(i)).

82. J. Gribomont: "The Translations. Jerome and Rufinus" in Angelo di Berardino ed. *Patrology: volume IV: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature From the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon* (Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1986, p195–254) p.248.

83. *Op. cit. n67*, p.189.

84. Cf. J. Daniélou: *Origen* (ET W. Mitchell, London, 1955) p.56–7; *The Bible and the Liturgy* (*op. cit.* n35).

85. *Commentary on John* Book I:s27; Book XX: s12; s25; *Fragment from the Catena on Psalm 78* 5–8; *Homilies on Jeremiah* Book I: s16; Book XIX: s15.

86. J. N. D. Kelly: *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (Duckworth, London 1975) p.143.

87. Cf. Daniélou: *Op. cit., n67*, p.189–194.

88. Cited Daniélou: *op. cit. n67*, p.189–90.

89. P.G. 12 941C-942A.

90. Cf. Daniélou: *Op. cit. n84* p.59–61; cf. *Homily II on Ezekiel* s5.

91. Kurt Aland: *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants*? (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd. London 1963) p.47.

92. *Loc. cit.*

93. *Op. cit.* p.48–49.

94. J. Jeremias: *The Origins of Infant Baptism* (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London 1963) p.70–74.

95. *Op. cit.* p.70–71.

96. *Op. cit.* p.73.

97. *Op. cit.* p.72.

98. *Op. cit.* p.74.

99. "Origen does not say that the question had actually been raised, but assumes the possibility of it." (*Op. cit.* p.72).

100. Cf. Daniélou: *Op. cit. n84* p.59–61.

101. *Op. cit. n94* p.73.

102. P. K. Jewett: *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1978) p.31. Cf. Augustine: *On the Forgiveness of Sins* xxvi-xxvii; *On Baptism* iv.23.

103. *Loc. cit.*

104. Johannes Warns: *Baptism* (ET, Paternoster Press, London 1957) p.31.

105. Cf. Daniélou: *op. cit. n67*, p.145: J. N. D. Kelly *Early Christian Doctrines* (5th Edition, A. & C. Black, London 1975) p.179f.

106. *Op. cit. n94* p.70–71.

107. *Op. cit. n94* p.72.

108. P. Nautin: *op. cit. n80* p.386.

109. Cited by Daniélou: *op. cit. n84*, p.60.

110. Everrett Ferguson: "Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism" *J.T.S.* 30 (1979) p.37–46

111. *Op. cit.* p.44.

112. *Loc. cit.*

113. *Loc. cit.*

114. *Op. cit.* p.45–46.

115. *Op. cit.* p.46.

116. *Op. cit.* p.44.

117. H. Chadwick: *The Early Church* (Pelican History of the Church, vol. I, Penguin Books, London, 1967) p.91.

118. *Op. cit.* p.65.

119. *Loc cit.*

120. See Irenaeus: *Against Heresies*: I:5.5; Clement: *Excerpts from the Writings of Theodoret*: 55.1.

121. G. L. Bray: *Holiness and the Will of God: Perspectives on the Theology of Tertullian* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1979) p.xi.

122. Although the text of this work may be composite, according to Daniélou: "Few scholars doubt that at least the first part of the treatise is the work of Tertullian." (*The Origins of Latin Theology* (A History of Early Christian Doctrine before The Council of Nicea, vol. 3, Darton, Longmann and Todd Ltd., London, 1977) p.263).

123. Quasten: *op. cit. n60,* p.280.

124. Jeremias: *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1960) p.81 - 83.

125. P. K. Jewett: *op. cit. n102,* p.21

126. See further E. C. Whitaker: "The Baptismal Interrogations" in *Theology* vol. LIX (1956) p.103 - 112.

127. *Op. cit. n124* p.83 - 4.

128. Jeremias: *op. cit. n94,* p.67.

129. *Op. cit. n94,* p.67 - 68.

130. *Op. cit. n60,* p.340

131. Quasten: *op. cit. n60,* p.363.

132. Rendall Harris (*Testimonies*, Cambridge, 2 vols. 1916 & 1920) maintained that in his first two books of Testimonies Cyprian was rehandling an older document in which the headings were already included. See the references cited by R. P. C. Hanson: *Tradition in the Early Church* (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1962) p.263 nl.

133. According to Daniélou: *op. cit. n35*, p253: "early as Irenaeus, the hands of God mean the Son and the Spirit, instruments of the Father in the work of creation and redemption".

134. *Op. cit. n94* p.66.

135. Quasten: *op. cit. n60,* p.360.

136. F. F. Bruce: *The Spreading Flame: The Rise and Progress of Christianity from its First Beginnings to the Conversion of the English* (Paternoster Press, London, 1958) p.259.

137. *Op. cit. n91*, p.49; cf. p.50.

138. *Op. cit. n102*, p.24.

139. *Op. cit. n125*, p.74.

140. *Loc. cit.*

141. *Op. cit. n91*, p.50.

142. *Op. cit. n102*, p.24–25.

143. Cited by J. W. Trigg: *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1985) p.76.

144. Eusebius: *Ecclesiastical History*: VI xiv.10; Jerome: *Famous Men*: 61 (noted by Trigg: *Loc. cit. n34).*

Chapter 4

1. J. Quasten: *Patrology volume III: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1986), p.ix-xvi.

2. *Op. cit.* p.2.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. *Op. cit.* p.50.

5. K. Hoss: *Studien über das Schriftum und die Theologie des Athanasius* (Freiburg, 1899), p.98–103.

6. R. T. Beckwick and W. Stott: *This is the Day: The Biblical Doctrine of the Christian Sunday* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1978), p.82.

7. J. Daniélou: *The Bible and The Liturgy* (ET Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1960), p.249.

8. *Loc. cit. n6.*

9. *Op. cit. n6*, p106; cf. p.121.

10. Preface to his translation of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel (GCS 33, 318), noted by J. N. D. Kelly: *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (Duckworth, London 1975), p.75 n31.

11. *Op. cit. n7*, p.70,73,83,90 and 109.

12. C. H. Turner: "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles" (*Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible: Extra Volume* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1947), p.484–531), p.499b - 500a.

13. Quasten: *op. cit. n1*, p.87.

14. *Loc. cit.*

15. Quasten: *Loc. cit.*

16. See Kelly: *Loc. cit.*, n9.

17. J. A. Cramer: *Catenae Graecorum Patrum Novi Testamenti vol. VI* (Oxford, 1844), p.320–1.

18. J. Quasten: *op. cit. n1* , p.123.

19. See further Quasten: *Op. cit. n1*, p.135f.

20. *Op. cit. n1*, p.123.

