

György Papp

IN AETATUM CONFINIIS

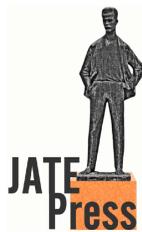
**A Dialogue
between Early,
Early Modern and
Contemporary Church
on Various Topics
of Christian Doctrine**



GYÖRGY PAPP

IN AETATUM CONFINIIS

A Dialogue between Early, Early Modern
and Contemporary Church
on Various Topics of Christian Doctrine



Szeged 2021

Published by JATEPress
University of Szeged
HU–6722 Szeged, Petőfi sgt. 30–34. Hungary
www.jatepress.hu
Editor-in-chief: Etelka Szőnyi
Nr. 26/2021

Funding: Juhász István Foundation, Holland

Peer review: István Pásztori-Kupán PhD, Dr habil.

Typography and cover design: Etelka Szőnyi

Text© György Papp 2021 Licence CC-BY 4.0
© JATEPress 2021 Licence CC-BY 4.0

First published 2021
Cover photo: Reformed Church in Nyírbátor

ISBN 978 963 315 476 2 (pdf)

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Unported License.

To view a copy of this license, visit creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

This license allows for copying any part of the work for personal and commercial use, providing author attribution is clearly stated.

Suggested citation: György Papp, *In aetatum confiniis*, 2021. Szeged: JATEPress.
DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021 License: CC-BY 4.0.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	5
The “Dialogue” between Calvin and the Church Fathers on the Sacrament of Baptism	7
Introduction	7
Calvin’s teaching about baptism in his <i>Institutes</i> : the context of patristic quotations	10
Patristic quotations/references in Inst IV 14–16: general presentation of patristic references concerning baptism.	21
Accedat Verbum ad elementum et fiet sacramentum.	34
Gratia: virtus sacramentorum	41
The baptism of John and the baptism of Christ.	45
Calvin, the Donatists baptism in Inst IV 15–16.	52
“Emergency” baptism	58
Women baptizing	61
Patristic references related to infant baptism	76
Conclusions	88
Bibliography	93
The Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ in Early Christian Confessions.	99
“You have redeemed us through many passions...” (Jan Hus) – Biblical introduction	100
To know only about the crucified Lord (1Cor 2,2)	102
The R / Proto-R concerning the redemptive passion of the Lord Jesus Christ	106
The daughter-creeds of R on the redemptive sufferings and death of Jesus Christ	109
The daughter-creeds of R from North-Italia	110
The African daughter-creeds of R	111
The daughter-creeds of R from Gallia	113
The daughter-creeds of R from Hispania.	114
Other daughter-creeds of R.	115
Excursus: a brief summary of the Oriental landscape	116
Closing thoughts.	117
Bibliography	118

The Doctrine on Baptism in the <i>Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium</i> of	
Theodoret of Cyrus	119
Introduction to the life and work of Theodoret of Cyrus	119
The doctrine on baptism in the 5 th book of the HFC	123
The practice of baptism in the chapters related to the description of	
heresies	134
Conclusion	144
Bibliography	145
“Vera iustitia et sanctitate praeditum...” – The content of imago Dei	
according to the 6 th article of the Heidelberg Catechism –	147
General remarks	147
Sources of the approach of the Heidelberg Catechism	149
Righteousness and holiness – the imago Dei in the teaching of Ursinus	150
The interpretation of the approach of the Heidelberg Catechism	154
Conclusion – The application of the question	157
Bibliography	158
In the Direction of Finding the Way of a Responsible Theology for the	
Hungarian Reformed Church (of Transylvania)	161
Introduction –reasons for writing this paper	161
What is theology? – the path from “Doctrina de Deo” to “Doctrina Deo	
vivendi”	162
Theological science in its relation-system: Gospel – Church – Believer.	168
Conclusion	171
Bibliography	172
Cumulated bibliography	175

PREFACE

This volume contains a selection of papers from the broader field of History of Christian Doctrines, and more specifically from Patristics and Reformation studies, but also from the border between them. Most of them were written in the academic year of 2014–2015, during my MA studies in the field of Patristics at the Theological University of the (vrijgemaakt) Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, in Kampen. The main topic of the MA programme was the Baptism in the Early Church, therefore the majority of these papers presents various aspects of this question. In the following few paragraphs, I will present a short summary of each paper from this volume.

The first paper, the longest one in this volume, was my MA thesis, and its topic is the reception of the teachings of the Church Fathers concerning baptism in the 1559 edition of John Calvin's *Institutes*. In this thesis, I try to unfold some of the factors that determined the way Calvin used the writings of the Church Fathers in formulating his doctrine of baptism. After presenting the patristic quotations related to the 'theoretical' theology of baptism, I will present the quotations and references that are related rather to the practice of baptism. Here I analyse the references regarding the doctrine of baptism coming from the Donatists, the problematic of emergency baptism and women's right to baptize. Finally, I will present the references from Inst IV 16, dealing with infant baptism. In the last chapter of this study, I will try to summarize the conclusions of the research. I hope the reader will have a clearer image on Calvin's use of the Church Fathers' theological heritage on baptism in the *Institutes*.

The title of the second paper included in this volume is: "The Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ in Early Christian Confessions". This paper is an expanded and somewhat more elaborated version of an earlier study in which I tried to give a general overview on the word-usage concerning the passion of Jesus Christ in the early Christian creeds. The purpose of this short paper is in part to give a comparative presentation of the sufferings of Lord Jesus Christ in the Western Creeds, and in part I also try to define the role of mentioning the name of Pontius Pilatus in them.

The third paper presents the doctrine on baptism in the *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* of Theodoret of Cyrus. We learn from this presentation that Theodoret presents a multi-contextual image of the "all-holy" baptism in this work. The divine origin of the sacrament determined Theodoret to offer it a special place within his theological system. This special place is expressed through the setting of the chapter concerning baptism as well: it is put between the soteriological Christology and the chapters concerning Theodoret's eschatology, the latter being an introduction to the ethical chapters.

The purpose of the fourth paper in this volume is to analyse the concept of "imago Dei" based on the 6th answer of the Heidelberg Catechism. I chose this topic, as it is

one of the most controversial questions of systematic theology. If we browse through the dogmatic and ethical works written from the earliest period of Christianity to the most recent times, we will find a large variety of answers. All of these attempt to explain what the writer of Genesis meant by the expression *na^ašəh 'ādām b^ešalmenu kid^emutenu*. The Heidelberg Catechism deals with this topic in the 6th answer where the authors attested that God did not create the first human being godless and malicious. After stating that as a matter of fact, God created man according to his own image and likeness, the Catechism explains the term *imago Dei* in a twofold way: first, it seeks to define the inner content of the image and similitude of God, and secondly it expands upon the purpose of man given by God as the image of his creator within the creation. Henceforth, we shall seek to develop the meaning of this definition of *imago Dei*.

