

QUESTIONS OF THE SOTERIOLOGICAL TEACHING OF THE GREEK FATHERS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

BY

CONSTANTINE DRATSELLAS, Ph. D.

PREFACE

The teaching of Salvation is of the greatest significance in the theology of the Greek Fathers and particularly of St. Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril was a great Theologian. He was the most distinguished Saint of Byzantine Orthodoxy* and exercised such an important influence on the ecclesiastical Doctrine which, apart from Athanasius, was not exercised by any of the other Greek Fathers. And, as it has been said, if we except St. Augustine there is none among all the other Fathers whose works have been adopted so extensively by ecumenical Councils as a standard expression of Christian Faith.** Cyril's main interest was Christology and his theology was strictly christological. He wanted everything to be done with reference to the Theanthropic Person of the Incarnate Logos. This synthetic approach to Jesus Christ both as the Eternal Logos and as the Historical Jesus is the basis of Cyril's theology.

Cyril always speaks of the Incarnate Logos in terms not only of His Nature but also of His saving work. He never separates the Being of God from His Acting. Thus Jesus Christ is the unique Saviour of Mankind. Therefore Christology and Soteriology are inseparable in Cyril's theology. For Cyril there is no abstract doctrine about the Incarnate Logos. Since Christianity is the only true and perfect Religion, there should be a real christian doctrine of Salvation, a Soteriology. And if Jesus Christ is the Soul of Christian Religion, Salvation is to be considered as its very essence. The «New Creation

* Campenhausen, H. V., *Griechischen Kirchenväter*, Stuttgart 1955, E. T. by S. Godman. N. York 1959. p. 145.

** Bardenhewer O., *Patrologie*³, Freiburg. 1910, p. 36. Cyril was called «Guardian of Accuracy» (Eulogius Alex. in Photius' *Bibl.* 230), «Seal of the Fathers» (Anastasius Sinan.) and *Doctor Ecclesiae*.

in Christ» is a wonderful reality. So the doctrine of salvation is important on the one hand because of its connection with Jesus Christ and on the other hand because of what it contains and means for mankind. This is more appreciated if we know the consequences of sin for men. Men need salvation. This has been the greatest and deepest nostalgia of mankind. Unfortunately the doctrine of Salvation has been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted. That is why working on Cyril and particularly on his Soteriology I wanted not only to present this dissertation as a Thesis for a Degree, but also to find out whether Cyril's teaching is correct and biblical and whether a real and perfect Christian doctrine should be Biblical and Partistic as well. That is why I have tried to expound Cyril's teaching as I myself have understood it through his writings. This work is based on Cyril's books so much that I often let him express his ideas in his own words.

Like almost all the Greek Fathers Cyril has not written any systematic treatise on Soteriology; there was not any controversy about this question at his time. He had to defend the christological doctrine. Moreover the conviction about salvation through Christ was for him, as for all Fathers, so familiar; it was the atmosphere in which he lived.***

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Constantine Dratsellas

*** Döerholt B., Die Lehre von der Genugthung Christi, Paderborn 1891, p. 25.

A BRIEF EXPOSITION AND HISTORY
OF THE SOTERIOLOGICAL DOCTRINE
OF THE GREEK FATHERS

In order to evaluate Cyril's great contribution to the development of the Soteriological doctrine we must examine it in relation to the whole patristic teaching of Salvation. In this chapter I am trying to present a very brief history of the Soteriological teaching of the Greek Fathers. I am presenting here only the most representative Greek writers and Fathers of different ancient Schools of Theology and Thought, namely: I the Apostolic Fathers, II the Greek Apologists, III the Anti-heretical writers, IV the Alexandrian Theologians, V the Anti-origenists, VI the Antiochene Fathers and VII the Cappadocian Fathers.

As far as the Soteriology of the Fathers is concerned, I should like to lay stress and underline the following points: (i) The Fathers dealing with the Theanthropic Person of the Incarnate Logos speak also at the same time of His saving work. They never separate Jesus Christ from His redemptive work. And as Emil Brunner says: «Das Werk und Person des Erlösers sind eine unauflösliche Einheit»¹. They always combine the Being and the Acting of God in the Person and the work of the Redeemer. This is very important for a correct understanding of Patristic Theology and for evaluating the Patristic thought. (ii) When the Fathers speak of the Incarnation of the Logos they mean not only the Birth of Christ and His assuming human flesh but the whole Mystery of His Economy, and therefore, His Birth, His Life on earth, His Work, His Sufferings, His Death, His Resurrection. It is worth noticing that the Fathers always lay much stress on Christ's Resurrection which is the centre of christian faith and the affirmation of His Birth, His Life and His Death, etc. And when they speak of His Death, they see It in the light of His Incarnation. They see the mystery of Christ as a Whole. They never separate these two aspects of this mystery. They speak of the Whole Incarnate Logos and of His Saving Work, and they ascribe the Salvation of man to the whole Christ, to His Whole Saving Work and not to one particular act of His life.

1. Brunner E., Der Mittler, Zürich 1947, p. 359,

These conclusions lead us to a third one, so (iii) the Fathers never formulated any special theories on Soteriology. They are inventions of modern theologians who form several theories and then try to find some of the Fathers as supporters of their personal ideas. This leads to a dangerous misunderstanding of Patristic theology.

Since the Fathers saw the mystery of Jesus Christ as a whole, it is in the same way that we must approach and examine their teaching. They have not written any systematic treatise on Soteriology² except St. Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa who in their respective works, «De Incarnatione Verbi» and «Oratio Catechetica Magna», deal with the soteriological question in detail. The Fathers did not find it necessary to construct a theology of the Atonement because there were no rival theologies in this field³. Therefore, it is only in collecting all the soteriological ideas of the Fathers, scattered in their works, that we can have a partistic understanding of this crucial subject of Salvation. It is only in combining together all the ideas of the Fathers, that this Patristic Soteriology can be a correct and real expression of the Patristic thought, which relates man's salvation neither to Christ's Incarnation only in the narrow sense nor to His Death only but, as I have said, to the whole Mystery of His Economy.

In expounding the thought of the Fathers I am following one of the basic rules of interpretation. Each idea of each Father can and should be examined and understood in the light of his whole theology, and each passage-text should be examined in connection with his whole work or works.

I. The Apostolic Fathers.

Dealing with the history of the Soteriological doctrine in the early centuries we have to start with the Apostolic Fathers «who form a link between the New Testament foundation and the formulated doctrine of later times»⁴. In the Apostolic Fathers we find little theology, but in their teaching we find a faithful expression of the New Testament Theology. Though Salvation through Christ was their absolute conviction, they did not examine the question of the nature of salvation systematically.

2. Grensted L., *The Atonement in History and in Life*, London 1936, p. 177.

3. Rashdall H., *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, London 1925, p. 234.

4. Mozley J., *The Doctrine of Atonement*, London 1915, p. 94.

1) Clement of Rome (c. 96) directly refers to Christ's Blood in relation to man's salvation. «Let us look steadfastly to the Blood of Christ and know how precious it is to His Father, for being shed for our Salvation it brought the grace of repentance to all the world»⁵. He also speaks of Redemption through the «Blood of the Lord»⁶ as well as of the Love and Will of God⁷ as affecting the redemption of the fallen man. Christ offered Himself for us⁸. God justifies men who believe to Him⁹. By speaking of Christ's Blood as having been shed for our Salvation, Clement refers to Christ's death. The universality of Redemption and the death of Christ as the source of grace are closely expressed by Clement¹⁰. However, when Clement says that Christ came and called us who were being lost¹¹ he refers to His Incarnation and His work and life on earth among men. He finds Christ's Incarnation as a necessary presupposition for His Death. Clement's teaching of God «uniting us to Himself through Love»¹² and of Christ's blood being given «on our behalf»¹³ can be understood only in the light of Christ's Incarnation which enabled Him to be our Representative on His Cross. Apart from His Incarnation His Death would be impossible. Thus here we have the full conception of Christ's whole saving work.

5. Ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γινώμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ἐπήνεγκεν. (I Ep. ad Cor. VII, 4 BEII, 1,15).*

6. Διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου λύτρωσις ἔσται πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσι καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν. (I ad. Cor. XII, 7 BEII, 1,18).

7. Ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης· διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔσχε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ. (Ibid. XLIX, 6 BEII, 1,33).

8. Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός..... τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. (Ibid. XLIX, 6 BEII, 1,33).

9. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας ἢ συνέσεως, ἢ εὐσεβείας ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντα τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ Παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν. (Ibid. XXXII, 4 BEII, 1,25).

10. Oxenham H. N., *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, London 1869 p. 101.

11. Ὁ Χριστὸς ἔσωσε πολλοὺς ἔλθὼν καὶ καλέσας ἡμᾶς ἡδὴ ἀπολλυμένους. (II Ep. ad Cor. II, 7 BEII. 1,40).

12. Ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς ὁ Δεσπότης. (I Ep. Ad. Cor. XLIX, 6 BEII. 1,33).

13. Τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη. (Ibid. XXI, 6 BEII. 1,22).

* PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca.

BEII = *Library of the Greek Fathers* ed. by Apostoliki Diakonia of the Church of Greece. Athens 1965 ff.

2) Ignatius († 110) refers to Christ's Cross which is «our Salvation and our eternal life»¹⁴ and to His Passion which is the cause of our life¹⁵. He lays stress on the Death of Christ who died for our sake to save the believers from death¹⁶. He calls the Blood of Christ Love of God in order to express his conviction that the Love and the Will of God were the cause of man's Salvation through Jesus Christ. This idea of Christ's Blood is connected with the general idea of Christ's saving work. That is why Ignatius says that even the angels must believe in Christ's saving Blood¹⁷. Ignatius also connects Christ's Death with His glorious Resurrection when he speaks of man's Salvation¹⁸. Ignatius goes on to speak of man's Salvation without any reference to Christ's death¹⁹. This means that he refers to the whole conception of Christ's Incarnation which includes the idea of His Death. In other cases Ignatius connects the Birth with the Death of Christ²⁰ in order to express the same idea, i.e. the whole conception of Christ's saving work. It is in this general sense that the Incarnation brought the destruction of the power of evil spirits²¹. However, Ignatius reminds us that Christ «being immortal and invisible became visible for our sake, and being incorruptible and exempt from pain became subject to pain for our sake»²². Here Ignatius apparently refers to Christ's Incarnation which he connects with His Death and Passion for man's sake.

14. Ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. (Ad. Ephes. 18,1 BEII. 2,267).

15. Ἐὰν μὴ ἀθαψάτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν. (Ad. Magn. 5,2 BEII. 2,269).

16. «...τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστευσάντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφύγητε. (Ad. Tral. 2,1 BEII. 2,272).

17. Καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὄρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεῦσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κάκεινους κρίσις ἐστίν. (Ad. Spyrn. 6,1 BEII. 2,281).

18. Κωφώθητε οὖν ἔταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καλῆ τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαβίδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέ τε καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν... Ὅς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν. (Ad. Tral. 9, 1-2 BEII. 2,273).

19. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστευσάντες ἐσώθησαν, ἐν ἐνότητι Ἰησοῦ ὄντες. (Ad. Philadel. 5,2 BEII. 2,278).

20. Καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετός αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου. (Ad. Ephes. 19,1 BEII. 2,267).

21. Ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός ἠφανίζετο κακίας, ἄγνοια καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς. (Ad. Ephes. 19,3 BEII. 2,268).

22. «...τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὄρατόν... τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν». (Ad. Polycarp. 3,2 BEII. 2,283).

3) Barnabas' (c. 138) language is clearer. He sees in Christ's death the fulfillment of the O. Testament prophecies²³. Jesus Christ offered His own Blood for the remission of our sins²⁴ and for the giving of life to men. «The Son of God who is Lord and is to judge the quick and the dead has suffered, so that His wounds might give us life²⁵». Here we have both aspects of Salvation, forgiveness of sins and the New Life through Christ. His Body was a sacrifice both for our sins²⁶ and for the destruction of death²⁷. However, in the fifth chapter of his epistle Barnabas connects Christ's Resurrection with His Whole Incarnation: «...if He had not come in the flesh, neither would men have looked upon Him and been saved... therefore the Son of God came in the flesh to this end, that He might sum up all their sins. ... but He Himself endured that He might destroy death and show forth the resurrection of the dead for that He must needs be manifested in the flesh; at the same time (He endured that) He might redeem the promise made to the Fathers and by preparing the new people for Himself might show, while He was on earth, that having brought about the resurrection He will Himself exercise judgment»²⁸. Barnabas cannot understand the Incarnation and the Death of Christ apart from each other. Again he goes on to say that «Christ was manifested... that we might receive the covenant through Him who inherited it. The Lord Jesus was prepared beforehand for this purpose, that He might appear and redeem out of the darkness our hearts which had already been paid over unto death and were delivered up to the lawlessness of error and so might establish the covenant in us through the Word²⁹». The purpose of His death is

23. Barnabas' Epistle. 8, 1-3 BEΠ. 2, 233-4.

24. Εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Κύριος παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς παραφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ βαντίσματος αὐτοῦ. (Ibid. 5,1 BEΠ, 2,230).

25. Ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν Κύριος καὶ μέλλον κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς. (Ibid. 7,2 BEΠ, 2,232).

26. Ibid. 7,2 BEΠ 2,232.

27. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δεῖξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν. (Ibid. 5, 6-7 BEΠ, 2,230).

28. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ οὐδ' ἂν πᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐσώθησαν βλέποντες αὐτόν... οὐκοῦν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκὶ ἦλθεν ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ (ibid 5,10 BEΠ, 2,230).

29. Ἐφανερώθη δέ, ἵνα κάκεινοι τελειωθῶσι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκῃ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὃς εἰς τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανείας τὰς ἤδη δεδαπανημένας ἡμῶν καρδίας τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίᾳ λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, δίδῃται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκῃν λόγῳ. (ibid. 14, 5-7 BEΠ, 2,239).

man's Salvation, and this is identical with the goal of His manifestation among the people on earth. Thus Barnabas says: «If He (Christ) had not come in the flesh how could we have been saved to see Him...?»³⁰. Christ's Incarnation and His Death in the work of Salvation are inseparable and constitute a whole.

4) For Polycarp († 156) also Jesus Christ «endured even death for our sins» but God raised Him up having loosed the pains of Hades³¹. Through the death of Christ Satan and death lost their power, authority and dominion and man obtained forgiveness of sins. Christ «bore our sins in His own Body upon the tree (the Cross) for us... In order that we might live in Him, He endured all things»³². But it was the same Jesus Christ who was raised up for us³³. Here Polycarp lays stress on Christ's Resurrection in relation to our Salvation. Resurrection and death are brought together in the work of man's Salvation. In his brief letter to Phillipians, St. Polycarp invites them to imitate the unique example of patience, Christ. Therefore, Polycarp refers to the whole saving work of Jesus Christ, His life, His Sufferings, and His Resurrection, when he speaks of Salvation.

5) Hermas (c. 150) speaks of the remission of our sins through Jesus Christ Who by labouring much and enduring much toil or labour and having Himself cleansed the sins of the people, showed them paths of life, giving to them the law which He received from His Father³⁴. Hermas refers to the whole earthly saving work of Christ. And when he says that «by nobody else you can be saved but by the great and glorious name»³⁵, he apparently speaks of Jesus Christ Himself in terms of the whole Incarnation which includes His death.

30. Εἰ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ οὐδ' ἂν πῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐσώθησαν βλέποντες αὐτόν. (Ibid 5,10 BEII. 2,230).

31. Ὅς (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου καταντήσαι. (Ad. Philip. 1,2 BEII. 3,15).

32. Ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινε. (Ad Philip. 8,1 BEII. 3,17).

33. Τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα. (Ibid 9,2 BEII. 3,18).

34. Καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ κοπιᾶσας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἡγληκῶς... αὐτὸς οὖν καθάρισας τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρεῖς τῆς ζωῆς, δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. (Simil. 5. VI, 2, BEII. 3,74).

35. Δι' οὐδενὸς δύνη σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος. (Vis. 4, II 4 BEII. 3,50-51).

II. The Greek Apologists.

The aim of the Christian Apologists was to defend Christian Religion against its pagan enemies. Their systematic exposition of Christian Dogmatics lacked very much, as Riviere says (c.op. 134). As in the Apostolic Fathers so in the early Apologists we find little theology concerning our soteriological question, although they too were absolutely certain that salvation could be realized only through Christ.

1) Justin († 163-165) the philosopher and martyr is an exception to this rule. He speaks of Christ's saving passion and mystery in real connection with man's salvation³⁶ and the cleansing of those who believe³⁷. It is through the Cross of Christ and our Baptism that we are redeemed from sin³⁸. Christ is our Redeemer³⁹ and thus it is through Him that we receive remission of sin. His Blood is really saving Blood⁴⁰. This whole saving work and Passion of Christ took place according to the Will of the Father, who willed that His Son should take upon Himself the curse of all⁴¹. Thus He is an offering for all who willed to be saved⁴². However, for Justin the victory of Christ over the devil is clearly related to Christ's birth⁴³ or to His Birth, Death and Resurrection together⁴⁴. Justin often connects Christ's assuming Flesh with His Death. «The Logos of God became man for our sake, that becoming a partaker of our sufferings He might also bring us healing»⁴⁵. He

36. Τὸ σωτήριον τοῦτο μυστήριον, τουτέστι τὸ πάθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τούτους ἔσωσε (Dialog. G. Tryph. 2,74 BEIΠ. 3,279).

37. Δι' αἵματος καθάρων-τούς-πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ. (Apolog. 1, 32. 7 BEIΠ. 3,177).

38. Οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰκανὸν πᾶν ὕδωρ καθαρίσαι (τὰς ἁμαρτίας) ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἐκεῖνο τὸ σωτήριον λουτρὸν ἦν... πιστεῖ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου Αὐτοῦ, ὅς διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέθανεν. (Dialog. 13,1 BEIΠ. 3,219).

39. Βοηθὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ λυτρωτὴν καλοῦμεν, οὗ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἰσχὺν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια τρέμει. (Dialog. 30,3 BEIΠ. 3,234).

40. Αἵματι σωτηρίῳ πεπιστεύκαμεν (Dialog. 24,1 BEIΠ. 3,229).

41. Τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων τὰς πάντων κατάρως ἀναδέξασθαι ἐβουλήθη. (Dial. 95,2 BEIΠ. 3,298).

42. Προσφορά ἦν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μετανοεῖν βουλομένων ἁμαρτωλῶν. (Ibid., 40,4. BEIΠ. 3,244).

43. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἡσαίαν ἀλήψεται δύναμις Δαμασκοῦ καὶ σκύλα Σαμαρείας, (Ἡσ., 8,4), τὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος, τοῦ ἐν Δαμασκῷ οἰκοῦντος, δύναμις ἐσήμανε νικηθῆσθαι τῷ Χριστῷ ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι. (Ibid. 78-9. BEIΠ. 3,283).

44. Ibid. 85.

45. Δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμετοχὸς γένομενος καὶ ἴσως ποιήσῃται. (II Apolog. 13 4. BEIΠ. 3,207).

took flesh and blood in view of our salvation⁴⁶. «Having become man for the human race He endured all the sufferings...»⁴⁷. Here again we have the same general conception of Christ's saving work through His Incarnation, Life, Death and Resurrection, which are inseparable, and which together as a whole are the cause of our Salvation.