21. P. Nautin: *Six Homelies Paschales inspirees d'Origène* (SC 36, Paris, 1953), p.7.

22. For the way in which these themes are developed by the Fathers in general see Daniélou: *Op. cit. n7*, Chapter ten: "The Paschal Liturgy" (p.162–176).

23. *Op. cit. n21*, p.26–31.

24. K. J. Woollcombe: "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology" in G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe: *Essays on Typology* (Studies in Biblical Theology No.22, S.C.M. Press, London, 1957), p74.

25. *Op. cit.*, p.75.

26. *Op. cit. n18*, p.197.

27. *Op. cit. n18*, p.194.

28. *Op. cit. n7*, p.81.

29. *Op. cit. n7*, p.80.

30. *Op. cit. n7*, p.81.

31. J. B. Lightfoot: *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Texts With Short Introductions and English Translations* (MacMillan and Co., London, 1891), p.41.

32. J. Daniélou: *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (A History of Early Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea: volume 1, Darton, Longmann & Todd, London, 1964) p.239.

33. Cf. H. G. Marsh: *The Origin and Significance of New Testament Baptism* (Manchester University Press, 1941) p.152.

34. According to Jeremias (*Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, S.C.M. Press, London, 1960, p.93 n4), M. Richard (*Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* (Symbolae Osloenses fasc. supplet. XVI, Oslo 1956), p.viii) divides Homily 27 into two parts (1–8, 9–24) suggesting that the first part, which contains the evidence for infant baptism, probably comes from Asterius.

35. J.-C. Didier: "Le pédobaptisme au IVe siècle. Documents nouveaux" (*Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 6, 1949, p233–46), p.242–3.

36. *Op. cit. n34*, p.93.

37. *Op. cit. n35*, p.242.

38. W. K. Lowther Clarke: *Saint Basil the Great* (Cambridge University Press, 1913), p.68.

39. *Op. cit.* p.68–9.

40. H. Conzelmann: *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (ET, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1975), p.265 n16.

41. *Op. cit. n13*, p.45.

42. *Op. cit. n7*, p.181.

43. For a brief overview of the development of this belief see J. N. D. Kelly: *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edition, London, 1972), p.378–83.

44. Cf. E. J. Yarnold: *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation* (St. Paul Publications, Slough, 1971), p.93 n.23.

45. G. W. H. Lampe: *The Seal of the Spirit* (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1956).

46. E. F. Evans: *Tertullian's Homily On Baptism*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1964), p.94–5.

47. Cf. Athanasius: *On Holy Baptism* (PG 28 760A-C)

48. Cf. Quasten: *op. cit. n18*, p.261.

49. Irenaeus: *Against Heresies*: V:31.2.

50. Quasten: *Op. cit. n18*, p.266.

51. *Loc. cit.*

52. *Loc. cit.*

53. *Loc. cit.*

54. See further: J. Daniélou: *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de Saint Grégoire de Nysse.* (2nd Edition, Paris, 1954), p.48–60: "L'image de Dieu et les tuniques de peau."

55. Cited by Daniélou: *op. cit. n7*, p.274.

56. Cited by Daniélou: *op. cit. n7*, p273.

57. Basil, the father of Basil the Great and Gregory Nyssen, was the son of St. Macrina the Elder, who was a pupil of Gregory the Wonderworker. Their mother, Emelia, was the daughter of a martyr. Nonna, the mother of Gregory Nazianzen, was the daughter of Christian parents. Ambrose came from a distinguished Roman family which boasted of a virgin, Sotheris, who had suffered a martyr's death under Diocletian (284–305).

58. *Op. cit. n34*, p.87–89.

59. *Op. cit. n34*, p.87.

60. *Op. cit. n34*, p.87–8.

61. Similarly Jerome, although he was not baptized as an infant, appears to have been enrolled as a catechumen in his infancy. See Kelly: *op. cit. n10*, p7.

62. *The Origins of Infant Baptism* (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1963), p.42.

63. *Did The Early Church Baptize Infants?* (ET, S.C.M. Press, London, 1963), p.100–101.

64. *Op. cit. n34*, p.93.

65. *Op. cit. n34*, p.87.

66. *Op. cit.*, p.91.

67. *Loc. cit.*

68. *Loc. cit.*, n6.

69. *Ecclessiastical History*: IV:19.8–10.

70. According to Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History*: IV:26) *νηπιος υἱός*.

71. *Loc. cit.*

72. *Oration 43:* (In Praise of Basil the Great): s54.

73. *Ecclesiastical History*: II:9.

74. *Loc. cit. n69.*

75. *Ecclesiastical History*: VI:16.

76. *Op. cit. n36*, p.91.

77. *Op. cit. n18*, p.363.

78. F. L. Cross: *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments. The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses* (SPCK, London, 1951), p.xxiii.

79. Compare the injunction to give heed *τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος διδομένῃ πνευματικῇ χαρίτι*, s3.

80. For an overview of recent discussion concerning the authorship and dates of the Mystagogical Catecheses see F. M. Young: *From Nicea to Chalcedon* (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1983), p.128–30.

81. *Op. cit. n45*, p.52.

82. *Op. cit. n18*, p.384.

83. *Op. cit. n80*, p.133.

84. *Ancoratus*: s9.

85. *Op. cit. n80*, p.134.

86. Compare R. M. Grant: *A Short History of the Interpretation of The Bible*, p.69.

87. See C. H. Turner: *op. cit. n12*, p.501.

88. J. H. Srawley: "Antiochene Theology", (*Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908) vol. I p.584–593), p.584.

89. *Op. cit. n80*, p.192.

90. *Ibid.*, p.193.

91. *Ibid.*, p.156.

92. *Ibid.*, p.155.

93. *Op. cit. n18*, p.434.

94. *Op. cit. n80*, p.155.

95. Compare Quasten: *Op. cit. n18*, p.455.

96. *Op. cit. n80*, p.203–4.

97. H. B. Swete: *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii* (2 vols.Cambridge, 1880 & 1882), vol. I: p.lxxi-lxxix.

98. *Op. cit.*, p.lxxi.

99. Cited by J. McW. Dewart: *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1971), p.94.

100. R. A. Norris: *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963), p.155.

101. *Loc. cit.*

102. *Op. cit. n97*, p.288, note to line 9.

103. Quasten: *Op. cit. n18*, p.536.

104. Frances Young: *Op. cit. n80*, p284.

105. *Op. cit. n12*, p.516.

106. P. M. Parvis: *Theodoret's Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1975, unpublished), p.252.

107. *Op. cit. n97*, p.lxxvi-lxxvii.

108. *Op. cit. n80*, p.287. Compare Parvis: *op. cit. n106*, p.152.