The last paper of this volume has a somewhat different character from the previous ones. I tried to present in it some aspects of the theological science which I considered important for the permanent renewal of doing theology in the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania. I hope that through this paper, I made it clear that doing theology also means the shaping of a new life (both of the one doing theology and their readers), which is conceived and developing in the safety of the living-space of the New Covenant through Jesus, i.e., the Kingdom of God, which came close to us. This new life, i.e., the “Kingdom-membership” implies also a new understanding: a new understanding not only of the whole life but of the interpretation or definition of the essence of theological science as well.

* * * * *

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all the people who supported me in writing these papers and (now) in publishing them. First of all, I would like to mention the members of my family who stood by me during my studies in Kampen, and who encouraged me to prepare these papers for publication. I am also grateful to Professor Erik de Boer who was a conscientious supervisor of my studies, and who provided me with useful pieces of advice. I am pleased to thank to the foundation Stichting Fundament – Iránytű Alapítvány for financing my studies in Kampen, and to the foundation Professor Juhász István Stichting in the Netherlands for supporting this publication financially. I also want to say “a great thank you” to Vincze Zsófia for the philological proofreading and correction of these papers. Finally, I would like to thank the JATEPress Publisher and its editor-in-chief Ms. Etelka Szőnyi for the technical preparations of this publication.

1st May, 2021.
Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca)

THE “DIALOGUE” BETWEEN CALVIN AND THE CHURCH FATHERS ON THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pg.2021.1

INTRODUCTION

In theological research, two different “worlds” (i.e., theological systems) meet, yet they occasionally collide with each other. Of course, I do not mean only the theological interpretation (“world”) of Calvin and/or the Church Fathers, however their “worlds” often intersect with our modern epoch. In addition, we must consider not only the “worlds” of the immanent dimension but also the intersection of the infinitely open transcendent world. There is an infinitely open world in the Bible, aiming upwards. In opposition to the Bible, the earthly, logical systems are often closed and they try to shut the open world of the Bible as well. In contrast, the objective of the Bible is to reach the closed world of humanity and open it to God infinitely.

Therefore, it must be stated that these two different “worlds” – two sides of the same “coin” – must not be placed into closed systems, as it would block their reliance on transcendent, creating closed immanent “worlds”. These then would not be able to become bridges towards “other worlds” (theological points of view), thus becoming barriers of dialogues. Above all, this dialogue requires a great degree of openness and a thorough knowledge of “extinct worlds” and of the theological, social and cultural background of our “soon-to-be extinct” world.

The reception of the Church Fathers (especially by Calvin) during the Reformational era has been widely studied. Let me just refer to the works of Irena Backus (*The reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists*), of J.J.M. Lange van Ravenswaaij (*Augustinus totus noster*) or that of Anthony Lane (*Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*). There is a rather great number of articles published in this field. However, we must acknowledge that the territory of the theological relation between Reformers and the Church Fathers has many “undiscovered” aspects which can easily be an enticing field of research. The beautiful and plausible achievements of the above-mentioned scholars are like a firm fundament on which further studies can be built.

In this thesis I will try to answer the following question: which factors determine the way Calvin used the writings of the Church Fathers in formulating his doctrine on baptism? If someone asks why I chose exactly the doctrine on baptism, my answer is that it is important and relevant from several points of view. The Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania is a “folk church” in transformation (I hope that in the direc-

tion of a confessing church). Apparently, many members think baptism is nothing more but a (beautiful and heart-stirring) tradition. In order to change this approach to church (and religious ceremonies) in a rather beneficial direction, – I think – it is necessary to give clear and timely instructions regarding the essence of baptism. Furthermore: many neo-protestant churches aim to gather their members from the members of the so-called “historical churches” (and not from people who do not belong to the church – as it would be favourable). Many of these church communities underline the importance of baptism as a conscious and voluntary action from the part of the believer. In order to avoid this kind of “fishing of men”, the Reformed Church shall highlight the transcendent aspects of baptism, emphasizing God’s gracious and salvific activity. I think rediscovering the topics that came forth in the dialog between Calvin and the Church Fathers on baptism can be an effective help in reaching our goal of apologetic nature.

Some sub-questions belong to our main question as well. First of all: by what means did Calvin acknowledge the theology of the Church Fathers? Secondly: which sources did he use to learn the early Christian doctrine? Florilegia? ‘Opera omnia’ editions? Writings of other Reformers? Which are the topics within the doctrine of baptism where Calvin felt necessary to quote the Church Fathers or to refer to them?

To this research issue accordingly, my research lies at the borders of Patristic and Reformation studies. I believe research projects of the kind are beneficial for further studies on both Calvin and the Church Fathers. On the one hand, it could help the perception of the relation between Calvin (and the other Reformers) and the Church Fathers, and it could illuminate the way Reformers used the theological heritage of the early Church. On the other hand, it could reveal how the patristic texts survived until the 16th century. In the case of translated texts, we can also map the possible textual corruptions of the patristic texts.

This MA thesis is the first step of a larger research which analyses the patristic heritage in the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. As the first step of my research in the field of historical theology (namely the reception of the Church Fathers by Calvin), I wrote a PhD thesis with the title *The Dialogue between Calvin and Chrysostom about Free Will in the 1559 Institutes*. It will be defended – *sub conditione Jacobea* – in September or October of this year at the Debrecen Reformed Theological University. Furthermore, I wrote two studies in Hungarian about the “reception” of the early Christian heretics, which appeared in the *Reformed Review* and in the *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis*, both of which were edited by the Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca. The goal of this study is to perform further analysis on how Calvin used the theological heritage of the Church Fathers: it is now limited to the chapters of the 1559 edition of his *Institutes* that tackle the topic of baptism. The methodologies of my former papers (including my PhD thesis) and of this MA thesis are somewhat different. Meanwhile I limited the analysis to Calvin and Chrysostom in my PhD thesis, this

time I will try to compare Calvin's use of the Fathers' writings with the manner in which other Reformers used the theological heritage of the Early Church. Here, I will primarily use the works of Melanchthon and Bullinger. The purpose of this comparison is in part to see the differences and the similarities in the way Calvin used the Church Fathers' writings and in the works of fellow-reformers, and in part to catalogize the traces of occurrent exchanges among the important persons of the protestant Reformation. Furthermore, I believe the comparison could inspire further research and could lead to a better understanding of the theological relation between Calvin and Melanchthon or Calvin and Bullinger.

This MA thesis is divided into three major parts. The first part is kind of an introduction which contains two chapters. In the first one, I will shortly present the two chapters of the *Institutes* in which Calvin writes about baptism. I find this introduction necessary because it is considered the 16th century background of the quotations and references. Thereafter, for the sake of a better overview, I will present the patristic quotations and references which can be found in Inst IV 15–16.

Later on, in the most voluminous part of this thesis, I will proceed to the analysis of the patristic quotations and references. I will present a comparison between the patristic texts in the *Institutes* and in the editions of the writings of the Church Father in question. With the help of this analysis, I wish to unfold either the similarities or the differences between the original context of the quotation (or reference) and the context in the writings of Calvin (and the Reformers whose works I use in this study). The quotations and references chosen to be analysed will be presented thematically. First, I present the quotations that deal with the theological background (or fundament) of baptism. There are titles like "*accedat Verbum ad elementum et fiet sacramentum*", "*gratia: virtus sacramentorum*", "*the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ*". After presenting these quotations related to the 'theoretical' theology of baptism, I will present the quotations and references that are related rather to the practice of baptism. Here I will analyse the references regarding the doctrine of baptism coming from the Donatists, the problematics of emergency baptism and women's right to baptize. Finally, I will present the references from Inst IV 16, dealing with infant baptism.