2) In the Epistle to Diognetus⁴⁸ we read that «God in pity for us took upon Himself our sins and Himself parted with His own Son as a ransom for us»⁴⁹. This happened «when our iniquity had become complete, and it had become perfectly manifest that punishment and death were expected»⁵⁰. In this epistle we also see the relation between the Incarnation and Salvation. It was impossible for us to be justified except in the Son of God whose righteousness justified many wicked⁵¹. However the author of this Epistle reminds us that «it was in gentleness and meekness that He sent Him, as a King might send a Son who was also King; He sent Him as God; He sent Him as a Man to men; He sent Him to save using persuasion not force; for force is not of God; He sent Him as calling»⁵². Therefore Christ is presented in His work among men, calling, loving, persuading them. This leads us again to the whole understanding of Christ's saving work through His Incarnation, which in the general sense includes His Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection etc.

III. Antiheteretical Literature of the 2nd century.

1) Irenaeus' (c. 174-189) contribution to the history of the Soteriological doctrine was undoubtedly great. He tried to examine the relation of our fall and corruption through Adam to our restora-

46. Σαρκοποιηθείς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχε. (Ibid. I. 66,2 BEII. 3,197).

47. Νῦν δὲ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος ὑπέμεινε καὶ παθεῖν. (Ibid. I. 63,10 BEII. 3,196).

48. I account this epistle among the Apologists because of its character and content.

49. Τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο Αὐτός, τὸν ἴδιον Υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. (Ep. ad Diogn. 9,2 BEII. 2,255).

50. Ἐπεὶ πεπλήρωτο ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία καὶ τελείως πεφανέρωτο ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος προσεδοκᾶτο. (Ibid.).

51. Ἐν τίνι δικαιοβῆναι δυνατόν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; (Ibid.).

52. Ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων Υἱὸν βασιλέα ἐπέμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἐπέμψεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπέμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἐπέμψεν, ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιάζομενος. βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ Θεῷ. Ἐπέμψεν ὡς καλῶν. (Ibid. 7, 4-5 BEII. 2,254).

tion through our solidarity with Christ. The central idea and the Key-conception which Irenaeus uses to explain this teaching is his idea of Recapitulation⁵³. This is a term with two ideas, the «summing up» and generally the «restoration». Christ sums up in Himself all Humanity in order to restore it and to bring it to its origin. «He summed up in Himself the long roll of the human race bringing to us a compendious salvation that what we had lost in Adam, being in the Image and likeness of God, we might regain in Jesus Christ»⁵⁴. As man was unable to come out of this state (death after Adam), God in His goodness gave him the Saviour⁵⁵ in whom we find that which we lost in Adam, i.e. the image and likeness of God⁵⁶. Thus as Adam was the originator of a race disobedient and doomed to death, so Christ can be regarded as inaugurating a new redeemed humanity⁵⁷. That is why Christ is called Second Adam⁵⁸ and as such «He recapitulated in Himself all the dispersed peoples dating back to Adam, all tongues and the whole race of mankind along with Adam himself.»⁵⁹ It is for this reason that Christ restores fellowship with God to all⁶⁰, perfects man according to God's Image and likeness⁶¹. The Incarnation is the presupposition of the Redemption. Christ became what we are, to make us what He is⁶².

Through Christ's obedience man has regained what he had lost through Adam's disobedience⁶³. Irenaeus speaks of an inner relation -

53. Kelly J. N. D., *Early Christian Doctrines*, London, 1958, p. 172.

54. Sed quando incarnatus est et homo factus, longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit in compendio nobis salutem praestans ut quod perdideramus in Adam, id est secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu reciperemus. (*Adv. Haereses III*, 18, 1 PG, 7, 932).

55. *Ibid.* III, 20,1.

56. *Ibid.* III, 18,1.

57. *Ibid.* III, 22,4.

58. Δεύτερος Ἀδάμ. (*Ibid.* III, 21,10 PG 7,955).

59. Omnes gentes, exinde ab Adam dispersas et universas linguas et generationem hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulatus est. (*Ibid.* III, 22,3. PG 7, 958).

60. Ἦνωσεν οὖν, καθὼς προέφαμεν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ... ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οικειότητος, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους συναγαγεῖν, (*Ibid.* III, 18,7 PG 9, 937).

61. Perficiens hominem secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei. (*Ibid.* V, 21, 2, PG 7, 1180).

62. Qui (Jesus Christus) propter immensansuam dilectionem factus est quod sumus nos, ut nos perficeret esse quod est ipse. (*Ibid.* V. praef. PG 7, 1120).

63. Nostram inobedientiam per suam obedientiam consulatus. (*Ad. Haer.* V, 17,1 PG 7,1169).

ship between man's creation and his Re-creation, namely his Salvation, through the Incarnate Logos⁶⁴. But speaking of Christ's Incarnation Irenaeus does not forget Christ's death by which He «reconciled us to God»⁶⁵ and propitiated for us the Father against whom man had sinned⁶⁶. He redeemed us by His Blood⁶⁷. Irenaeus speaks of Christ's death as a sacrifice in which God offers His own dear Son for our redemption⁶⁸. «By His Passion He destroyed death, chased away error, corruption and ignorance, manifested both life and truth and gave incorruptibility»⁶⁹. He reconciles us to Him by His fleshy body and redeems us by His Blood⁷⁰. He, who delivered man from sin should have been both God and man. For if man's conqueror had not been man, the enemy would not have been conquered justly, and again if it had not been God who granted the Salvation, we could not have securely held this salvation⁷¹.

Jesus Christ gave His own life on behalf of our lives and His Flesh instead of our flesh⁷². Here we find both the idea of Christ's death as a substitution and the teaching of a «ransom»⁷³. But the dominion of the devil over men was unjust and therefore he had to be justly punished⁷⁴. The Atonement was an act of justice with regard to the devil and an act of God's Mercy with regard to us. Irenaeus speaks of the Victory of Christ over the devil which he did not expect. The all-powerful Word

64. Bethune-Baker J. F., Introduction to the early History of Christian doctrine, London 1903, p. 334, note 2.

65. Si enim cum essemus inimici, reconciliati sumus Deo per Mortem Filii ejus. (Ad. Haer. III, 16,9. PG 7, 928).

66. Propitians quidem pro nobis Patrem in quem peccaveramus et nostram inobedientiam per suam obedientiam censulatus. (Ibid V, 17,1 PG 7,1169).

67. Qui (Christus) pro nobis mortuus est, et sanguine suo redemit nos. (Ibid III, 16,9. PG 7, 928).

68. "Ἦνωσεν οὖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἄνθρωπος ἐνίκησεν τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐνικήθη ὁ ἐχθρός. πάλιν τε, εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδωρήσατο τὴν σωτηρίαν, οὐκ ἂν βεβαίως ἔχομεν αὐτήν. (Ibid. IV, 6,4).

69. Dominus quidem per passionem mortem destruxit; et solvit errorem, corruptionemque exterminavit et ignorantiam destruxit; vitam autem manifestavit et ostendit veritatem et incorruptionem donavit. (Ibid. II, 20, 3 PG 7, 778).

70. Ibid. V, 14,3.

71. Ibid. III, 49,6.

72. Δόντος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν. (Ibid. V, 1,1 PG 7,1121).

73. Irenaeus does not say to whom the ransom was paid. Elsewhere he says: «men were debtors only to God as they had transgressed His Commandments». (Ibid. V. 16,3 PG 7,1168).

74. Ibid. V, 2,1.

of God, not lacking in righteousness justly turned against the rebellion itself, delivering His own from it⁷⁵. Aulen calls attention to the fact that the victory of Christ over the power of devil involves every part of His life - His Incarnation as living, dying and rising again⁷⁶. For Irenaeus the work of Christ consists of the fulfilment of man's original destiny and final goal, the redemption of man from corruption and death, his deliverance from the power of devil⁷⁷ and his reunion with God. The Incarnation of Christ was necessary for man's Salvation. This Incarnation, however, means the whole work of Christ. The Death of Christ is a part of His incarnate Life. The synthesis of all these ideas of Irenaeus is stated in his book mentioned above. «The Lord redeemed us by His Blood and gave His Life for our lives and His Flesh instead of our flesh, pouring out the Spirit of the Father to secure union of God and man, bringing God down to man by the Spirit and raising man to God through His Incarnation and securing and truly giving us incorruption through His advent through Communion with God»⁷⁸. Thus Irenaeus embraces Salvation as a whole, as a result of the whole saving work of the Incarnate Logos.

2) Hippolytus († 235). It is worth noticing that though he was a Bishop of Rome Hippolytus wrote in Greek and was thinking as a Greek Father. In his «Philosophoumena or Refutation of Haeresies» Hippolytus speaks of Salvation in terms of receiving true Knowledge of God, of immortality and deification of man and of having the possibility of imitating Christ⁷⁹. All these undoubtedly refer to the In-

75. Potens in omnibus Dei Verbum et non deficiens in sua justitia juste etiam adversus ipsam conversus est apostasiam, ea quae sunt sua redimens ab ea. (Ibid. V, 1,1. PG 7, 1121).

76. Aulen G., *Christus Victor*, London 1931. (E.T. by A.G. Hebert, p. 48). see also: H. E. W. Turner. *The Patristic doctrine of Redemption*. London 1952, p. 49.

77. Irenaeus was the first of the Fathers to speak of the devil's rights over men.

78. Τῷ ἰδίῳ οὖν αἵματι λυτρωσαμένου ἡμᾶς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ δόντος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν et effundente Spiritum Patris in adunitionem et communionem Dei et hominis et homines quidem deponente Deum per Spiritum, ad Deum autem rursus imponente hominem per suam incarnationem et firme et vere in adventu suo donante nobis incorruptelam per communionem quae est ad eum. (Ad. Haeres. V, 1,1 PG 7,1121).