109. Parvis (*op. cit. n106*, p149), notes, with particular reference to Theodoret's comment on Colossians 2:13 that "The roles of sin and mortality [in Theodore and Theodoret] have been reversed. The former is, for Theodoret, the cause, not the effect of the latter, ...the primary focus of soteriological concern is sin and not mortality."

110. *Op. cit. n13*, p.373.

111. J. Neusner: *Aphrahat and Judaism: The Christian-Jewish Argument in Fourth Century Iran* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971), p.4.

112. *Loc.cit.*

113. *Op. cit.* p.5.

114. R. Murray: *Symbols of the Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (C.U.P., 1975), p.29.

115. J. Neusner, *op. cit. n110*, p.217–219, notes both the similarities and the differences between Justin and Aphrahat.

116. Jeremias: *op. cit. n36*, p.69–70.

117. *Op. cit. n36*, p.69 n6.

118. *Op. cit. n36*, p.70.

119. *Op. cit. n114*. p.31.

120. Ephraem's text of the Pauline Epistles has been reconstructed by J. Molitor: *Der Paulustext des hl. Ephram* (Monumenta biblica ecclessiastica, vol. iv, Rome, 1938).

Chapter 5

1. *Ibid.*, Book IV: s1.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *De Synodis* c91.
4. J. N. D. Kelly: *Early Christian Doctrines* (5th edition, A. & C. Black, London, 1977) p.386.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. E. W. Watson L. Pullan and Others: *St. Hilary of Potiers: Select Works*, (L.N.P.N.F. second series, volume IX, James Parker & Co., Oxford, 1899) Introduction p.lxxx.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. Stephen McKenna (trans.): *Ambrose: On the Trinity* (FoC vol. 25, C.U.A.P., Washington, 1964) p.330.
10. H. Chadwick: *The Early Church* (The Pelican History of the Church: volume one, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1967) p.213.
11. In this paragraph I am dependent mainly upon W. Rusch: *The Later* Latin Fathers, *(Duckworth, London, 1977) p.38.*
12. Cf. Chadwick: *Op. cit. n10*, p.119 n1.
13. Cf. Rusch: *Op. cit. n11*, p.60.
14. *Loc. cit.*
15. M. G. Mara: "Ambrose of Milan. Ambrosiaster and Nicetas" in Angelo di Berardino ed: *Patrology: volume IV: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature* (Augustinian Patristic Institute - Rome, Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1986, p.144–194) p.173.
16. *Op. cit.*, p.164.
17. *Op. cit. n11*, p.55.
18. W. Wall: *The History of Infant Baptism* (4 vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1862) volume I p.225.
19. *Op. cit. n11*, p.65.

20. *Op. cit. n15*, p.183.

21. *Op. cit. n11*, p.66.

22. A. Souter: *A Study of Ambrosiaster*: Texts and Studies, Volume VII No. 4 (C.U.P., 1905) p.6–7.

23. A. Souter: "Reasons for regarding Hilarius (Ambrosiaster) as the Author of the Mercati-Turner Anecdoton": *J.T.S.*: 5 (1903–4) p.608–621.

24. *Op. cit. n15*, p.185

25. Cf. Chadwick: *op. cit. n10*, p.21.

26. J. N. D. Kelly: *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (Duckworth, London, 1975) p.143.

27. *Op. cit.*, p.180.

28. *Op. cit.*, p.181.

29. *Op. cit.*, p.183.

30. *Op. cit.*, p.212.

31. Kelly: *op. cit. n26*, p.145.

32. Kelly: *op. cit. n26*, p.148.

33. *Famous Men*: 135; *Letters* 71:5; 112:20.

34. See, for example, E. Cavellera: (*Bulletin de littérature ecclés_iastique*, 1920, p.269–92); noted by Kelly: *op. cit. n26*, p.88, n38.

35. *Op. cit. n26*, p.88.

36. *Loc. cit.*

37. *Op. cit. n26*, p.88–9.

38. *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine Secundum Editionem Hieronymi: volume II: Epistulae Paulinae* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913–1941) p.508–9.

39. Rusch: *op. cit. n11*, p.44.

40. Cf. Henry Chadwick: *Augustine* (Past Masters, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1986) p.1–3.

41. *Commentary on Genesis*: on 17:12.

42. Unless otherwise indicated, I have followed the dating of St. Augustine's works given by Peter Brown: *Augustine of Hippo* (Faber & Faber, London, 1967).

43. *St. Augustine: His Life & Controversies*, S.C.M. Press, London, 1963: revised and reissued: The Canterbury Press, Norwich, 1986.

44. *Op. cit. n11*, p.137.

45. *Op. cit. n43*, p215; cf p.59–60.

46. This sentence is omitted by R. Stothert in his translation of this passage. (See Bibliography A). The translation of this passage is from Bonner: *op. cit. n43*, p.220.

47. As Bonner notes (*op. cit. n43*, p.60) the Manichees not only rejected the Old Testament, but also "any text of scripture unfavourable to their theology, declaring all such to be forged interpolations."

48. *On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins*: III.v.10; *On Marriage and Concupiscence:* II.xxix. 51; *Against Two Letters of the* Pelagians:*II.viii.22; cf.* On Baptism Against the Donatists: IV: xxiv.32.

49. Cf. *Sermon 231* s2 (see section 5.9.6); *Enchiridion*: xxxiv.41.

50. The work is sometimes dated earlier. According to Agostino Trapé: "St. Augustine" in: *Patrology: IV:* (*op. cit. n15*), p.384, it was written during the Pontificate of Anastasium, 398–401.

51. A. Kunzelmann: "Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus" *Miscellenae Agostiniana*, volume II, Rome 1931 p.417–520) p.516.

52. *Op. cit.* p.516.

53. Kunzelmann: *op. cit. n22*, p.516.

54. *Op. cit. n42* p.345.

55. See Further: G. Bonner: "Augustine on Romans 5, 12" in F. L. Cross ed.) *Studia Evangelica V* (Berlin, 1968) p.242–247.

56. *Op. cit. n43* p.395.

57. N. P. Williams: *The Idea of the Fall and Original Sin* (London, 1927) p.327–8,360–85.

58. Rusch: *op. cit. n11*, p.129–30.

59. Bonner: *op. cit. n43*, p.154.

60. *Op. cit. n43*, p.377.

61. This argument had previously been advanced by Pelagius: see *On the Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* II.ix.ll; *On Original Sin* xxxix.44.