In the last chapter of this study, I will try to summarize the conclusions of the research. I hope the reader will have a clearer image on Calvin's use of the Church Fathers' theological heritage on baptism in the *Institutes*.

If, after reading this study, someone gathers the impetus to research the influence of particular Church Fathers on the works of one or more Reformers, or to analyse the patristic influence on a specific topic in the works of the Reformers, my research achieved its goal in part.

**CALVIN’S TEACHING ABOUT BAPTISM IN HIS *INSTITUTES*:
THE CONTEXT OF PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS**

In the 1559 edition of his *Institutes*, Calvin dedicates two chapters to the question of baptism: the 15th and 16th chapters of Book IV.¹ In chapter 15, he writes a general theological analysis on baptism, meanwhile chapter 16 is dedicated entirely to the question of infant baptism. Also, in chapter 14, which presents Calvin’s teaching about the sacraments in general, we find references to baptism.

According to Calvin, “baptism is the sign of the initiation by which we are received into the society of the church, in order that, engrafted in Christ, we may be reckoned among God’s children” (Inst IV 15,1).² Baptism was given by God as a sacrament to his Church with a twofold goal: “first, to serve our faith before him; secondly, to serve our confession before men” (Inst IV 15,1).³ The introductory part of chapter 15 is meant to present the three effects or aspects (or with another specific word of the theology of Reformation: *beneficia*) of baptism in the lives of believers:

The first thing that the Lord sets out for us is that baptism should be a token and proof of our cleansing; or (the better to explain what I mean) it is like a sealed document to confirm to us that all our sins are so abolished, remitted, and effaced that they can never come to his sight, be recalled, or charged against us. For he wills that all who believe be baptized for the remission of sins [Matt. 28:19; Acts 2:38] (Inst IV 15,1).⁴

Baptism also brings another benefit, for it shows us our mortification in Christ, and new life in him (Inst IV 15,5).⁵

Lastly, our faith receives baptism the advantage of its sure testimony to us that we are not only engrafted into the death and life of Christ, but so united to Christ himself that we become sharers in all his blessings (Inst IV 15,6).⁶

The result of baptism is that believers become children of God because – according to Paul – “we all put on Christ in baptism” (Inst IV 15,6). Calvin calls Christ the fulfillment and the proper object of baptism because “all the gifts of God proffered in baptism are found in Christ alone” (Inst IV 15,6). However, the invocation of the Father and the Son does not make the formula of baptism superfluous, as

¹ In this paper abbreviated as: Inst IV 15,ss and Inst IV 15,ss (where ‘ss’ means the section of the chapter).

² Calvin, John (auth.) – McNeill, John (ed.) – Battles, Ford Lewis (transl.): *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II. Westminster Press, Louisville 1960 (reissued 2006). 1303. (Hereafter: Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II.)

³ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1303–304.

⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1304.

⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1307.

⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1307.

- “we are cleansed by his blood because our merciful Father, wishing to receive us into grace in accordance with his incomparable kindness, has sent this Mediator among us to gain favour for us in his sight” (Inst IV 15,6).
- furthermore, “we obtain regeneration by Christ’s death and resurrection only if we are sanctified by the Spirit and imbued with a new and spiritual nature” (Inst IV 15,6).

In this sense, according to Calvin, baptism helps us discern “in the Father the cause, in the Son the matter, and in the Spirit the effect of our purgation and regeneration” (Inst IV 15,6).

In the following passage (Inst IV 15,7), Calvin argues that there is no difference between the baptism of John and the baptism performed by the apostles: both John and the apostles “baptized to repentance, both to the forgiveness of sins, both into the name of Christ, from whom repentance and forgiveness of sins came”.⁷ Calvin asserts with a subtle sense of irony that

if anyone should seek a difference between them from God’s Word, he will find no other difference than that John baptized in him who was to come; but the apostles in him who had already revealed himself (Inst IV 15,7).⁸

As a result, the servant is not important but Christ who the author of the inward grace delivered through baptism is. In order to emphasize his standpoint, he paraphrases Augustine: “whosoever may baptize, Christ alone presides” (Inst IV 15,8).⁹

In the following section, Calvin argues that what he said in the previous sections “both of mortification and of washing, were foreshadowed” in the Old Testament (Inst IV 15,9). Here he quotes 1Cor 10,2, where the apostle asserts that people of Israel were “baptized in the cloud and in the sea”.

After the introductory argumentation in sections 1–9, Calvin argues that the rite of baptism does not set man free from the original sin (Inst IV 15,10). He asserts that those thinking that baptism abolishes original sin “never understood what original sin, what original righteousness or what the grace of baptism was” (Inst IV 15,10). Since the distortion caused by the original sin never ceases in humans, they must always strive to overcome the persistent sin. Calvin illustrates this statement quoting Paul from Romans 7 (Inst IV 15,12). In this context, he writes:

Baptism indeed promises to us the drowning of our Pharaoh and the mortification of our sin, but not so that it no longer exists or gives us trouble, but only that it may not overcome us. For so long as we live cooped up in this prison of our body, traces of sin will

⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1308.

⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1309.

⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1310.

dwell in us; but if we faithfully hold fast to the promise given us by God in baptism, they shall not dominate or rule (Inst IV 15,11).¹⁰

There is an expression in this quotation which – however – has no indications of patristic sources, and needs a short clarification: “the drowning of our Pharaoh”. This is the translation of the Latin: “*submersum esse nostrum Pharaonem*”. This motif can be found also in Calvin’s *Psychopannychia*:

Quemadmodum Paulus in transitu filiorum Israel tractat allegorice submersum Pharaonem, viam liberationis per aquam (1 Cor. 10,1 s.): permittant etiam nobis dicere, in baptismo submergi Pharaonem nostrum, crucifigi veterem hominem, mortificari membra nostra, nos sepeliri cum Christo, migrare e captivitate diaboli ac imperio mortis: sed migrare duntaxat in desertum, terram aridam ac inopem, nisi Dominus pluat man e coelo, et aquam scaturire faciat e petra.¹¹

As Paul, in speaking of the passage of the Israelites across the Red Sea, allegorically represents the drowning of Pharaoh as the mode of deliverance by water, (1 Corinthians 10:1,) so we may be permitted to say that in baptism our Pharaoh is drowned, our old man is crucified, our members are mortified, we are buried with Christ., and remove from the captivity of the devil and the power of death, but remove only into the desert, a land arid and poor, unless the Lord rain manna from heaven, and cause water to gush forth from the rock.¹²

However, we must acknowledge that Calvin was not the only one who used the motif of “Pharaoh noster” but it was a rather common allegorical expression of the theological language in the Reformation era. To exemplify this statement, I quote Martin Luther who writes in his commentary to Micah as follows:

Sed nos aliam similitudinem, eamque majorum beneficiorum habemus, quae nos ad poenitentiam debebat extimulare. Habuimus nostrum Pharaonem & Aegyptum nostram, tyrannidem scilicet Satanae et mortis propter peccatum. Sumus autem ex hac captivitate liberati, per sanguinem Filii Dei. Hoc ingens bene-

Aber wir haben ein anderes Gleichnis, und zwar von größeren Wohltaten, das uns zur Busse reizen sollte. Denn wir haben unsern Pharaon und unser Ägypten gehabt, nämlich die Tyrannei des Satans und des Todes, um der Sünde willen. Wir sind aber durch das Blut des Sohnes Gottes aus dieser Gefangenschaft befreit. Diese ungeheuer große Wohl-

¹⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1312.