79. «...ὁπως διδαχθῆτε παρ' ἡμῶν, τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεός καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία, ... δι' ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε ἐπερχομένην πυρὸς κρίσεως ἀπειλήν... Χριστός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός, ὃς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀποτελών». (Philosophoumena or Refutation of Haeresies, X, 34 BEII. 5,377).

carnation and earthly life of Jesus Christ. It should be said that he speaks of forgiveness of sins as well. Therefore, speaking of Incarnation he means the whole saving work of the Incarnate Logos. In other cases Hippolytus refers to Christ's death. In a fragment of his work against Beron and Helicon he speaks of man's Salvation in direct connection to Christ's Death which he does not separate from His Incarnation. «God of all things has become man, in order that by suffering in the flesh, which is susceptible to suffering, He might redeem our whole race which was sold to death and then, by working wonderful things by His divinity... through the medium of the flesh, He might restore it to that undefiled and blessed life from which it fell away by yielding to the devil»⁸⁰. I think that in Hippolytus we also find the same idea of Incarnation including Christ's Death and the same idea of man's Salvation as the result of the whole saving work of Jesus Christ through His Incarnation in the general sense.

IV. Alexandrian Theologians.

1) Clement of Alexandria. (ante 215) In him we meet with deeper understanding of Salvation. Clement says again and again that Christ is our Salvation and propitiation⁸¹. We are saved only through Christ who died as a «Victim» for us⁸². Therefore His death was a sacrifice for our salvation. That is why Clement says that we are saved and redeemed through the Blood of the Lord⁸³. This sacrifice was a real ransom which was equivalent to all⁸⁴. Christ died instead of us⁸⁵. Thus His Death ought to be our death⁸⁶ and as we were enslaved to the Serpent the Lord willed to free us. After He was Incarnate, He mastered the Serpent, enslaved the tyrant namely Death, and - this is the strangest of all - when He has His hands stretched on the Cross,

80. Διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεός, ἵνα σαρκὶ μὲν παθητῇ πάσχων ἅπαν ἡμῶν τὸ τῷ θανάτῳ πραθὲν λυτρώσῃται γένος. ἀπαθεὶ δὲ θεότητι διὰ σαρκὸς θαυματουργῶν, πρὸς τὴν ἀκήρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ μακαρίαν ἐπιαναγάγη ζωὴν, ἧς ἀπέπεσεν τῷ διαβόλῳ πειθόμενος. (Dubia Opera: Fragn. 2. BEII. 6,272).

81. Ἰλασμός. (Paedagogos III, 12, 98 BEII. 7,231).

82. Ἀληθῶς θῆμα. (Stromat. V, 10,70 BEII. 7,139).

83. Αἵματι Κυρίου λελυτρωμένους. (Paedag. 1, 5. 23 BEII, 7,90).

84. Ἄντρον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδούς καινὴν ἡμῖν διαθήκην καταλιμπάνει· ἀγάπην ὅμιν δοῦμι τὴν ἐμήν· τίς δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῆ καὶ πόση; ὅπερ ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κατέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὄλων. (Quis Dives Salvetur? BEII. 8,369).

85. Τὸν σὸν ἐξέτισα θάνατον, ὃν ὄφειλες ἐπὶ τοῖς προσημαρτημένοις (Ibid. BEII. 8,363).

86. Ibid.

He freed man who was bound to corruption⁸⁷. In all these passages Clement lays much stress on the Death of Christ. But this side of Clement's teaching is not the only one. He asserts that Salvation comes to man through the Incarnate Logos, Jesus Christ, and lays stress upon the life and character, the teaching and the example of the Logos in His incarnate life⁸⁸. In the fullest sense Salvation comes through the Incarnate Logos⁸⁹. Through the Incarnation man receives the true Knowledge which makes man free. Without the Incarnation man would not have fulfilled the true goal of his being⁹⁰. Undoubtedly Clement speaks of knowledge not in the abstract philosophical sense but in a new special sense of a real inner relation between God and man in such a way that man cannot be saved but by God through the Incarnate Logos. He speaks of «Knowledge» in terms of men's real salvation.

2) Origen († 253/4). When we come to Origen, the founder of scholarly Dogmatics, we meet with interesting ideas. He was the first to say that Christ's death was a «Ransom» paid to the devil in exchange for men's souls⁹¹. Men needed a Ransom because they had fallen into captivity⁹². But they belonged to God because He created them and they have become slaves of Satan because they had sold themselves to sin⁹³. Christ came to redeem us with His own Blood from him who

87. Τῶν δεσμῶν λύσαι τοῦτον ὁ Κύριος αὐτίς ἠθέλησε καὶ σαρκὶ ἐνδεθεῖς (μυστήριον θεῖον τοῦτο) τὸν θφιν ἐχειρήσατο καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐδουλώσατο, τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἡδονῇ πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμένον, χερσὶν ἡπλωμέναις ἔδειξε λελυμένον. (Protrepticos XI, BEΠ. 7,72).

88. Καθήκει δὴ ἡμῖν ἀναχαρπᾶν μὲν τὸν καθηγούμενον ἀγαπητικῶς ἀρίστου βίου, βιοῦν δὲ πρὸς τὰ διατάγματα τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, οὐ μόνον ἐπιτελοῦντας τὰ προσταττόμενα ἢ παραφυλάττοντας τὰ ἀπαγορευόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων τὰς μὲν ἐκτρεπομένους, τὰς δὲ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα μιμουμένους ἐπιτελεῖν καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ. (Paedag. A, III, BEΠ. 7,84).

89. Rashdall op. c. p. 224.

90. Οὐκ ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔνευ αὐτοῦ οἴου τε θντος τὸν μὲν γενέσθαι δημιουργὸν ἀγαθόν, τὸν δ' εἰς γῶσις ἀφικέσθαι Θεοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἂν τὸ οὐ ἔνεκεν ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει. (Paedag. A, III, BEΠ. 7,83).

91. Τίμι δὲ ἔδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ Θεῷ. μήτι οὖν τῷ πονηρῷ; οὗτος γὰρ ἐκράτει ἡμῶν, ἕως δοθῇ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον ἢ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ψυχῇ, ἀπατηθέντι δηλονότι καὶ φαντασθέντι ὡς δυναμένῳ αὐτῆς κυριεῦσαι καὶ οὐχ ὀρώντι ὅτι οὐ φέρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ κατέχειν αὐτὴν βάσανον. (Com. in Matth. XVI, 8. PG 13, 1397-1400).

92. Ἀπολύτρωσις ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς τῶν διὰ τὸ ἠχμαλωτεῦσθαι ἀπολυτρώσεως δεδεμημένων (In Ioan. 1 (34) 39. PG 14,91).

93. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἀμνὸς σφαγεῖς καθάρσιον γεγένηται κατὰ τινὰς ἀπορρήτους λόγους

had bought us⁹⁴. Thus Christ became our Ransom (In Rom. III, 7). But to whom did our Saviour give his soul save to the devil for he held us until Christ's soul was given to him as the Ransom of our deliverance⁹⁵. However, Christ is stronger than devil and death. He rose again and broke the gates of hell and made us participants of His Resurrection. (Idid 13,1116). Origen took his ideas of Ransom from the Gospel of Matthew 20, 28. This idea was also held by Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Basil. A similar idea is to be found in Augustine who teaches that the devil had no right over man without permission from God who overcame him and freed man by righteousness⁹⁶. We find such ideas also in Leo⁹⁷ and generally in the Western Fathers probably because of their relation to the Roman conception of Law. Later Anselm rejected it in his work «Cur Deus Homo». At the end, according to Origen, Christ triumphed over the devil and death⁹⁸. This conception of Christ's work as consisting of a struggle with the demonic forces plays a big part in Origen's Soteriology⁹⁹. However, Origen asserts that after His Incarnation the Logos is our teacher, our law-giver and our «model»¹⁰⁰ and thus by being united with Him we become rational and divinely possessed¹⁰¹ and are able to participate in the divine nature¹⁰². Origen puts this idea clearly when he says: «Discoursing in bodily form and giving Himself out as Flesh, He summons to Himself those who are flesh in order that He may first of all transform them into likeness of the Word Who has been made Flesh and after that may exalt them so as to behold Him

τοῦ ἔλου κόσμου, ὑπὲρ οὗ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἀναδέξατο, ὠνούμενος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αἵματι ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμᾶς πιπρασκομένους ἀγοράσαντος. (In Exod. hom. VI, 9. PG 12,338).

94. Θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξας κεκυριευκέναι, οὐκέτι κυριεῖ, γενομένου ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλευθέρου, καὶ ἰσχυροτέρου τῆς τοῦ θανάτου ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχυροτέρου, ὥστε καὶ πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν τῶν κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἰσχύοντος κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι τοῦ θανάτου. (In Matth. Tom. XVI, 8 BEII. 14,44).

95. In Matth. XVI, 8. PG 42, 4997.

96. De Trinitate XIII, XII, 16-17.

97. Sermon XXII.

98. In Matth. Tom. 16,8, BEII 14,44.

99. Kelly J. N. D. op. c. 185. This idea is not the only one in Origen's Theology.

100. Exemplum dedit hominibus. (In Rom. IV, 12 PG 14,4003).

101. ~~Εἰ μετέχοντες αὐτοῦ ἀνιστάμεθα καὶ φωτιζόμεθα, τάχα δὲ καὶ ποιμανόμεθα ἢ βασιλευόμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐνθὲας λογικοὶ γινόμεθα, τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄλογα καὶ τὴν νεκρότητα ἀφανίζοντες αὐτοῦ.~~ (In Ioan. 1, 37, BEII. 11,283).