62. Rusch: *op. cit. n11*, p.117.

63. *Loc. cit.*

64. See further: *On the Spirit and On the Letter*, passim.

65. See further: Sister M. Ligouri; in the introduction to her translation of "Adversus Judaeos" in R. J. Defarri (ed.): *St. Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects* (FoC vol. 27, C.U.A. Press, Washington, 1957) p.387–8.

66. *Op. cit. n10*, p.116.

67. "St. Augustine's Interpretation of Infant Baptism" (in *Augustinus Magister: Congrès internationale augustinien,* Paris, 21–24 September 1954: volume II: Communications, p.897–903) p.897.

68. *Loc. cit.*

69. *Op. cit.* p.898.

70. P. K. Jewett: *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* (Eerdmans, Grtand Rapids, Michegan, 1978) p.17 and 18.

71. H. J. Frede: *Vetus Latina: volume 1:1 Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel* (Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1981) p.159.

72. Rusch: *Op.cit. n11*, p.159.

73. *Op. cit. n71*, p.310.

74. *Op. cit. n11*, p.9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY A: PRIMARY SOURCES: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

AMBROSE

Concerning the Mysteries

Text: O. Faller: *CSEL 73: Sancti Ambrosii Opera VII*, (Vienna, 1955), pages 89–116.

Translation: H. De Romestin: *LNPNF 2nd series vol. 10*, pages 317–325.

Concerning Repentance

Text: O. Faller: *op. cit.*, pages 117–206.

Translation: H. De Romestin: *op. cit.*, pages 329–359

Concerning Tobias

C. Schenkl: *CSEL 32, 1: Sancti Ambrosii Opera II*, (Vienna, 1897), pages 519–573.

Exposition of the Gospel According to St. Luke

G. Tissot: *SC 45 & 52*, (Paris 1955 and 1958).

Letters

Text: O. Casel: *CSEL 82: Sancti Ambrosii Opera X,1*, (Vienna 1968).

Translation: M. M. Beyenka: *FoC 26*, (1964).

On Abraham

Text: O. Schenkl: *CSEL 32, 1: Sancti Ambrosii Opera I*, (Vienna, 1897), pages 501–638.

Translation (extracts): W. Wall *The History of Infant Baptism*, (4 vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1865), pages 222–225.

On the Christian Faith

Text: O. Faller: *CSEL 78: Sancti Ambrosii Opera VIII*, (Vienna, 1962)

Translation: H. De Romestin: *op. cit.*, pages 201–314.

On the Flight from the World.

Text: C. Schenkle: *CSEL 32, 2: Sancti Ambrosii Opera II*, (Vienna, 1897), pages 163–207.

Translation: M. P. McHugh: *St. Ambrose: Seven Exegetical Works*, (FoC 65, 1972), pages 281–323.

On the Prayer of Job and David

Text: C. Schenkle: *op. cit.*, pages 211–296.

Translation: M. P. McHugh: *op. cit.*, pages 329–420.

AMBROSIASTER

Commentary on Colossians

H.J. Vogels: *CSEL 81: Ambrosiastri Qui Dicitur Commentarius in Epistolas Paulinas: part III*, (Vienna, 1969), pages 165–207.

Fragment from a Commentary on Matthew

PLS 1, (Paris 1958), cols. 655–668.

APHRAHAT

Demonstration XII: On Circumcision

Translation: J. Neusner: *Aphrahat and Judaism: The Christian-Jewish Argument in fourth-century Iran*, (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971).

ASTERIUS THE SOPHIST

Homily XII (on Psalm 6)

M. Richard: *Asterii Sophistae: Commentarium in Psalmos Quae Supersunt Accedunt Aliquot Homiliae Anonymae*, (Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet. XVI, Oslo, 1956).

PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS

On the Sabbath and Circumcision

Text: *PG 28* cols. 133–142 (extract cols. 140–141).

Translation (extracts): J. Daniélou: *The Bible and the Liturgy*, (ET, Darton, Longmann & Todd, London, 1960).

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Tractate Against the Jews

Text: *PL 42* cols. 51–64

Translation: M. Ligouri in R. J. Defarri (ed.) *St. Augustine Treatises On Marriage and Other Subjects*, (FoC 27, New York, 1955), pages 387–414.

Answer to Petillian the Donatist

Text: M. Petschenig: *CSEL 52: Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera VII, 2*, (Vienna, 1909), pages 3–277.

Translation: J. R. King and C. D. Harkrauft: *LNPNF lst series vol. 4*, pages 519–628.

Defense Against Julian the Pelagian

Text: *PL 44* vols. 641–874 (extract Book II:vi.18 col. 685–6; extract Book VI:vi.18 & 20 cols. 833–5.

Translation: M. A. Schumacher: *St. Augustine: Against Julian*, (FoC 35, New York, 1957).

Letters 149 and 157

Text: A. Goldbacher: *CSEL 44: Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera II, 3*, (Vienna, 1904).

Translation: W. Parsons: *St. Augustine: Letters vol. III: Letters 131–164*, (FoC 20, New York, 1953).

On Baptism Against the Donatists

Text: *PL 43* cols. 107–246.

Translation: J. R. King *LNPNF lst series vol. 4*, pages 411–514.

On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins

Text: C. F. Urba and J. Zycha: *CSEL 60: Sancti Aureli Augustini, Opera VIII*, (Vienna, 1913), pages 3–151.

Translation: P. Holmes and R. E. Wallis: *LNPNF lst series vol. 5*, pages 15–78.

On Original Sin

Text: C. F. Urba and J. Zycha: *CSEL 2 42: Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera VII, 2*, (Vienna, 1902), pages 167–206.

Translation: P. Holmes and R. E. Wallis: *op. cit.*, pages 237–255.

On the Soul and Its Origin

Text: C. F. Urba and J. Zycha: *CSEL 60: Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera VIII, 1*, (Vienna, 1913), pages 303–419.

Translation: P. Holmes and R. E. Wallis: *op. cit.*, pages 315–571.

On The Trinity

Text: W. J. Mountain: *CCL 50, 50A: Aurelii Augustini Opera XVI, 1 & 2*, (Turnhout, 1968).

Translation: W. G. T. Shedd: *LNPNF lst series vol. 3*,pages 1–228.

Questions on the Gospels

A. Muntzenbecher: *CCL 44B: Aurelii Augustini Opera XIII, 3*, (Turnhout, 1980).

Reply to Faustus the Manichee

Text: J. Zycha: *CSEL 25, 1: Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera VI, 1*, (Vienna, 1891), pages 251–797.

Translation: R. Stothert: *LNPNF 1st series vol. 4*, pages 155–345.

Sermons 210 and 231

Text: PL 38 cols. 1047–1054, 1104–1107.

Translation: M. S. Muldowney: *FoC 38: St. Augustine: On the Liturgical Seasons*, (Washington, 1959).