¹¹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Psychopannychia*. In: Baum, Guilielmus – Cunitz, Eduardus – Reuss, Eduardus (eds.): *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*. Volumen V. *Tractatus Theologici minores*. Tomus 1. C.A. Schwetschke, Brunsvigae 1866. 214.

¹² Calvin, John: *Psychopannychia*. In: Bonnet, Jules – Beveridge, Henry (eds.): *Selected Works of John Calvin*. Volume 3. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids 1983. 429.

fificium est & longe praeclarior liberatio, quam illa Aegyptiaca. ¹³	tat ist auch eine weit herrlichere Errettung als die auch Ägypten. ¹⁴
--	---

This allegory probably does not originate in the theology of Reformation but much earlier: in the theology of the Middle Ages and of the Early Church. Nevertheless, to unfold this “mystery”, research is needed, which exceeds the frames of the present one.

If baptism does not obliterate original sin, what is its use? In section 13 Calvin argues that “baptism serves as our confession before men” (Inst IV 15,13).¹⁵ It is therefore a mark

by which we publicly profess that we wish to be reckoned God's people; by which we testify that we agree in worshipping the same God, in one religion with all Christians; by which finally we openly affirm our faith. [...] He thus implied that, in being baptized in his name, they had devoted themselves to him, sworn allegiance to his name, and pledged their faith to him before men. (Inst IV 15,13).¹⁶

In sections 14–18 Calvin argues that baptism is to be received “with trust in the promise of which it is a sign, and not repeated”.¹⁷ Here Calvin states that he explained the “Lord's purpose in ordaining baptism” in the previous sections, and he would present “how we should use and receive it” in the following sections (Inst IV 15,14).

According to Calvin, the most solid rule of the sacraments is that “we should see spiritual things in physical, as if set before our very eyes” (Inst IV 15,14). In this respect, baptism is a sign of our purification and of our washing of all sins. The Lord

was pleased to represent them by such figures – not because such graces are bound and enclosed in the sacrament to be conferred upon us by its power, but only because the Lord by this token attests his will toward us, namely, that he is pleased to lavish all these things upon us. In addition, he does not feed our eyes with a mere appearance only, but leads us to the present reality and effectively performs what it symbolizes (Inst IV 15,14).¹⁸

Since the sacrament is a ‘sign’ of God's grace, “we obtain [from it] as much as we receive in faith” (Inst IV 15,15). Through the examples of Cornelius (Acts 10), Ananias

¹³ Luther, Martin: *Commentarius in Micham prophetam, anno 1542*. In: *Tomus quartus et idem ultimus omnium operum Reverendi Patris, Viri Dei, Doctoris Martin Lutheri*. Tobias Steinman, Jena 1611. 469 verso.

¹⁴ Luther, Martin: *Auslegung des Micha*. In: Luther, Martin (Auth.) – Walch, Georg Johann (Hg.): *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*. Band 14. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 1898. 1112.

¹⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1313.

¹⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1313–14.

¹⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1314.

¹⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1314.

(Acts 22,16; cf. Acts 9,17–18) and 1Corinthians 12,13, Calvin argues that the acceptance of being baptized is also a symbol of confession by which

we ought to testify [...] that our confidence is in God’s mercy, and our purity in forgiveness of sins, which has been procured for us through Jesus Christ; and that we enter God’s church in order to live harmoniously with all believers in complete agreement of faith and love (Inst IV 15,15).¹⁹

In sections 16–18, Calvin refutes the Anabaptists’ (called ‘Catabaptists’ by him and by some other Reformers) teaching on baptism. In section 16 he argues (just like in section 8) that “baptism does not depend upon the merit of him who administers it”.²⁰ He does it in order to refute the erroneous teachings of the “Catabaptists”, seen by him as Donatists of the 16th century.²¹ Calvin believes that they deny the validity of baptism administered by “impious and idolatrous men under the papal government” (Inst IV 15,16). Furthermore, he argues that the delay of repentance does not invalidate baptism either:

We indeed, being blind and unbelieving, for a long time did not grasp the promise given to us in baptism; yet that promise, since it was of God, ever remained fixed and firm and trustworthy. Even if all men are liars and faithless, still God does not cease to be trustworthy. Even if all men are lost, still Christ remains salvation. We therefore confess that for that time baptism benefited us not at all, inasmuch as the promise offered us in it – without which baptism is nothing – lay neglected. Now when, by God’s grace, we begin to repent, we accuse our blindness and hardness of heart – we who were for so long ungrateful toward his great goodness. However, we believe that the promise itself did not vanish. Rather we consider that God through baptism promises us forgiveness of sins, and he will doubtless fulfil his promise for all believers. This promise was offered to us in baptism; therefore, let us embrace it by faith. Indeed, because of our unfaithfulness it laid long buried from us; now, therefore, let us receive it through faith (Inst IV 15,17).²²

In section 18 he disproves of the illusions of the Anabaptists who say that “Paul rebaptized those who had once been baptized with John’s baptism” (Inst IV 15,18).

Section 19 contains Calvin’s argumentation against the theatrical pomp applied by the papal Church in the practice of baptismal ceremony. He says that candles and incantations “dazzle the eyes of the simple and deadens their mind”. He suggests the following practice:

¹⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1315.

²⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1315.

²¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1316.

²² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1317.

Whenever anyone is to be baptized, to present him to the assembly of believers and, with the whole church looking on as witness and praying over him, offer him to God; to recite the confession of faith with which the catechumen should be instructed; to recount the promises to be had in baptism; to baptize the catechumen in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; lastly, to dismiss him with prayers and thanksgiving. If this were done, nothing essential would be omitted; and that one ceremony, which came from God, its author, not buried in outlandish pollutions, would shine in its full brightness (Inst IV 15,19).²³

In the last paragraph of this section, we read that the question immersion or sprinklings are details of no importance (Inst IV 15,19).

He refuses baptism administered by laity even in emergencies, as baptism is not a means of salvation (Inst IV 15,20). His refusal is based in part on the notion that Christ commanded the administration of this sacrament only to his apostles, and in part on the approach that "God declares that he adopts" the children of believers "before they are born, when he promises that he will be our God and the God of our descendants after us" (Inst IV 15,20).²⁴ By using Tertullian's and Epiphanius' words, he underlines that the administration of baptism by women is not permitted (Inst IV 15,21). He continues dealing with Zipporah circumcising her sons and explains that it was not a particularly righteous act on her part (Inst IV 15,22).