102. C. Celsum, III 28, BEII 9,136.

as He was before He became Flesh»¹⁰³. In the same work Origen says: «With Jesus human and divine natures began to be woven together, so that by fellowship with Divinity human nature might become divine not only in Jesus Himself but also in all those who believe and embrace the life which Jesus taught¹⁰⁴. Origen also speaks of Salvation in terms of forgiveness of sins, of propitiation, of reconciliation¹⁰⁵. Christ took upon Himself our sins and our punishment so that we might be saved through Him¹⁰⁶. By the sacrifice of His Body He made God propitious to man¹⁰⁷. Jesus died for us as the Lamb of God and thus He took away the sins of the world¹⁰⁸. «Sin called for a propitiation and Christ stepped forward as a Victim spotless and Innocent propitiating the Father to men by His generous self-oblation»¹⁰⁹. It is really difficult to make a synthesis of all the points of Origen's teaching¹¹⁰. But, if we combine all the ideas which we have found in Origen, we have his general understanding of man's salvation through the whole saving work of the Incarnate Logos.

103. Καὶ σωματικῶς γε καλούμενος καὶ ὡς σὰρξ ἀπαγγελλόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ τοὺς ὄντας σάρκα, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ποιήσῃ, πρῶτον μορφωθῆναι κατὰ λόγον τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἀναβιβάσῃ ἐπὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν; ἕπερ ἦν πρὶν γένηται σὰρξ. (C. Celsum 6,68 BEΠ. 10,112).

104. Ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου ἤρξατο θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη συνυφαίνεσθαι φύσις, ἐν' ἣ ἀνθρωπίνη τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεϊότερον κοινωνία γένηται θεῖα οὐκ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ πιστεῦν ἀναλαμβάνουσα βίον, ὃν Ἰησοῦς ἐδίδαξε. (C. Celsum 3,28 BEΠ. 9,198).

105. In Levit. 9,10. — In Rom. V, 3,8.

106. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ δὲ ἀπέθανεν οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ πάντων ζῶων καθαρώτερον, ὅστις τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἤρεν καὶ τὰς ἀσθενείας, ἕτε δυνάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν βίον τοῦ κόσμου ἁμαρτίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαβὼν λύσαι καὶ ἐξακαλῶσαι καὶ ἐξαφανίσει. (In Ioan. Tom. 28 (18), 14 BEΠ. 12,277).

107. Proposuit enim intelligitur, quasi prius posuit, hoc est, priusquam esset. Quod enim est, ponitur, quod nondum est, proponitur. Non ergo convenit de eo, qui semper erat, id est, de verbo Dei dici, semper etat, id est, de Verbo Dei dici, quia propositus est: sed de anima ejus, quae, licet inseparabilis sit a Verbo Dei, creata tamen est, et Unigeniti deitate posterior. Anima haec sancta media quidem fuit inter divinitatem Trinitatis et fragilitatem humanitatis. Haec ergo potest intelligi propiatorium. (In Rom. 3, 8 PG 14,949).

108. Ὁ δὲ ἀληθὴς ἀγνισμὸς οὐ πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Πάσχα, ὅτε Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνιζομένων ὡς ἄμνος Θεοῦ καὶ ἤρε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. (In Ioan. 28,25 BEΠ. 12,285).

109. Dicitur tamen agnus, quia voluntas et bonitas ejus, qua Deum repropitiavit hominibus et peccatorum indulgentiam dedit talis exstitit humano generi quasi agni hostia immaculata, et innocens qua placari hominibus divina creduntur. (In Numeros hom. 24,1. PG 12,757).

110. Mozley op. c. 102.

3) Athanasius (295-373). In Athanasius the Soteriological doctrine has an important place. In his treatise «De Incarnatione Verbi» he deals with this question. It has been said that Athanasius speaks of Salvation only in terms of Christ's Incarnation in the narrow sense. I do not refuse that Athanasius lays stress on Christ's Incarnation, in the narrow sense, as the means through which man's nature is united with the divine, elevated, and deified and that this is what he means when he writes: «God became Man that we may become Gods»¹¹¹.

However, I think that this teaching does not represent the whole Athanasian doctrine of Salvation. In the above mentioned treatise, Athanasius expressed his whole conception of Salvation. «The Logos knowing that the corruption of men could not be undone unless at all costs there was a death; and because it was not possible for the Logos to die, being immortal and the Son of the Father, for this reason He takes to Himself the Body that can die, so that this body participating in the Logos who is above all, may become liable to death on behalf of all and on account of the indwelling Logos may remain immortal, and in future the corruption may cease in all by the grace of His Resurrection. Whence, as a Victim and a sacrifice free from all blemish, carrying into death the body which He took unto Himself, He made death to disappear in all his likes by the offering of an equivalent... and thus the incorruptible Son of God dwelling with all through that which was like them, fittingly clothed all with incorruptibility in the promise of His Resurrection»¹¹². As we see the Incarnation, Death and Resurrection of Christ are here linked together and it is only in terms of them all that Athanasius speaks of Salvation. Death would be impossible without presupposing the reality of the Incarnation. All events of Christ's earthly life are inseparable. The benefits of Salvation are expounded in the whole life of our Saviour. All our sufferings were

111. Αὐτὸς ἐνηθρώπησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν. (De Incarnatione Verbi 54 BEH. 30,119).

112. Συνιδὼν ὁ Λόγος ὅτι ἄλλως, οὐκ ἂν λυθεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φθορά, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν· οὐχ οἶόν τε δὲ ἦν τὸν Λόγον ἀποθανεῖν ἀθάνατον ὄντα. καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς Υἱόν· τοῦτου ἕνεκεν τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποθανεῖν ἐαυτῷ λαμβάνει σῶμα, ἵνα τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Λόγου μεταλάβῃ, ἀντὶ πάντων ἱκανὸν γένηται τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐνοικήσαντα Λόγον ἀφθαρτον διαμείνῃ καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἡ φθορά παύσῃται ἐν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χρόνῳ. Ὅθεν ὡς ἱερεῖον καὶ θῦμα παντὸς ἐλευθερὸν σπένθη· ὁ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ σῶμα προσάγων ἀντίφυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ. Καὶ οὕτω συνὼν διὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ ἀφθαρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱός, εἰκότως πάντας ἐνέδυσεν ἀφθαρσίαν ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀναστάσεως ἐπαγγελίᾳ. (De Incarn. Verbi, 9 BEH 30,31).

laid on Him who could not suffer and He destroyed them¹¹³. «He destroyed death by death and all human weakness by His human actions»¹¹⁴. This is the way to understand the representative character of Christ's death and Sacrifice, and the possibility of man's Salvation in Christ. Christ was born for us, lived on earth for us, died for us, rose for us, for the confirmation of our resurrection. Christ's death was due not to His weakness but to the fact that He died for man's salvation¹¹⁵. As we see, while Athanasius speaks of the Incarnation and insists that «God became man that we may become Gods»¹¹⁶ at the same time he says that «Christ offered the sacrifice on behalf of all, delivering His own shrine to death instead of all that He might set all free from the liability of the original transgression»¹¹⁷ and he speaks of Christ's sacrifice offered for the redemption of our sins¹¹⁸ and for men's deliverance from corruption¹¹⁹. For Athanasius Christ's death is as important as His Incarnation in the narrow sense. At least Christ's death retains a place of importance in the plan of Salvation¹²⁰. Immortality came to men through Death¹²¹. Christ paid our debt for us, for our Salvation¹²². In Athanasius we meet with the synthesis of the two ideas of immortality or reconstitution of our nature, and the idea of

113. Καὶ ὅλως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί... Καὶ Αὐτὸς ἀπαθῆς τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔστι, διαμένει, μὴ βλαπτόμενος ἀπὸ τούτων ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξαφανίζων καὶ ἀπολλύων αὐτά. (Orat. c. Arian. III, 34, BEII, 30,278-9).

114. De Incarn. Verbi 57, 445.

115. Τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἀσθένειαν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Λόγου.... καὶ τὸν διδόμενον θάνατον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πάντων σωτηρίας ἔσπευδε τελειῶσαι. (De Incarn. Verbi 22. BEII. 30,92).

116. See note 111.

117. Ὑπὲρ πάντων τὴν θυσίαν ἀνέφερεν, ἀντὶ πάντων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ναὸν εἰς θάνατον παραδιδούς, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν πάντας ἀνυπευθύνους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τῆς παραβάσεως ποιήσῃ, δείξῃ δὲ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θανάτου κρείττονα, ἀπαρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀναστάσεως τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἀφθαρτον ἐπιδεικνύμενος. (Ibid. 20 BEII, 30,90).

118. Ὅτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Πατὴρ ὑπὲρ πάντων λύτρα δοθῆναι καὶ πᾶσι χαρίσασθαι, τότε δὴ ὁ Λόγος... οὕτως αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς σάρκα,... ἵνα ἔχων τὸ προσφερόμενον αὐτός, ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς, ἑαυτὸν προσενέγκῃ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἰδίῳ αἵματι πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καθάρσῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστήσῃ. (Orat. c. Arian. II, 7 BEII. 30,185).

119. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἵνα ἀπὸ πάντων ἡ φθορὰ παύσῃται (De Incarn. Verbi 9,1 BEII. 30,81).

120. Harnack A., Dogmengeschichte, E. T. from the 3d german edition, 1893, vol. II, 158.

121. Διὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἀθανασία εἰς πάντας ἔφθασε. (De Incarn. Verbi 54 BEII. 30,119).

122. Τὴν ἡμετέραν σάρκα φορῶν δέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῷ θανάτῳ. (Orat. c. Arian. 2,66 BEII. 30,235).

expiation of our death¹²³. Athanasius means the whole saying work of Jesus Christ on earth when he speaks of Christ's Incarnation.

V. Antiorigenist Theologians.

1) Methodius of Olympus: († 314). Being an opponent of Origenism Methodius was mainly a follower of Irenaeus. He speaks of Salvation in a synthetic way. In his *Convivium Virginum* he says: «The Logos has assumed the nature of man in order that, having overcome the serpent man might by Himself reverse the condemnation unto death that had been pronounced against him. For it was fitting that the evil one should be overcome by no other but by him whom he had deceived and whom he was boasting that he had subdued. Because in no other way was it possible that sin and the condemnation should be destroyed, unless that same man, on whose account it had been said, «Dust thou art and into dust thou shall return» should be created anew and undo the sentence which had gone forth against all»¹²⁴. The ideas of Christ's «assuming human nature» and His «destroying sin and death» help us to see Methodius' understanding of Salvation as being realized through the Incarnation in the general sense, i.e. through the whole saving work of the Incarnate Logos.