Easterday Sermon

Text: Wilmart IX: *Miscellena Agostiniana I*, (Rome, 1930), pages 493–494.

Sermon to the Newly Baptized on the Octave of Easter

Text: Denis VII: *Miscellena Agostiniana I*, (Rome, 1930), pages 35–38.

Translation: D. J. Kavanagh: *FoC 11: St. Augustine: Commentary on the Lord's Sermon On the Mount with Seventeen Related Sermons*, Washington, 1951), pages 331–337.

PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE

Against Fulgentius the Donatist

Text: *PL 43* cols. 763–774 (extract col. 764).

BASIL THE GREAT

Concerning Baptism

Text: *PG 31* cols. 1513–1628 (extract cols. 1580–1581).

Translation: M. M. Wagner: *St. Basil: Ascetical Works*, (FoC 9, Washington, 1962), pages 339–430.

The Morals

Text: *PG 31* cols. 889–1052 (rule 20 cols. 736–7; rule 43: cols. 761 and 764).

Translation: W. K. L. Clark: *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1925).

Homily XIII: On Holy Baptism

Text: *PG 31* cols. 423–444 (extract col. 428).

Translation (extracts): W. Wall: *op. cit.*, vol. I pages 208–214.

On the Holy Spirit

Text: B. Pruche: *Basile de Cesaree, Traité du Saint-Esprit* (SC 17, Paris, 1947).

Translation: G. Lewis: *The Treatise of Basil the Great on The Holy Spirit*, (Christian Classics Series IV, Revised edition, Religious Tract Societ, London: no date).

PETER CHRYSOLOGUS

Sermon 82: On Mark 16: 1–12

Text: A. Oliver: *CCL 24A* (Turnhout, 1981), pages 505–509.

PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM

Homilies on the Passover

P. Nautin: *Homélies Pascales II: Trois Homélies Dans La Tradition D'Origène*, (SC 36, Paris, 1953).

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Exhortation to the Greeks

Text: O. Stählin: *GCS 12: Clemens Alexandrinus: I*, (Berlin, 1972), pages 3–86.

Translation: W. Wilson: *ANF 2*, pages 171–206.

Miscellanies

Text: O. Stählin: *GCS 15: Clemens Alexandrinus: II*, (Leipzig, 1906).

Translation (Books III and VII): H. Chadwick in H. Chadwick and J. E. Oulton (ed.) *Alexandrian Christianity*, (LCC volume 2, A.C.M. Press, London, 1954) pages 40–105.

CYPRIAN

Letter 64 to Fidus

Text: W. Hartel: *CSEL 3, 2: S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia II*, (Vienna, 1868), pages 718–721.

Translation: H. Carey: *The Epistles of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage and Martyr, with the Council of Carthage on the Baptism of Heretics*, (LFC 17, John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1844).

On Jealousy and Envy

Text: W. Hartel: *op. cit.*, pages 419–432.

Translation: R. E. Wallis: *ANF 5*, pages 491–6.

Testimonies Against the Jews

Text: W. Hartel: *op. cit.*, pages 33–184.

Translation: R. E. Wallis: *op. cit.*, pages 507–557.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke

Text: *PG 72* cols. 475–950 (extract cols. 497B - 500A).

Translation: R. Payne Smith: *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to St. Luke by St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria*, (2 vols, Oxford, 1859).

Commentary on the Gospel of St. John

Text: P. E. Pusey: *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini In S. Joannis Evangelium*, (3 vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1872).

Translation: Books I-VI (chapters 1–18): P. E. Pusey: *Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John: volume 1*, (LFC vol. 43 James Parker & Co. Oxford, 1832); Books VII-XII (chapters 9–21): R. T. Randall: *Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John: volume 2 (LFC vol. 48 (Walter Smith (late Mozely)* London, 1885).

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

Procatechesis

Text and Translation: F. L. Cross: *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures On the Christian Sacraments. The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses*, (SPCK, London 1951).

Catechetical Lectures

Text: *PG 33 cols. 33–1180* (extract Lecture V col. 513).

Translation: R. W. Church: *The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem*, (LFC 2, John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1838).

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA

On the Trinity:

PG 39 cols. 269–992 (extract cols. 501 and 504).

EPHRAEM THE SYRIAN

Commentary on Colossians

S. Ephraem Syri commentarii in epistolas d. Pauli, nunc primum ex Arm. in Lat. sermonem. A Patribus Mekitharistis, (Vienna, 1893).

EPIPHANIUS

Ancoratus (The Firmly Anchored Man)

K. Holl: *GCS 25 Epiphanius I*, (Leipzig 1915).

EUCHERIUS OF LYONS

Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae

Text: *PL 50* cols. 727–772 (extract col. 766).

GREGORY NAZIANZEN

Oration 33: Against the Arians and Concerning Himself

Text: P. Gallay: *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 32–37*, (SC 318, 1985), pages 20–28.

Translation: C. G. Brown and J. E. Swallow, *LNPNF 2nd series vol. 7*, 328–334.

GREGORY NYSSEN

Life of St. Macrina

Text P. Maraval: *Grégoire de Nysse: Vie de Sainte Macrine* (SC 178, Paris 1971).

Translation: V. W. Callaghan: *Saint Gregory of Nyssa: Asetical Works*, (FoC 58, Washington, 2967), pages 163–191.

Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles

Text: H. Langerbeck: *Gregorii Nysseni In Canticum Canticorum*, (W. Jaeger ed., Gregorii Nysseni Opera: VI, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1960).

Translation (extracts): J. Daniélou: *From Glory to Glory: Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings*, (ET, John Murray: London, 1962). Extract Homily VI (on 3:6) page 205; extract Homily XIV (on 5:13) pages 278–9).

HILARY OF POITIERS

On the Trinity

Text: P. Smulders: *CCL 62 (Books I-VII), 62A (Books VIII-XII): Sancti Hilarii Pictariensis Episopae: Opera II, 1 and 2*, (Turnhout, 1979 and 1980).

Translation: E. W. Watson: *LNPNF, 2nd series, vol IX,*, pages 40–233.

HIPPOLYTUS

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

Translation: G. J. Cumming: *Hippolytus: A text for Students, with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Notes*, (Grove Books, Bramcote, 1976).

Refutation of All Heresies

Text: P. Wendland: *GCS 26 Hippolytus III*, (Leipzig, 1916), pages 1–293.

Translation (extracts): W. Foerster: *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts: volume 1: Patristic Evidence*, (ET, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972), p306ff.

IRENAEUS

Against Heresies

Text A. Rousseau: *Irénée de Lyon: Contre Les Hérésies: Libre IV*, (SC 100, Paris, 1965).