Chapter 16 is wholly dedicated to the argumentation in favour of infant baptism. In the introductory lines of this chapter, we read:

Nevertheless, since in this age certain frantic spirits have grievously disturbed the church over infant baptism, and do not cease their agitation, I cannot refrain from adding an appendix here to restrain their mad ravings (Inst IV 16,1).²⁵

Calvin confronts various types of Anabaptists and probably some mystical sects of the time. In order to prove his statement concerning infant baptism, he states his wish to ascertain what the power and nature of the promises given in baptism (Inst IV 16,2) are. Hereinafter, I will briefly present Calvin's main arguments in favour of the *raison d'être* of infant baptism.

Sections 3–6 deal with similarities and differences between circumcision and infant baptism. Calvin argues that the promise and the thing signified are the same both in circumcision and in baptism. The dissimilarity between the two rites lies in the outward ceremony "which is a very slight factor, since the weightiest part depends upon the promise and the thing signified" (Inst IV 16,4).²⁶ An important biblical example

²³ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1319–20.

²⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321.

²⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1324.

²⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1327.

for Calvin claiming that children are partakers in the covenant too (Inst IV 16,5) is when Jesus blesses children in Mt 19,13–15 (Inst IV 16,7). Based on Calvin’s arguments, “infant baptism was by no means fashioned by man, resting as it does on such firm approbation of Scripture” (Inst IV 16,8).²⁷ Furthermore, Calvin argues that the lack of declaration on the practice of infant baptism in the Scripture is not an argument against it but rather – according to the purpose for which it was instituted,

we clearly see that it is just as appropriate to infants as to older persons. For this reason, infants cannot be deprived of it without open violation of the will of God, its author (Inst IV 16,8).²⁸

In section 9 Calvin turns his attention towards the blessings of infant baptism and he points out

what sort of benefit comes from this observance, both to the believers who present their children to be baptized, and to the infants themselves who are baptized with the sacred water – lest anyone despise it as useless and unprofitable (Inst IV 16,9).²⁹

In this context, on the one hand, infant baptism shows God’s boundless generosity and confirms God’s gracious promise to the pious parent

that the Lord will be God not only to him but also to his seed; and that he wills to manifest his goodness and grace not only to him but also to his descendants even to the thousandth generation (Inst IV 16,9).³⁰

On the other hand, infant baptism is beneficial not only for the parents who bring their child to be baptized but for the baptized child as well. Firstly, it will be the parents’ duty

to offer them to the church to be sealed by the symbol of mercy and thereby to arouse them to a surer confidence, because they see with their very eyes the covenant of the Lord engraved upon the bodies of their children. On the other hand, the children receive some benefit from their baptism: being engrafted into the body of the church, they are somewhat more commended to the other members. Then, when they have grown up, they are greatly spurred to an earnest zeal for worshiping God, by whom they were received as children through a solemn symbol of adoption before they were old enough to recognize him as Father (Inst IV 16,9).³¹

²⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1331.

²⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1331.

²⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1331.

³⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1332.

³¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1332.

In section 10 Calvin begins presenting his objections against Anabaptists', Servetus's and other heretics' teachings concerning infant baptism. His goal is to refute the teachings of those who believe that the covenant made with Israel was any different from the covenant of the New Testament. Here he argues that the promises made to Israel were not temporary but eternal and spiritual. An important element of this argumentation is the interpretation of circumcision based on Paul the apostle's chain of thought as presented in Colossians 2,9–15. Speaking about the unity of the promises and mysteries of the two Testaments, Calvin argues that Abraham was not only the father of the Jews but also the father of all who believe in Christ (Rom 4,10–12.).

Calvin also refutes the statements of Anabaptists about infants being incapable of repentance and faith or understanding preaching. Calvin argues that God's work is beyond human knowledge and those infants "who are to be saved are previously regenerated" (Inst IV 16,17).³² Furthermore,

infants are baptized into future repentance and faith, and even though these have not yet been formed in them, the seed of both lies hidden within them by the secret working of the Spirit (Inst IV 16,20).³³

In the next section, Calvin writes that deceased baptized infants will be renewed by the incomprehensible power of the Holy Spirit, while those who will reach an age

at which they can be taught the truth of baptism, they shall be fired with greater zeal for renewal, from learning that they were given the token of it in their first infancy in order that they might meditate upon it throughout life (Inst IV 16,21).³⁴

In the light of what has just been mentioned, Calvin states that infants must be baptized and must not be sundered from the body of Christ (Inst IV 16,22). He sees Abraham as an example of someone who first has faith and then receives the sign, and his son Isaac as an example of someone who receives the sign and then has faith. From this example, Calvin concludes that unbaptized adults cannot receive baptism, "unless they gave a confession satisfactory to the church" (Inst IV 16,24). He also stresses that the child of an unbeliever is not supposed to receive baptism but is deemed an alien to the covenant until he is united with God by faith. But the children of believers should be baptized without hesitation because they were born "directly into the inheritance of the covenant and are expected by God."

³² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1340.

³³ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1343.

³⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1344.

In sections 25–30 Calvin explains some terms and biblical passages that were adduced against infant baptism. For example, he explains the words ‘water’ and ‘Spirit’ from John 3,25³⁵ the following way: “I therefore simply understand ‘water and Spirit’ as ‘Spirit, who is water’” (Inst IV 16,25).³⁶ He also emphasizes that “baptism is not so necessary that one from whom the capacity to obtain it has been taken away should straightway be counted as lost” (Inst IV 16,26).³⁷ The relation between John 3,25 and Mt 28,19–20 is shown in the following sentence:

For if it is understood as they insist, there it will be fitting baptism to be prior to spiritual regeneration, seeing that it is named in the prior place. For Christ teaches that we must be reborn not “of the Spirit and water”, but “of water and the Spirit” (Inst IV 16,27).³⁸

Jesus is seen as the one who intended to lay a solid and firm foundation of baptism. Therefore,

in order to procure greater authority for his institution, he sanctified it with his own body, and did so at the most appropriate time, namely, when he began his preaching (Inst IV 16,29).³⁹

Compared with the Lord’s Supper, baptism is the “sign of our spiritual regeneration, through which we are reborn as children of God”, while the Lord’s Supper “is given to older persons who, having passed tender infancy, can now take solid food” (Inst IV 16,30).⁴⁰

In section 31 Calvin refutes Servetus’s 20 objections against infant baptism by which he wanted to support “his little Anabaptist brothers”.⁴¹

The final section is like a conclusion of the whole chapter. In this section, infant baptism is called the “singular fruit of assurance” which gives great “spiritual joy” (Inst IV 16,32).

For how sweet it is to godly minds to be assured, not only by word, but also by sight, that they obtain so much favour with the Heavenly Father that their offspring are within his care. For here, we can see how he takes on toward us the role of a most provident Father, who even after our death maintains his care for us, providing for and looking after our children. Should we not, following David’s example, rejoice with all our heart in thanks-

³⁵ Here Jesus says to Nicodemus that one must be born again of water and the Spirit in order to enter the Kingdom of God.

³⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1348.

³⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1349.

³⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1350.

³⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1352.

⁴⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1352.