VI. Antiochene Theologians.

1) Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263-339/340).

In Eusebius we meet with the idea of Christ's death as a substitutionary punishment. Christ «being punished on our account and enduring a retribution owed not by Him but by us on account of the abundance of our offences, became for us the cause of the forgiveness of our sins, having drawn upon Himself the curse which was awarded to us and becoming a curse on our behalf»¹²⁵. Eusebius speaks about

123 Riviere op. c. I' 147

124. Ταύτη τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέληφεν ὁ Λόγος, ὅπως δὴ δι' αὐτοῦ καταλύσῃ τὴν ἐπ' ὀλέθρου γεγυῖαν καταδίκην, ἠτήσας τὸν θῆν. ἤρμοξε γὰρ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου νικηθῆναι τὸ πονηρὸν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνου, δι' ὃν καὶ ἐκόμπαζεν ἀπατήσας αὐτὸν τετυραννηκέναι· ὅτι μὴ ἄλλως τὴν ἁμαρτίαν λυθῆναι καὶ τὴν κατάκρισιν δυνατὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος, δι' ὃν εἶρητο τὸ «γῆ εἰ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ» (Γεν. 3,19), ἀναπαλαίσιος ἀνέλυσε τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν δι' αὐτὸν εἰς πάντας ἐξενηγεμένην. (Con. Virg. 3,6 BEH 18,30).

125. Ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κολασθεὶς καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑποσχών, ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφειλεν ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκα τῶν πεπλημμελημένων, ἡμῖν αἴτιος τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφέσεως κατέστη, ἅτε τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναδεξάμενος θάνατον..., καὶ τὴν ἡμῖν προστετιμημένην κατάραν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλάσας, γενόμενος ὡς ἡμῶν κἀπάρα» (Gal. 3,13. *Demonstratio Evangelica* X,I BEH. 28,55).

the death of Christ while he shows a great dependence on the Old Testament in his conception of Christ's sacrifice, and refers to Christ's death as «wiping away our sins»¹²⁶. However, when Eusebius examines the question of how it happened that Christ died instead of all men, he is led to the conception of the effect produced upon humanity by the close connexion or identity of our humanity with that of Christ¹²⁷. This is to be understood only in and through Christ's Incarnation in the narrow sense, i.e. through His assuming human nature and uniting it to divine Nature in Himself. That is why Eusebius speaks of the Divine Plan of Salvation and of the cause of the Incarnation of the Son of God. God enlightens and radiates all by His Logos. And because no angel was able to bring salvation to men the Logos was sent by the Father to earth. He preached and led men to eternal life. Eusebius sees the purpose of the Incarnation in the extension of God's Kingdom and in the forgiveness of our sins by Christ's becoming a curse for us, and by the offering of Himself as a sacrifice to God for the whole world¹²⁸. Therefore both the Incarnation and the Death of our Lord are linked together in Eusebius' teaching of man's Salation.

2) Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386). Cyril lays stress on Christ's death and Righteousness, when he speaks both of man's Salvation and man's sin which Christ took upon Himself¹²⁹. This act of God shows His «philanthropia», His Love for men. «Men were enemies of God and the sinner should have died. It was necessary for God either to remain true and so destroy all men or to show his philanthropia and to change His decision. But you can see God's Wisdom. He kept both i.e. truth with decision and act with philanthropia. Christ took our sins on His Body on the tree»¹³⁰. He took upon Himself the sins

126. Λύσιν τε καὶ ἀφεσιν τῶν πρὶν ἀγνοημάτων καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ὑπισχνούμενος. (Ibid. IV, 10 BEP 28,152).

127. Rashdall-op. c. 301-302.

128. Τοιαύτη τις αὐτῶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου ἐγένετο ἡ οἰκονομία, ἥς οὐ μίαν αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείους εἶροι ἂν τις ἐβελήσας ζητεῖν... δευτέραν δὲ ὅπως τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀπομάζοιτο ἁμαρτίας ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τραχέως καὶ γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα. (Demonstr. Evang. 12. PG 22, 284).

129. Ἰησοῦς τὰς οἰκουμένιας ἁμαρτίας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα θανατώσας τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀναστῆ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. (Catech. III,12 Cyrilli Hierosolymarum arciepiscopi Opera, ed. by W. C. Reischl - J. Rupp. Monaci vol. I. 1848, vol. II 1860. (Repr. Hildesheim 1967 vl. I 80).

130. Ἐχθροὶ ἤμεν Θεοῦ δι' ἁμαρτίας. Καὶ ὥρισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἔδει οὖν ἐκ τῶν δύο γενέσθαι ἢ ἀληθεύοντα Θεὸν πάντας ἀνελεῖν ἢ φιλανθρω-

of the whole world in order to raise men up in righteousness¹³¹. Christ was able to do this because the iniquity of our sins was not so great as the righteousness of Him Who died for us. We did not sin so much as He Who laid down His soul for us did righteously¹³². However, in Cyril as in the other Fathers, the other part of the teaching of the Incarnation in the general sense has its rightful place¹³³. Our Salvation depends on Christ¹³⁴. If Christ's human nature is not real we are not saved¹³⁵. The Incarnation and the Passion of our Lord have the same object, our Redemption¹³⁶. There is an internal relationship between the Death of Christ through which sin was destroyed and His Incarnation which enabled Him to undergo death for man's Salvation. For this reason Cyril says that it was on account of our sins that the Son of God came down from heaven. It was for our sins that He was crucified¹³⁷. Here the ideas of Incarnation and Death of Christ are identical. Stress is laid on both as one. Salvation came through both.

3) J o h n C h r y s o s t o m (344/5-407) Chrysostom was an excellent preacher and a practical theologian. When he preaches, he theologizes and when he theologizes, he preaches. He sees the fulfilment of man's Salvation both in the Incarnation, in the narrow sense, and in the sacrificial death of Christ¹³⁸. The goal of the Incarnation was to make men able to become sons of God¹³⁹. Chrysostom speaks clearly and insists on the truth that Christ took our flesh

πούμενον παραῦσαι τὴν ἀπόφασιν· ἀλλὰ βλέπε Θεοῦ Σοφίαν· ἐτήρησε καὶ τῇ ἀποφάσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπία τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Ἀνέλαβε Χριστὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον. (Catech. XIII,33 op. c. vol. II p. 94).

131. Νεκρὸς ἐν ἀμαρτίαις καταβάς ἀναβαίνεις ζωοποιηθεὶς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. (Catech. III,12 op. c. vol. I p. 80).

132. Οὐ τοσαύτη ἦν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἡ ἀνομία, ὅση τοῦ ὑπεραποθνήσκοντος ἡ δικαιοσύνη. οὐ τοσοῦτον ἡμάρτομεν, ὅσον ἐδικαιοπράγησεν ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τεθεικώς. (Catech. XIII,33 vol. II p. 94).

133. Riviere op. c. I 202.

134. Riviere op. c. I 197.

135. Εἰ γὰρ Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔστι, μὴ ἀνέλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τῆς σωτηρίας ἀλλότριον καθεστήκαμεν. (Catech. XII, 1 op. c. II p. 2).

136. Grenstend op. c. 189.

137. Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξ οὐρανῶν κατέβη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὴν ὁμοιωπαθῆ ταύτην ἡμῶν ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρωπότητα... οὗτος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς. (Catech. IV, 9-10. op. c. vol. I p. 98-100).

138. Ἴνα οὖν προσενέγκῃ θυσίαν δυναμένην ἡμᾶς καθαρίσαι, διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἀνθρώπος. (In Ep. ad Hebr. hom. 5.1. PG 63, 47).

139. Grenstend op. c. 190.

solely through love to have pity on us¹⁴⁰ and so he refers to the very fact of Christ's Incarnation. The saving work of the Incarnate Logos was to deliver men from evil and to offer them all good things which He alone was able to offer¹⁴¹. It was the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, who took upon Himself our curses so that we might be no longer accused¹⁴². Thus all men who were accused and condemned are now free through Christ¹⁴³ because Christ's death was «equivalent to the death of all»¹⁴⁴ and because He had paid down far more than we owed as the illimitable ocean is more than a little drop¹⁴⁵. Following Gregory of Nyssa Chrysostom says: «If a tyrant who inflicts great sufferings on all who fall into his hands should attack the King or the King's Son and put him to death unjustly, that death may avenge all the rest»¹⁴⁶. John Chrysostom asserts that Christ died for us all¹⁴⁷, and goes on to explain that He died for each of us and that He could die even «for one»¹⁴⁸. Our sins were the cause of His Death¹⁴⁹. Christ became our ransom and delivered us from satan¹⁵⁰. His Sacrifice reconciled us to God and God to us, for where there is a sacrifice there is remission of sins¹⁵¹. And because we subject to sin and its penalty, Christ by His Passion

140. Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν σάρκα ἀνέλαβε τὴν ἡμετέραν, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον, ἵνα ἐλέησῃ ἡμᾶς. (in Ep. ad Hebr. 5,1. PG 63, 47).

141. Ad Galat. Hom. IV.

142. Τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν κατάραν δεξάμενος οὐκ ἀφήσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπαράτους εἶναι λοιπὸν (In Ioan. Hom. 11,2. PG 59, 79).

143. Πάντες ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἡμᾶς κειμένους ἠλευθέρωσεν ὁ Χριστός... ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος κατηγόρησε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεφήνατο ἐλθῶν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ εἰς θάνατον ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοῦς, πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐξήρπασε τοῦ θανάτου. (In Ep. ad Gal. Hom. II. PG 61, 646).