Translation: A. Roberts and W. H. Rambaut: *ANF 1*, pages 315–578.

JEROME

Against Jovinian

Text: *PL 23* cols. 2311–338 (extract cols. 276–7).

Translation: W. H. Freemantle *LNPNF 2nd series vol. 6*,pages 299–318.

Against John of Jerusalem

Text: *PL 23* cols. 355–398.

Translation: W. H. Freemantle: *op. cit.*, pages 424–427.

Commentary on Galatians

PL 26 (extract col. 437).

Letters

Text: I. Hilberg: *CSEL 54*, (Vienna, 1910–1918).

Translation (Letters 14 and 69): W. H. Freemantle: *op. cit.*.

Translation of Origen's Homily XIV on Luke

M. Rauer: *GCS 49: Origenes: Werke IX*, (Leipzig, 1959).

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Against the Hebrews and Concerning the Resurrection

Text: *PG 50* cols. 433–442 (extract cols. 438–9).

Translation (extract): E. B. Pusey: *Tract 67: Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, (3rd edition Oxford, 1843), pages 103–4.

Baptismal Instruction IX

Text: *PG 49* cols. 231–240 (extract cols. 115–6).

Translation: P. W. Hawkins: *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, (ACW 31, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1963).

Homilies on Genesis

Text: *PG 53–4* (extract Homily XXXIX: col. 371; extract Homily XL: col. 373–4).

Translation Homily XL (extracts): W. Wall: *op. cit.*, pages 227–30.

Homilies on Colossians

Text: *PG 62* cols. 299–392 (extract Homily VI: cols. 339–40; extract Homily VIII col. 351).

Translation: J. Ashworth: *LNPNF 1st series, vol XIII*, pages 257–231.

JUSTIN MARTYR

Dialogue with Trypho the Jew

Text: J. C. Otto: *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi: Volume I part 2: Iustinus Philosophus et Martyr*, (Vienna, 1847).

Translation: G. Reith: *ANF 1*, pages 194–270.

LEO THE GREAT

Sermons

R. Dolle: *Léon Le Grand: Sermones: vol. 3*, (SC 74, 1961).

NOVATIAN

On the Trinity

Text: G. F. Dierchs: *CCL IV: Novatian: Opera*, (Turnhout, 1972), pages 1–78.

Translation: R.J. Desimone: *Novatian: The Trinity, the Spectacles, Jewish Foods, In Praise of Purity, Letters*, (FOC 67, Washington, 1974), pages 13–111.

ORIGEN

Selections from the Catena on Joshua

PG 12 (extract col. 821).

On Psalm 118 (119)

M. Harl: *La Chaîne Palestinienne Sur le Psaume 118: Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret*, (SC 189, Paris, 1972).

Commentary on Romans

PG 14 (extract col. 1264).

Homily XIV on Luke

M. Rauer: *GCS 49: Origenes Werke IX*, (Leipzig 1959).

PELAGIUS

Commentary on Colossians

A. Souter *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, (Texts and Studies 9, 2, Cambridge 1926).

THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP

Translation: W. W. Isenberg in J. M. Robinson (ed.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, (2nd ed. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1984). pages 133–151.

PRISCILLIAN

Canons

G. Schepps: *CSEL 18: Priscilliani Quae Supersunt*, (Vienna, 1899), pages 109–147.

SEVERIAN OF GABALA

Fragments from an Exposition of Colossians

K. Staab: *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*, (Munster, 1933).

THEODORET OF CYRUS

Questions on the Octateuch

PG 80 cols. 75–528 (extract cols. 465–468).

Commentary on Colossians

PG 82 cols. 35–878 (extract col. 609).

Questions and Responses to the Orthodox

J. C. Otto: *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi: volume 5* (Vienna, 1881), pages 1–247.

TERTULLIAN

On Baptism

Text and Translation: E. Evans: *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism: The Text edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1964).

On the Resurrection of the Flesh

Text and Translation: E. Evans: *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection. The text edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (S.P.C.K., London, 1960).

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA

Commentary on Colossians

H. B. Swete: *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, (2 vols, Cambridge, 1880 and 1882). Extract volume 1 pages 287–9.

THE VULGATE

J. Wordsworth and H. J. White: *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi Pars Secunda: Epistulae Paulinae*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913–1941).

ZENO OF VERONA

Sermons: Book I:13: On Circumcision

B. Lofstedt *CCL 22: Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, (Turnhout, 1971), pages 24–30.

BIBLIOGRAPHY B: MODERN AUTHORS

ABBOTT, T. K. *The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*, (I.C.C., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897).

ACKROYD, P. R. and C. F. Evans (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume One: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, (C.U.P., 1975, pages 284–297).

ALAND, K. *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?*, (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London 1963).

ALLEN, J. A. "The 'In Christ' Formula in Ephesians", *N.T.S.* 5 (Oct. 1958) p.54–62.

————. *Ephesians*, (Torch Commentary, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1959).

BARNARD, L. W. *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background*, (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1966).,

————. *Justin Martyr: His Life and His Thought*, (C.U.P., 1967).

BARRETT, C. K. *The Epistle to the Romans*, (Black's New Testament Commentaries, A. & C. Black, London, 1957).

————. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (Black's New Testament Commentaries, A. & C. Black, London, 2nd edition 1971).

BARTH, M. *Die Taufe ein Sacrament?* (Zollikon, Zürich, 1951).

————. *Ephesians*, (Anchor Bible vols. 34 & 34A, Doubleday, New York, 1974).

BEARE, F. W. *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, (The Interpreter's Bible, vol. 10, Nashville, 1953).

BEASLEY-MURRAY, G. R. *Baptism in the New Testament*, (Paternoster Press, Exeter, 1963).

BECKWITH, R. T. and W. STOTT *This is the Day: The Biblical Doctrine of Christian Sunday in its Jewish and Early Church Setting*, (Marshall Morgan and Scott, London, 1978).

BERARDINO, Angelo di (ed.) *Patrology : Volume IV: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature*, (Augustinian Patristic Institute - Rome, Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1986).

BEST, E. *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, (Cambridge Bible Commentary, C.U.P., 1967).

BIBLIA PATRISTICA *Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Éditions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris): *Volume 1: Des origènes à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* (1975); *Volume 2: Le troisième siècle (Origène excepté)* (1977); *Volume 3: Origène* (1980).

BONNER, G. *St. Augustine: His Life & Controversies*, (S.C.M. Press, London, 1963; revised and reissued: The Canterbury Press, Norwich, 1986).