⁴¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1358.

giving, that his name might be hallowed by such an example of his goodness [Ps. 48:10]? It is precisely this which Satan is attempting in assailing infant baptism with such an army: that, once this testimony of God's grace is taken away from us, the promise which, through it, is put before our eyes may eventually vanish little by little. From this would grow up not only the lack of gratefulness toward God's mercy but certain negligence about instructing our children in piety. For when we consider that immediately from birth God takes and acknowledges them as his children, we feel a strong stimulus to instruct them in an earnest fear of God and observance of the law. Accordingly, unless we wish spitefully to obscure God's goodness, let us offer our infants to him, for he gives them a place among those of his family and household, that is, the members of the church. (Inst IV 16,29).⁴²

* * * * *

Comparing the formulation of the doctrine on baptism in different editions of the *Institutes*, David Wright states that Inst 4,15 "derives mainly from the first edition of 1536".⁴³ In spite of the many expansions and additions, the shape of the 1536 treatment is easily recognizable in the 1559 edition.⁴⁴ Calvin himself states that chapter 16 is an appendix to chapter 15 in which his purpose is to refute the Anabaptists' rejection of infant baptism.⁴⁵ This chapter derives mostly from the last paragraph on baptism from the 1536 edition which was more and more expanded in later editions (from 1539 onwards) and which got an independent chapter in the 1559 edition.⁴⁶

Now, let us see some statistics using the brilliant study of David Wright concerning the textual development of Inst IV 15–16. David Wright mentions⁴⁷ that each section of Inst IV 15 contains some expansion. Furthermore, he notes that five sections of Inst IV 15 (4, 12, 20–22) are entirely post-1536. Now, I will try to edit this information about the development of Inst IV 15 into a table.⁴⁸

⁴² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1352.

⁴³ Wright, David: 'Development and rence in Calvin's *Institutes*: The Case of Baptism (*Institutes* 4,15–4,16)'. In: Wright, David: *Infant Baptism in Historical Perspective. Collected Studies*. Paternoster, Milton Keynes 2007. 226. (In the followings: Wright, David: 'Development and Coherence in Calvin's *Institutes*'.)

⁴⁴ Wright, David: 'Development and Coherence in Calvin's *Institutes*'. 226–27.

⁴⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1324.

⁴⁶ Wright, David: 'Development and Coherence in Calvin's *Institutes*'. 227. According to David Wright Calvin's division and arrangement of the material in the 1559 edition is less felicitous than the unitary section in the 1536 edition. He finds strange, that in the 16th century almost all recipients of baptism were very young children, and Calvin could expound the essence of baptism with only marginal references to infants.

⁴⁷ Wright, David: 'Development and Coherence in Calvin's *Institutes*'. 226.

⁴⁸ Wright, David: 'Development and Coherence in Calvin's *Institutes*'. 227–28.

section of the Institutes	summary of the topic	year of provenance
Inst IV 15,2	the significance of water	1539
Inst IV 15,4	on repentance	from 1543, 1550 and 1559
Inst IV 15,6	on baptism in Christ	1539
Inst IV 15,7–8	the difference between the baptism of John and of Christ	1539
Inst IV 15,12	Paul’s inner struggle	1543
Inst IV 15,18 (the half)	no rebaptism was involved in Paul’s dealing with the Ephesian disciples in Acts 19	1539
Inst IV 15,19 (the first half)	the indictment of “sundry post-apostolic accretions to the rite of baptism”	1559
Inst IV 20–22	rejection of emergency baptism by laymen and baptism by women	1559 (the major part) the 1543 and especially the 1545 Latin edition also contributed to them

If someone begins to read the PhD thesis of R.J. Mooi on the patristic influence in Calvin’s works, they will have the impression that Mooi presents the process of the appearance of patristic quotations and references in different editions of the *Institutes*. For example, presenting the patristic influence in the 1536 edition, he mentions no particular Church Fathers concerning baptism.⁴⁹ Writing about the 1539 edition, he mentions on the one hand the patristic references concerning the difference between the baptism of John and that of Jesus, and on the other hand, the confidence of the early Church in accepting the apostolic origin of infant baptism.⁵⁰ Presenting topics which contain patristic references in the 1543 edition, we find two new elements related to baptism: first Augustine’s polemic against the Donatists concerning the person who administers the sacrament and the allusion to patristic references related to emergency baptism.⁵¹ During the presentation of the 1550 edition, Mooi did not mention anything concerning baptism,⁵² but speaking of the 1559 edition, we find new information related to our topic. He mentions patristic references related to the rejection of the administration of baptism by women.⁵³

⁴⁹ Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. Wageningen 1965. 17–18.

⁵⁰ Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. 53–54.

⁵¹ Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. 91–92.

⁵² Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. 130–33.

⁵³ Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. 188.

The above presented scholarly opinion shows that Calvin gradually encased the theological heritage of the Church Fathers in his treatise on baptism. It means also that he continuously trained himself and that he was able to amplify his argumentation by adding new evidence which he considered relevant in defending the doctrine concerning baptism of the Reformation.

PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS/REFERENCES IN INST IV 14–16: GENERAL PRESENTATION OF PATRISTIC REFERENCES CONCERNING BAPTISM

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE INSTITUTION'S REFERENCES TO THE OLD CHURCH

In Calvin's *Institutes*, there are about 722 patristic quotations and references.⁵⁴ Out of these, a large amount (about 55%) quotes Augustine of Hippo. Based on this proportion, we can conclude that Calvin considered Augustine an important witness of the early Christian tradition. However, Augustine is the most often quoted Church Father both in Calvin's *Institutes* and in his *opera omnia*. Calvin stated once that "*Augustinus totus noster est*,"⁵⁵ we must see that the reformer of Geneva did not accept the teaching of Augustine in all cases. In spite of his occasionally negative critique, Calvin thought that Augustine's teaching supports the goal and the case of the Reformation. His teaching was important for Calvin, probably because Calvin found it much more appropriate in the context of the Western Church than the teachings of other early Church Fathers.

Calvin quotes 33 ancient theological writers in total and the ratio of theologians who wrote in Latin and in Greek is approximately equal. In addition, we cannot ascertain the importance of one Church Father or another based on the number of their allusions, since while trying to establish that, we have to take into consideration the number of the quotations as well as their context-given importance. According to the assumptions of Anthony Lane, Irena Backus (and of others too),⁵⁶ Calvin read the works of the Greek Fathers in Latin translation – which had an inevitable influence on his interpretation of patristic theology. We also find that the lists published by Anthony Lane do not contain the names of authors who were considered heretics and who are often mentioned in Calvin's *Institution*. These theologians are Marcion, Valentinus, Sabellius, Donatus, Tyconius, Novatian, Arius, Apollinaris, Macedonius, Nestorius, Dioscor, Eutyches and Pelagius. I wrote about them in another study, and its first part – heretics dealing with God's works and the unity of his persona – appeared in the

⁵⁴ Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. Wageningen 1965. 384–85.

⁵⁵ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 38.

⁵⁶ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 48.