144. Ἐνὸς θανάτου ἀντίλυτρον ἐγένετο... ἀντίρροπος ἦν ὁ θάνατος ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἀπάντων ἀπωλείας. (In Ep. ad Hebr. hom. 17,2. PG 63, 129).

145. In Ep. ad Rom. hom. 10,2.

146. Ἔστω τις βίαιος τύραννος, πάντας τοὺς ἐπιπίπτοντας μυρίους περιβάλλον κακοῖς· οὗτος ἐάν, συμβαλὼν βασιλεῖ, ἢ Υἱῷ βασιλέως ἀνέλῃ αὐτὸν ἀδίκως, ὁ ἐκεῖνου θάνατος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδικαῖσαι δυνήσεται.

(Γὰρ εὐρισκόμενα ἅπαντα τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγέλιον v. II Athens 1873, 508).

147. Ibid. IX, 4.

148. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρητήσατο καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς τοσαύτην οἰκονομίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι. (In Ep. ad Gal. hom. II. PG 61,647).

149. Τὴν αἰτίαν λέγει (ὁ Κύριος) τοῦ πάθους, τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἀναίρεσιν (In Matth. hom. 82,1 PG 58,738).

150. Ad Matth. hom. 65,4 PG 58, 621-3).

151. Hom. I de Cruce et latrone PG 49, 399-408).

abolished both the sin and the penalty¹⁵². Now, if we combine Chrysostom's ideas about Christ's Incarnation and His death and see them together, then in spite of his laying more stress on death, we meet here again with the patristic conception of Salvation. Chrysostom speaks both of the Incarnation and the Sacrificial Death of Christ when he refers to man's Salvation. And being a good preacher he was able to expound his teaching in a wonderful way.

4) Epiphanius (315-403). In St. Epiphanius we find the same synthesis of ideas, concerning the saving work of Christ and man's Salvation. Thus he says: «No man could save us. For this reason the Lord took flesh of our flesh and the Logos became a man like us, that He might give us Salvation through His Divinity and suffer for us through His Humanity, suffering by His Passion and slaving death by His death»¹⁵³. Here man's Salvation is considered as being realised through Christ's Incarnation and His Death, through the Union of Divinity and Humanity in Jesus Christ. And since the eternal Logos took flesh of our flesh, He «came to bear our sins on the wood on which He gave Himself for us. His Blood redeemed us and His Body blotted out our curse»¹⁵⁴. However, the Logos could not suffer except only through His Humanity which He united to Himself through the Incarnation. And as we cannot speak of Christ's Blood apart from the Incarnation, Epiphanius says that Salvation was realised through the whole saving work of the Incarnate Logos.

VII. The Cappadocian Fathers.

1) St. Basil the Great (329-379). St. Basil's contribution to the Soteriological dogma was not very important in spite of his great fame as an antiarian theologian. However, he embraces the whole question fully. «If the Lord did not come in flesh then the Redeemer did not

152. Αὐτὸς κολασθεὶς ἔλυσε καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ κόλασιν. (In Ep. ad Colos. hom. VI, 3. PG 62, 340).

153. Οὐδεὶς πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἀνθρώπων ἠδυνήθη ἐργάσασθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀλλὰ Θεὸς Λόγος ἄνθρωπος γεγωνὸς ἵνα μὴ ἡ ἐλπίς ᾖ ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Θεὸν ζῶντα... ὅθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σαρκὸς ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Κύριος ἐλθὼν τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ἡμῖν ὁμοῖος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἵνα ἐν τῇ θεότητι δώῃ ἡμῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητι πάθῃ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πάθος διὰ τοῦ πάθους λύσας καὶ θάνατον διὰ θανάτου τοῦ ἰδίου θανατώσας. (Anconatus XCIII, PG 43. 185-8).

154. Ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τὴν σταύρωσιν ἡ κατὰρα προσετέτακτο, ἐλθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ ξύλου, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐαυτὸν δεδωκὼς, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς ἠγόρασε, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν τὰς κατὰρας ἔλυσε. (Adv. Haer. 66,79. PG 42, 153).

give any ransom to death, nor did He by His power break the rule of death. For if the nature held in thrall by death were other than the nature assumed by Christ, then death would not have ceased its rule, the sufferings of His divine flesh would not have been to our profit, He would not have slain sin in His flesh, we who had died in Adam should not have been restored to life in Christ, what had fallen would not have been raised, neither mended, what had been far from God could not again have been made nigh unto Him»¹⁵⁵. In this passage St. Basil speaks of man's Salvation in terms of both remission of sin and offering of a new life. In other cases St. Basil says that Christ came and became mortal to deliver men from mortality and to make them partakers of heavenly life¹⁵⁶. By Christ's coming in the flesh, the new life of the faithful and victory over sin are internally linked together. St. Basil speaks also of Christ's death as a ransom. «Sinners are under the rule of satan, who is scrutinizing souls at the moment of their death..... Even a small (sin) would be dangerous if we had not someone who pays our ransom and thus saves us»¹⁵⁷. Men have lost their freedom being vanquished by the devil who holds them captives¹⁵⁸. Basil does not say that Christ offered His soul to the devil but to God¹⁵⁹. «What can a man find worthy enough to offer as a ransom? However, something was found which was equivalent to all men and which was offered for our Salvation i.e. the holy and most valuable Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He shed for us all... and since no man can save us therefore He who redeemed us is not (simply) a man¹⁶⁰ because the Redeemer should be far better than the redeemed one»¹⁶¹. Christ's death is to be understood in ter-

155. Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ γέγονε τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπιδημία οὐκ ἔδωκε μὲν ὁ Λυτρωτῆς τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τίμημα τῷ θανάτῳ, οὐ διέκοψε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν βασιλείαν δι' ἑαυτοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἦν τὸ βασιλευμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου προσληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν μὲν ἐπαύσατο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργῶν ὁ θάνατος. (Ep. CCLXI, 2, PG 32, 969.).

156. Epist. VIII, 5.

157. Hom. in Ps. VII, 2. PG 29, 232.

158. Hom. in Ps. XLVIII, 3.

159. Riviere, op. c. 123.

160. Τί δύναται ἄνθρωπος εὐρεῖν τηλικούτον, ἵνα δῶ ὑπὲρ λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' εὐρέθη ἐν ὑμῖν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀντάξιον, ὃ ἐδόθη εἰς τιμὴν λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πολυτίμητον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέχεε πάντων. διόπερ καὶ τιμῆς ἡγοράσθημεν. εἰ οὖν ἀδελφός οὐ λυτροῦται, λυτρώσεται ἄνθρωπος; εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος λυτρώσασθαι ἡμᾶς οὐ δύναται ὁ λυτρωσάμενος ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. (In Psalm. Hom. XLVIII, 4 PG 29, 440).

161. Οὔτε οὖν ἀδελφός τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν δύναται λυτρώσασθαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἑκαστὸς ἑαυτόν, διότι πολλῶ βελτίονα δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λυτρούμενον τοῦ κεκρατημένου. (In Ps. 68,3. PG 30, 834).

ms of His Incarnation on which stress is laid by St. Basil. It is in His being God and Man that Christ deified the human race»¹⁶².

2) Gregory of Nazianzus (329/30-389/390). St. Gregory also sees the question of Salvation as a whole. Sometimes he lays stress on Christ's death as a Ransom¹⁶³. But he strongly repudiated the idea of the Ransom paid to satan. «To whom, I am asking, was Christ's Blood offered? If it was to the devil, how shocking would be the thought! How can we believe that he would not only receive a ransom from God but actually received God Himself as the ransom, as a salary for his tyranny which had already passed all measures»¹⁶⁴. The notion of the devil's rights, though it found some supporters, was at no time universal in the Church¹⁶⁵. However, Gregory does not say to whom this ransom was offered. Can we suppose that it was given to God the Father? In this case two questions arise: how? as it was not the Father who held men captives and could the Father be pleased with the shedding of His Son's blood?¹⁶⁶. There is no positive answer. Christ became for us «very sin and very curse»¹⁶⁷ although He was not «sin» Himself¹⁶⁸. However, while speaking of Christ's Death, St. Gregory connects it with the Incarnation of the Logos and both aspects are related to man's Salvation. Thus St. Gregory points out that it was for our sake that humanity might be sanctified by the humanity of God¹⁶⁹. This sanctifi-

162. De Sancta et Orthodoxa Fide (attributed to st. Basil. PG 30, 831-6).

163. Ἀπολύτρωσις δέ, ὡς ἐλευθερῶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας κατεχομένους καὶ λύτρον ἑαυτῶν ἀντιδιδούς ἡμῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης καθάρσιον. (Orat. XXX, 20 PG 36, 132).

164. Κατειχόμεθα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πεπραμμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ ἀντιλαβόντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἡδονήν. Εἰ δὲ τὸ λύτρον οὐκ ἄλλου τινος ἢ τοῦ κατέχοντος γίνεται, ζητῶ τίνοι τοῦτο εἰ συνέχθη καὶ δι' ἧντινα τὴν αἰτίαν; Εἰ μὲν τῷ πονηρῷ, φεῦ τῆς ὕβρεως εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν λύτρον ὁ ληστὴς λαμβάνει καὶ μισθὸν οὕτως ὑπερφυῆ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τυραννίδος, δι' ὃν καὶ ἡμῶν φείδεσθαι δίκαιον ἦν. εἰ δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ, πρῶτον μὲν, πῶς; οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἐκείνου γὰρ ἔκρατούμεθα. δεῦτερον δὲ τίς ὁ λόγος Μονογενοῦς αἵμα ἕρπειν κατέρα...; ἢ δῶλον, ὅτι λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ αἰτήσας οὐδὲ δυνηθεὶς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸ χρῆναι ἀγνισθῆναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἵνα αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξέλθῃται τοῦ τυράννου βίᾳ κρατήσας. (Orat. XIV, 22 PG 36, 653).