————. "Augustine on Romans 5, 12" in F. L. Cross (ed.) *Studia Evangelica V*, (Berlin, 1968) p.242–247.

BRAY, G. L. *Holiness and the Will of God: Perspectives on the Theology of Tertullian*, (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1979).

BROWN, P. *Augustine of Hippo*, (Faber & Faber, London, 1967).

BRUCE, F. F. *The Spreading Flame: The Rise and Progress of Christianity from its First Beginnings to the Conversion of the English*, (Paternoster Press, London, 1958).

————. *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, (Pickering & Inglis, Glasgow, 1961).

CAIRD, G. B. Review of J. C. Kirby, *Ephesians Baptism and Pentecost*, *S.J.T.* **22** (1969) p.225f.

————. *Paul's Letters From Prison*, (O.U.P., 1976).

CALVIN, J. *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, (ed. J. T. McNeill, LCC vols 20 and 21, Westminster Press, 1960).

CASEY, R. P. *The Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria, edited with translation and notes*, (Studies and Documents, London 1934).

CHADWICK, H. *The Early Church*, (Pelican History of the Church, vol. I, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1967).

————. *Augustine* (Past Masters, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986).

CHADWICK, H. and J. E. OULTON *Alexandrian Christianity*, (LCC volume II, A.C.M. Press, London, 1954).

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND *The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, A Study Document issued by the Special Commission on Baptism of the Church of Scotland*, (The Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1958).

CLARKE, W. K. L. *Saint Basil the Great*, (Cambridge University Press, 1913).

CONZELMANN, H. *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (ET, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1975).

CRANFIELD, C. E. B. *The First Epistle of Peter*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1950).

————. *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, (C.U.P.,1959),

————. *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, (2 vols. I.C.C., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1975 and 1979).

CROSS, F. L. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments. The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1966).

CULLMANN, O. *Baptism in the New Testament*, (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London,1950).

DALTON, J. W. *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*, (Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1965).

DANIÉLOU, J. *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de Saint Grégoire de Nysse*, (2nd Edition, Paris, 1954).

————. *Origen*, (ET, W. Mitchell, London, 1955).

————. "Circoncision et baptême", in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Festschrift M. Schmaus, Munich, 1957).

———. *The Bible and the Liturgy*, (ET, Darton, Longmann & Todd, London, 1960).

———. *A History of Early Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea: volume One: The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, (ET, Darton, Longmann & Todd, London, 1964).

———. *A History of Early Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea Volume Two: Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, (ET, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., London 1973).

———. *A History of Early Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea: Volume Three: The Origins of Latin Theology*, (ET, Darton, Longmann and Todd Ltd., London, 1977).

DEWART, J. McW. *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1971).

DIDIER, J -C. "Le pédobaptisme au IVe siècle. Documents nouveaux" (*Melanges de Science Religieuse* **6**, 1949, p233–46).

DODD, C. H. *According to the Scriptures*, (Fontana Books, 1965).

DUNN, J. D. G. *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1970).

———. *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, (S.C.M. Press, London, 1977).

ESTIUS, W. *In omnes D. Pauli epistolas, item catholicas commentarii*, (ed. J. Holzammer, Moguntiae, 1858–9).

FAIRWEATHER, E. W. "St. Augustine's Interpretation of Infant Baptism", *Augustinus Magister: Congrès internationale augustinien, Paris, 21–24 September 1954: volume II: Communications*, p.897–903.

FERGUSON, E. "Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism", *J.T.S.* **30** (1979) p.37–46.

FLEMINGTON, W. F. *The New Testament Doctrine Of Baptism*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1948).

FOERSTER, W. *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts: volume 1: Patristic Evidence*, (ET, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972).

———. *Gnosis: Volume II: Coptic and Mandean Sources*, (ET, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974).

FOULKES, F. *The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians*, (Tyndale New Testament Commentary, I.V.P. 1963).

FREDE, H. J. *Vetus Latina: Volume 1:1 Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, (Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1981).

GRANT, R. M. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, (Revised Edition, A. & C. Black, London, 1965).

GUTHRIE, D. *New Testament Introduction*, (Tyndale Press, London, 3rd edition, 1970).

HANSON, R. P. C. *Tradition in the Early Church*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1962).

HANSON, S. *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament, Colossians and Ephesians*, (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 14, Upsala, 1946).

HARRIS, J. R. *Testimonies*, (2 volumes, Cambridge, 1916 and 1920).

HEBERT, A. G. "Faithfulness" and 'Faith'", *Theology*, vol. 58 (Oct.1955) p.373–79.

HOULDEN, J. L. *Paul's Letters From Prison*, (Pelican Commentary, S.C.M. Press, London, 1977).

JEREMIAS, J. *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1960).

————. *The Origins of Infant Baptism*, (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London 1963).

JEWETT, P. K. *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace*, (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1978).

KASEMANN, E. *Leib und Leib Christi*, (Tubingen, 1933).

————. "Ephesians and Acts" in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn (S.P.C.K., London, 1968) p.288–97.

KELLY, J. N. D. *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, (Black's New Testament Commentaries, A. & C. Black, London, 1969).

————. *Early Christian Creeds*, (3rd edition, Longmans, London, 1972).

———. *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies*, (Duckworth, London, 1975).

———. *Early Christian Doctrines*, (A. & C. Black, 5th edition, London, 1977).

KINGDON, D. *Children of Abraham. A Reformed Baptist View of Baptism, The Covenant, and Children*, (Carey Publications Ltd., Haywards Heath, 1973).

KIRBY, J. C. *Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost*, (S.P.C.K., London, 1968).

KUNZELMANN, A. "Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus", *Miscellenea Agostiniana: volume II*, (Typografia Poliyglotha Vaticana, Rome, 1931).

LADD, G. E. *A Theology of the New Testament*, (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1974).

LAMPE, G. W. H. *The Seal of the Spirit*, (S.P.C.K., 2nd edition, London, 1967).

LAMPE, G. W. H. and K. J. WOOLLCOMBE: *Essays on Typology*, (S.C.M. Press, London, 1957).

LIGHTFOOT, J. B. *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians & Philemon*, (Macmillan & Company, revised edition, 1879).

———. *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Texts With Short Introductions and English Translations*, (MacMillan and Co., London, 1891).

LILLA, C. R. C. *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, (O.U.P. 1941).

LUTHER, M. "The Holy and Blessed Sacrament of Baptism" in *Luther's Works, volume 35: Word and Sacrament*, ed. E. J. Bachmann (Concordia and Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1961).

MACMAHON, J. H. *Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome: Volume 1*: (A.N.C.L., vol. VI, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1868).