2013 edition of the *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis*⁵⁷, while its second part – heretics who challenged the doctrine on Church and its teaching – appeared in the 2013/6 edition of the *Református Szemle*.⁵⁸

Anthony Lane’s so-called “eleven theses” about the way Calvin used the Church Fathers’ work is an important milestone in the research on Calvin and on patristics.⁵⁹ These theses set out the author’s methodology adopted in his book (*John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*) but also in his research on Calvin. The basic approach of the author towards the relationship between Calvin and the Church Fathers could be described – as he himself writes – as kind of minimalist.⁶⁰ It means that the author adopted a “hermeneutics of suspicion, not acknowledging that Calvin used or was influenced by another writer without solid evidence”.⁶¹

The first four theses elucidate the purpose of Calvin’s citations.⁶² First of all, Anthony Lane emphasizes that

Calvin’s citations of the fathers are not to be confused with modern footnotes and must not be used uncritically to establish sources.⁶³

The author has two major arguments in the favour of this thesis. On the one hand, sixteenth-century writers “were under no obligation to document their sources”.⁶⁴ On the other hand, “one cannot assume that they had read, or indeed ever set eyes upon, all of the sources that they name”.⁶⁵ When they (i.e., sixteenth-century writers) came across a useful patristic quotation in another writer’s work, they “felt free to use the quotation with reference without verifying either or without acknowledging the intermediate source”.⁶⁶ At this point, I think, we have to be more cautious because by comparison of Calvin’s and Bullinger’s use of the fathers’ work, one can see some exchange between the two reformers.

⁵⁷ Papp György: Eretneknek minősített ógyházi teológusok az *Institutióban* (Ancient Christian heretics in the *Institutes* of Calvin). In: Adorjáni Zoltán (ed.): *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis*. Kolozsvár 2013. 167–85.

⁵⁸ Papp György: Gnosztikusok és az egyháztant vitató ógyházi teológusok az *Institutióban* (Gnostics and other early Christian heretics dealing with ecclesiology in the *Institutes*). In: *Református Szemle*, 2013/6, 649–661.

⁵⁹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 1–13.

⁶⁰ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. xi.

⁶¹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. xi.

⁶² Flaming, Darlene: *Reviewed Work: John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* by Anthony N. S. Lane. In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring, 2001). 249.

⁶³ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 1.

⁶⁴ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 1.

⁶⁵ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 1.

⁶⁶ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 1.

In theses II–IV, the author points out the differences between the quotations and references in the *Institutes* and in Calvin’s commentaries. Accordingly, “Calvin’s use of the fathers (especially in the *Institution* and in the treatises) is primarily a polemical appeal to authorities”.⁶⁷ In his biblical commentaries, “Calvin is less interested in authorities, but instead debates with other interpreters”,⁶⁸ and “a negative comment may be a mark of respect and may serve as a pointer to Calvin’s sources”.⁶⁹ I can fully agree with these statements of the author because it takes into account the very clear difference between the aim of Calvin’s *Institutes* and treatises on the one hand, and his commentaries on the other hand.

The next three theses concern the works which Calvin studied for writing particular commentaries or treatises.⁷⁰ Here the author emphasizes aright that “in seeking to determine which works Calvin actually read, one must take into account factors like the availability of texts and the pressures of time”.⁷¹ At this point, according to Anthony Lane, we must consider that “Calvin did not always have access to good libraries” and therefore, “when examining Calvin’s use of the fathers and his knowledge of them, one must not fall into the trap of assuming that a complete set of Migne’s *Patrologia* was always close at hand”.⁷² Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge the permanent time pressure which “can explain errors in Calvin’s patristic citations”.⁷³ According to the next thesis, “a hermeneutic suspicion is appropriate in determining which works Calvin actually consulted”.⁷⁴ The primary reason of this statement is that according to Anthony Lane, “as a writer, Calvin was very skilled at reading the minimum and making the maximum use of it”.⁷⁵ We can find several factors in the background of this thesis, such as the limited availability of sources, Calvin’s chronic shortage of time and the fact that on occasions, Calvin “is demonstrably citing works with-out turning to them”.⁷⁶ The 7th thesis is a spontaneous inference of the previous two: “caution must be exercised before claiming that Calvin used any particular intermediate source”.⁷⁷

At this point, I find it necessary to underline that the minimalist approach to Calvin’s use of the church fathers can be accepted only with some specifications. Firstly,

⁶⁷ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 3.

⁶⁸ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 3.

⁶⁹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 4.

⁷⁰ Flaming, Darlene: *Reviewed Work: John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* by Anthony N. S. Lane. In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring, 2001). 249.

⁷¹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 5.

⁷² Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 5.

⁷³ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 5.

⁷⁴ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 6.

⁷⁵ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 6.

⁷⁶ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 6.

⁷⁷ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 7.

Calvin probably read a vast quantity of literature, which – thanks to his excellent memory – he could continuously exploit. Furthermore, the fact that Calvin preferred to use – as much as it was possible – the opera omnia editions of the writings of the church fathers cannot be neglected either⁷⁸ – as also Anthony Lane formulates it at the end of his theses.

Theses VIII and IX focus on the relationship between Calvin’s citations and the claim that he was influenced by certain Church Fathers.⁷⁹ According to the basic position of the author, “a critical approach is necessary to determine which authors influenced Calvin, even where Calvin cites them extensively”.⁸⁰ This way, the existence of very close parallels between the two writers does not prove a relationship of dependent nature, even if they knew one another.⁸¹ It means that parallels must not be confused with influence.⁸² As we will see it later, while comparing Calvin and Bullinger, we can assume that the reformers (Calvin included) read not only each other’s writings but in some cases they obviously read the patristic sources of their fellow-reformers as well. The specification of the “who read whom” can be the topic of further research.

Furthermore, Anthony Lane states that “while Calvin’s explicit use of a father does not exhaust his knowledge of that father, it does indicate the kind of knowledge that he had and claims about who influenced Calvin should cohere with this evidence”.⁸³

The two final theses claim that through careful scientific studying, it is sometimes possible to determine whom Calvin was reading at particular times and what editions he used.⁸⁴ Accordingly,

a critical examination of Calvin’s use of the fathers and especially of his literally citations can provide pointers to which works he was reading at a particular time.⁸⁵

The author underlines how important it is “to look not just the authors, works and passages cited”. Therefore, “one needs to probe more deeply, to look for citations with no obvious polemical motivation, to look for the use of authors not previously cited

⁷⁸ Backus, Irena: Theological relations: Calvin and the Church Fathers. In: Selderhuis, Herman (ed.): *Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 126.; Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 11–13.

⁷⁹ Flaming, Darlene: *Reviewed Work: John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* by Anthony N. S. Lane. In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring, 2001). 249–50.

⁸⁰ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 8.

⁸¹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 8.

⁸² Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 9.

⁸³ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 9.

⁸⁴ Flaming, Darlene: *Reviewed Work: John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* by Anthony N. S. Lane. In: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring, 2001). 250.

⁸⁵ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 10.

and to correlate this with the availability of new editions”.⁸⁶ Such an approach could enable “the compilation of a tentative and very partial list of which volumes and works Calvin read and when”.⁸⁷ The last thesis is built on this deduction:

a careful and critical reading of the evidence can lead to tentative or firm conclusions about which specific editions Calvin used.⁸⁸

These theses together form a system which gives useful and reliable guidance on the analysis performed on Calvin’s use of the Fathers’ work. Most importantly, these theses must be kept as an open system and to ensure the possibility of results that can deviate from the principles laid in Anthony Lane’s theses to some extent.