165. Riviere op. c. II 129.

166. See note 464.

167. Oratio 37,1 PG 36, 284.

168. Οὐ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖος γίνεται μόνον... ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τούτων πάντων ἀτοκώτερον καὶ αὐτοαμαρτία καὶ αὐτοκατάρτα: οὐκ ἔστι μὲν, ἀκούει δέ· πῶς γὰρ ἀμαρτία ὁ καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐλευθερῶν; πῶς δὲ κατάρτα, ὁ ἐξαγοράζων ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τοῦ νόμου; (Orat. 37,1 PG 36, 284).

169. Orat. XIV, 22,

eration of man's nature was realized through its Union with the Divinity of Christ. St. Gregory sums up his doctrine in his famous phrase «What is not received, is not saved»^{169α}. As Salvation consists in a reformation and restoration of our nature, our Saviour accomplished this work by physically uniting Himself with our humanity by His Incarnation. «He carries us bodily in Himself with all that is in us: He is the heaven mixed with our paste in order to transform it entirely»¹⁷⁰. «He dies but He gives life and destroys death»¹⁷¹. So the Salvation of man is the result of Christ's work, of His Incarnation and Death. We were in need of the Incarnation and death of a God in order to have life¹⁷². And when St. Gregory speaks of «Christ Who gave Himself instead of us»¹⁷³, the idea of representation or substitution is to be understood in the light of the teaching about Christ as the Head of His body. Salvation and Christ's whole saving work are linked together in St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Generally speaking St. Gregory sees a salutary meaning in the whole work of the Incarnate Logos¹⁷⁴.

3) Gregory of Nyssa (335-394/5). Gregory of Nyssa was the most philosophical of the Greek Fathers and the doctrine of Salvation is prominent in his teaching. Gregory insists that it was only the Theanthropos who was able to save man¹⁷⁵ because the Saviour must have been the real God in order to lead human nature, to elevate it through its unity with the divine and to deify it. He elaborated the idea of Christ's death as a ransom paid to satan¹⁷⁶. In Gregory's teaching man's Salvation is realized through Christ. The Incarnation in the narrow sense and Death are linked together, and it was through both that Salvation was fulfilled. Thus Gregory says: «Being good the Deity shows pity for him who has fallen, and being wise is not ignorant of the means for his recovery:

169α. Τὸ ἀπρόσληπτον, ἀθεράπευτον· ὁ δὲ ἦνωται τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦτο καὶ σώζεται (Ep. 101 PG 37,181).

170. Orat. XXX, 6.

171. Orat. 29, 20.

172. Orat. 14,22.

173. Μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἐλὼν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμὲ φέρων, μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα ἐν ἑαυτῷ δαπανήσῃ τὸ χεῖρον ὡς κηρὸν πῦρ ἢ ὡς ἀπίδα γῆς ἥλιος, κἀγὼ μεταλάβω τῶν Ἐκεινοῦ διὰ τὴν σύγκρασιν. (Orat. XXX, 6 PG 36,109).

174. Riviere op. c. I. 208.

175. Τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ζωὴν δεδωκότι μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ πρέπον ἅμα καὶ ἀπολλυμένων ἀνακαλέσασθαι (Oratio-Catechetica Magna 8. PG 45, 40).

176. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καθαιρῶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐν ἐκείνῳ πλείον τοῦ κατεχομένου εἶδεν ἐν τῷ συναλλάγματι. Τοῦτου χάριν αὐτὸν αἰρεῖται λύτρον τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φρουρᾷ καθειργμένων γενέσθαι. (Ibid. 23, PG 45,61).

justice must also form part of that wisdom, for no one would associate true justice apart from wisdom. What, then, under these circumstances is justice? It is the refusal to exercise any arbitrary sway over him who has us in his power; the refusal to tear us away by the superiority of force from him, and so to leave some colour of justification to him who has enslaved man... The enemy beholding in Him such power saw also that what he had the opportunity to obtain in Him, was something greater than what he expected. For this reason he chooses Him as a ransom for those who were shut up in the prison of death. But it was beyond his power to look on the aspect of God, face to face, except by looking at some portion of that fleshy nature which through sin he had so long held in bondage. Therefore the Deity invests Himself with flesh in order to ensure that he by looking upon something, like nature and akin to himself, might have no fears in approaching that supernatural power; and might yet by perceiving that power exhibiting as it did, although only by gradual stages, more and more splendour in the miracles, deem what was seen an object of desire rather than of fear. Thus you see how goodness was united with justice and how wisdom was not divorced from them¹⁷⁷. The deceit practised by the devil is emphasized. We also find the idea of the Hook-metaphor. According to Gregory, «in order to ensure that the thing offered in exchange on our behalf might be the more easily accepted by him who demanded it, the Deity was hidden under the veil of our nature; so that, as with greedy fish, the hook of Deity might be gulped down along with the bait of flesh and thus, life being introduced into the house of death, and light shining in darkness, all that opposes light and life might vanish away»¹⁷⁸. The whole idea in Gregory becomes much stronger than in Origen. Here God and devil come to a contract. However, Gregory's teaching of Salvation is linked not only with Christ's assumption of human nature but also with His Death and His Resurrection. Not only does he speak of Christ's offering His Body in place of humanity¹⁷⁹

177. 'Οράς ὅπως τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῷ δικαίῳ συνέζευκται, καὶ τὸ σοφὸν τούτων οὐκ ἀποκρίεται. (Ibid. 23. PG 45,64).

178. «...ὡς ἂν εὐληπτον γένοιτο τῷ ἐπιζητοῦντι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα, τῷ προκαλύματι, τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐνεκρέθη τὸ θεῖον, ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς λίχνους τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ δελείατι τῆς σαρκὸς συναποσπασθῇ τὸ ἄγγιστρον τῆς θεότητος. Καὶ οὕτω τῆς ζωῆς τῷ θανάτῳ εἰσοικισθείσης καὶ τῷ σκότει τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμφανέντος ἐξαφανισθῆτω τῷ φωτι καὶ τῇ ζωῇ τὸ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον νοούμενον». (Ibid. 24, PG 45, 64-69).

179. Ἀγιάζει δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ εὐ μένον τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρωτότοκα ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον φύλον, διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπαρχῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος, τοὔτέστι

but he also speaks of Christ's death as an «exchange of our death»¹⁸⁰. There is the idea of substitution: «Christ is our Redeemer because He gave Himself as a ransom for us»¹⁸¹. Christ is the holy innocent, spotless and sinless Priest who offered Himself to God in the name and in stead of mankind. Thereby He became the ransom of many, or rather the ransom of all nations¹⁸². The place of Christ's death and Resurrection is not only important but necessary. It was with Christ that all men rose since the part which is Christ's body and which is consubstantial with ours stands for the whole «as though all nature were one living thing»¹⁸³. Here Incarnation and Resurrection are inseparable. Gregory also speaks of Christ as having become for us sin and curse¹⁸⁴. He does not ignore the idea of Redemption through the Cross¹⁸⁵. The teaching of Christ's death as a ransom¹⁸⁶ can be understood only through His Incarnation. Gregory expresses his whole teaching about our question when he says: «Christ became man, destroyed our enemy sin, and reconciled us to the Father»¹⁸⁷. His sacrifice was expiatory. Therefore Salvation came as a result of the whole saving work of Jesus Christ¹⁸⁸.

In this chapter I have tried very briefly to point out how the Greek Fathers understood the great problem of Christ's Saving Work and man's Salvation. One may find some special characteristics in the teaching of each Father. But at no time one idea absorbed the other ideas completely from the teaching of the Fathers. They all have this in common: they consider man's salvation as being fulfilled through the whole saving

τῆς ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθείσης αὐτῷ σαρκὸς ἐψυχωμένης νοεράς... τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἀπόστολον τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν... τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ σωματικῶς προσενηχῆθαι γινώσκομεν ἀπὸ τῆς καθαρῆς αὐτῷ διὰ πίστεως ἀνθρωπότητος. (De Occursu Domini, PG 46, 1465).

180. Ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν Θεός, μετὰ ταῦτα καθὼς φησιν ὁ Βαροῦχ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανειστράφη ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ ἡμετέρου θανάτου γενόμενος. Ἐβλυσεν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀναστάσεως τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ θανάτου. (Adv. Evnomium 5, PG 45, 693).

181. Ἀπολύτρωσιν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν μαθόντες, τὸν ἑαυτὸν δόντα λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. (De Perf. Chr. Forma PG 46, 261).

182. Ὁ ἑαυτὸν προσαγαγὼν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν εἰς ὁμήν εὐωδίας, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὗτος μόνος κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄγιός ἐστιν. (De Occursu Domini PG 46, 1461).

183. Orat. Catech. Magna 32. also: Mozley op. c. 140.

184. Δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ σοῦ θανάτου καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρρα καὶ ἁμαρτία γενόμενος. (C. Evnomium Lib. XI, a, PG 45, 860).

185. Riviere op. c. 159. also Grenstend op, c. 183.

186. De Occursu Domini, PG 46 1473.

187. Χριστὸς ἐνηθρώπησεν καὶ τὴν πολεμοποιὸν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξηράνισεν καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡμᾶς κατήλλαξεν (De Occursu Domini. PG 46, 1473).

188. Orat. Magna 17 PG 45,53.

work of the Incarnate Logos, through His assumption of human nature, His earthly life, His Work, His Teaching, His Sufferings, His Sacrificial Death, His glorious Resurrection and His Eternal Mediatorship in Heaven. The Fathers have seen man's salvation as a whole, as a great Mystery. That is why they have not tried to explain this mystery. They were sure that it was only through Jesus Christ that man is saved. For them, there is only one Saviour, the Incarnate Logos. Now after this very short survey of the patristic soteriological teaching, we can see Cyril's position and evaluate his contribution to the history of this dogma.

(Continued)