MANSON, T. W. "The Corinthian Correspondence (1)", in T. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, (ed. by M. Black, Manchester University Press, 1962), p.190–209.

MARCEL, P. Ch. *The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism*, (ET, James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London, 1953).

MARSH, H. G. *The Origin and Significance of New Testament Baptism*, (Manchester University Press, 1941).

MARTIN, R. P. *Reconciliation, A Study of Paul's Theology*, (Marshall's Theological Library, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, London 1981).

MITTON, C. L. *The Epistle to the Ephesians: Its Autorship, Origin and Purpose*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951).

————. *Ephesians*, (New Century Bible Oliphants, London, 1976).

MOFFATT, J. *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, (3rd edition, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1918).

MONTEFIORE, C. G. and H. LOEWE ed. *A Rabbinic Anthology*, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1939).

MOORE, G. F. *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of Tannaim*, (3 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1912–30).

MOULE, C. F. D. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary, C.U.P., 1957).

————. "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith"' *Exp.T.* vol. **68** (February 1957), p.157.

————. "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith"' *Exp.T* vol. **68** (March 1957) p.222.

————. *The Origin of Christology*, (C.U.P., 1977).

MURRAY, J. *Christian Baptism*, (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1972).

MURRAY, J. O. F. *Ephesians*, (Cambridge Greek Testament, C.U.P., 1914).

MURRAY, R. *Symbols of the Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, (C.U.P., 1975).

NAUTIN, P. *Six Homélies Paschales inspirées d'Origène*, (SC 36, Paris, 1953).

————. *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre*, (Beauchesne, Paris 1977).

NEUSNER, J. *Aphrahat and Judaism: The Christian-Jewish Argument in Fourth Century Iran*, (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971).

NINEHAM, D. E. "The Case against Pauline Authorship" in: *Studies in Ephesians* edited by F. L. Cross, (Mowbray, London, 1956) p.21–35.

NORRIS, R. A. *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology Theodore of Mopsuestia*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963).

O'NEILL, J. C. Review of J. C. Kirby, *Ephesians Baptism and Pentecost*, *J.T.S.* **20** (1969) p.615f.

OSBORN, E. F. *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria*, (C.U.P. 1957).

OXFORD SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905).

PARVIS, P. M. *Theodoret's Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*, (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1975, unpublished).

PEEL, M. L. *The Epistle to Rheginos: A Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection*, (S.C.M. Press, London, 1969).

PERCY, E. *Der Leib Christi*, (Lunds Universitets Årskrift, Lund, 1942).

PUSEY, E. B. *Tract 67: Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, (3rd. edition, Oxford, 1843).

QUASTEN, J. *Patrology: Volume I: The Beginnings of Christian Literature*, (Spectrum Publishers, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1962).

————. *Patrology: Volume II: The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*, (Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1987).

————. *Patrology: Volume III: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*, (Christian Classics, Inc., Westminster, Maryland, 1986).

RADER, W. *The Church and Radical Hostility: A History of Interpretation of Ephesians 2:11–22*, (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1978).

REICKE, B. *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, (Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1946).

ROBINSON, J. A. T. *The Body. A Study in Pauline Theology*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1952).

————. *Redating the New Testament*, (S.C.M. Press, London 1976).

ROBINSON, J. M. ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1984).

RORDORF, W. *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church*, (ET, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1968).

RUSCH, W. *The Later Latin Fathers*, (Duckworth, London, 1977).

SAHLIN, H. *Die Beschneidung Christi*, (Symbolae Biblicae Upsaliensis 12, Lund, 1950, p.5–22).

SALMON, G. "Docetae" in: W. W. Smith and H. Wace (ed.) *Dictionary of Christian Biography: Volume 1*, (John Murray, London, 1877) p.865–7.

SANDERS, J. T. *The New Testament Christological Hymns*, (C.U.P., 1971).

SCHNACKENBURG, R. *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul*, (ET, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1964).

SCHWEIZER, E. "Dying and Rising with Christ" in: *New Testament Issues*, (ed. R. Batey, S.C.M. Press, London, 1970).

SCOTT, C. A. A. *Christianity According to St. Paul*, (C.U.P., 1932).

SCOTT, E. F. *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, (Moffat New Testament Commentary vol. 11, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1930).

SELWYN, E. G. *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London 1946).

SMALLEY, B. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (O.U.P., 2nd edition, 1952).

SOUTER, A. "Reasons for regarding Hilarius (Ambrosiaster) as the Author of the Mercati-Turner Anecdoton": *J.T.S.*, 5 (1903–4) p.608–621.

————. "A Study of Ambrosiaster": *Texts and Studies, Volume VII No. 4*, (C.U.P., 1905).

SRAWLEY, J. H. "Antiochene Theology", *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908) vol. I, p.584–593.

STRACK, H. L. and BILLERBECK P. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, (Beck, Munich, 3rd ed. 1961).

SWETE, H. B. *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, (2 vols., Cambridge, 1880 & 1882).

TANNEHILL, R. C. *Dying and Rising with Christ: A Study in Pauline Theology*, (Alfred Töpelmann, Berlin, 1966).

TORRANCE, T. F. "One aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith", *Exp.T* vol. **68** (January 1957) p.111–14.

————. "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith"' *Exp.T* vol. **68** (March 1957), p.221.

TRIGG, J. W. *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1985).

TURNER, C. H. "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles", *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, Extra Volume with Indexes*, (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1947).

VERMES, G. "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources", *N.T.S.* 4 (1958).

VETUS LATINA *volume 24/2: Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (H. J. Frede, Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1965–1971).

WALL, W. *The History of Infant Baptism*, (4 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1862).

WARNS, J. *Baptism*, (ET, Paternoster Press, London, 1957).

WATSON, E. W., PULLAN L. and OTHERS *St. Hilary of Poitiers: Select Works*, (L.P.N.F. 2nd Series, vol. IX, James Parker and Co., Oxford, 1899).

WESTCOTT, B. F. *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, (3rd edition, MacMillan & Company 1870).

WHITAKER, E. C. "The Baptismal Interrogations" in *Theology*, vol. LIX (1956) p.103–112.

WILES, M. *The Divine Apostle. The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles in the Early Church*, (C.U.P., 1967).

WILLIAMS, N. P. *The Idea of the Fall and Original Sin*, (Longmanns, Green & Co., London, 1927).

WILSON, R. McL. *Gnosis and the New Testament*, (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1968).

————. *The Gospel of Philip*, (A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., London 1962).

YARNOLD, E. J. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*, (St. Paul Publications, Slough, 1971).

YOUNG, F. M. *From Nicea to Chalcedon*, (S.C.M. Press Ltd., London, 1983).