Some of Mooi’s statistics contain the number of patristic quotations and references in each of the four books of the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. The following table illustrates the proportion of these quotations in each book of the *Institutes*:

Book	Nr. of quotations/references	Percentage
I	71	10 %
II	149	21 %
III	157	22 %
IV	342	47 %

From Mooi’s statistics it can also be concluded that Calvin referred primarily to the writings of the Church Fathers concerning the theological topics which were widely and also sharply discussed during the Reformation times. We find many patristic references in the chapters on the following topics: the one nature of God, the freedom of the human will, repentance and conversion, the explanation of the Ten Commandments or different ecclesiological topics. We find 111 patristic references in the chapter refuting the legitimacy of the papacy, there are 46 in the chapter on the Lord’s Supper, and there are 31 in the chapter concerning the duty and dignity of the ministers. These examples are enough for us to accept Anthony Lane’s view that Calvin used the theological heritage of the early Church in his *Institutes* mainly in a polemical and apologetic context.⁸⁹

A quick review of those lists which – though not completely, yet – sum up the titles of the quoted or referred patristic writings shows that Calvin (compared with his contemporaries) acquired a wide knowledge on patristic literature. He used not only

⁸⁶ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 11.

⁸⁷ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 11.

⁸⁸ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 11.

⁸⁹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 28–29.

the extant collections or rather compilations and florilegia but he tried to read the works of the Church Fathers from “Opera omnia”-editions as far as it was possible, in the larger context. This, however, does not by far mean that he was a patristic scholar in today’s sense of the word⁹⁰, since the western “patristic-science” of Calvin’s era did not imply the immersion into the writings of the (especially eastern) fathers at all.

The florilegia of Lombardus and others suggest that the goal of such medieval compilations was exactly to “spare” the reading of the full works for the average listener –which might have resulted not only in lacunar and fragmented knowledge, but also possibly distorted opinion(s) based on out of context quotations. This was so partially due to the lack of trustworthy text editions. The rupture between Eastern and Western Church lead to even more severe (and obviously mutual) theological isolation than in older times, thus in the days of Calvin, one passed as a “good patristic scholar”, even if barely having heard of the Greek literature.⁹¹

In my opinion, the diversity of the patristic quotations used by Calvin suggests first and foremost that he was able to systematize and to carefully select the most suitable quotations in order to achieve his goal.

* * * * *

PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS/REFERENCES IN INST IV 14–16

Concerning the sacrament of baptism, there are references to the works of the Church Fathers and quotations from their writings in Calvin’s argumentation. Their influence on Calvin’s theological way of thinking is simply obvious. Hereafter, I will try to survey the patristic quotations and references concerning the sacrament of baptism in chapters 14–16.

1) In 14,4, where Calvin argues that “the Word must explain the sign”, we find the following quotation from Augustine:

Far different is the teaching of Augustine concerning the sacramental word: “Let the word be added to the element and it will become a sacrament. For whence comes this great power of water, that in touching the body it should cleanse the heart, unless the word makes it? Not because it is said, but because it is believed. In the word itself the fleeting sound is one thing; the power remaining, another. ‘This is the word of faith which we proclaim,’ says the apostle [Rom 10:8]. Accordingly, in The Acts of the Apostles: ‘Cleansing their hearts by faith’ [Acts 15:9]. In addition, the apostle Peter: ‘Thus baptism... saves us, not

⁹⁰ Backus, Irena: *Theological Relations – Calvin and the Church Fathers*. in: Selderhuis, Herman J. (ed.): *The Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 136.

⁹¹ Cogitations of theology professor Pásztori-Kupán István, expressed through private correspondence, made public with his cordial accord.

as a removal of filth from the flesh, but as an appeal... for a good conscience...’ [I Peter 3:21 p.]. ‘This is the word of faith which we proclaim’ [Rom. 10:8], by which doubtless baptism, that it may be able to cleanse, is also consecrated.” (Inst IV 14,4).⁹²

In the related footnote, the source of this quotation is indicated to have come from Augustine’s 80th homily on Gospel of John, section 3 (Migne PL 35,1840). In the marginal note of the original 1559 edition, the source is indicated as: “Homil. In Johannem 13.”⁹³

2) In 14,15, when Calvin argues that matter and sign of the sacrament must be distinguished, we find a quotation concerning baptism again:

He (Augustine) speaks of their separation when [...] he writes thus of the Jews: “Although the sacraments were common to all, grace was not common—which is the power of the sacraments. So also the laver of regeneration [Titus 3:5] is now common to all; but grace itself, by which the members of Christ are regenerated with their Head, is not common to all.” (Inst IV 14,15).⁹⁴

The footnote in the English translation of the *Institutes* indicates the source as: “Augustine, *Psalms*, Ps 77,2 (in substance)” (Migne PL 36,983). In the marginal note of the original 1559 edition, the source is indicated as: “In Psalmum 78”⁹⁵

3) There is a sentence in 15,2 which – according to the footnote of the English translation of the *Institutes* – shows the influence of the Church Fathers. ‘De baptismo (III-V)’ by Tertullian is given as reference in the English translation of the *Institutes* used in this paper:

Thus, the surest argument to refute the self-deception of those who attribute everything to the power of the water can be sought in the meaning of baptism itself, which draws us away, not only from the visible element that meets our eyes, but also from all other means, that it may fasten our minds upon Christ alone. (Inst IV 15,2).⁹⁶

However, since we do not find any direct references to the early Church neither in the marginal notes of the 1559 edition nor in the main text of the *Institutes*, I will omit its analysis.

⁹² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1279.

⁹³ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 472.

⁹⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1290.

⁹⁵ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 476.

⁹⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1305.

4) In 15,3, where Calvin states that believers are cleansed through baptism for the time of their whole life, we find a reference without names to ancient authors:

In early times, this error caused some to refuse the initiation by baptism unless in uttermost peril of life and at their last gasp, so that thus they might obtain pardon for their whole life. The ancient bishops frequently inveighed in their writings against this preposterous caution. (Inst IV 15,3).⁹⁷

The footnote in the English translation of the *Institutes* gives the following works as possible sources: Tertullian: *On repentance* VII,12; Gregory of Nazianzus: *On Holy Baptism*, Oratio XI,11 (Migne PG 36,371); Gregory of Nyssa: *Against Those Who Postpone Baptism* (Migne PG 46,415–432). Due to the uncertainty regarding the identification of its sources, this passage will also be omitted from the analysis.

In 15,7, where Calvin argues that the baptism of John is not different from that of the apostles, we find two quotations.

5) The first one is a reference to the eloquent patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom:

For who would rather listen to Chrysostom denying that forgiveness of sins was included in John’s baptism than to Luke asserting to the contrary that John the Baptist preached repentance unto forgiveness of sins [Luke 3:3]? (Inst IV 15,7).⁹⁸

The English translation gives Chrysostom’s homilies on Matthew as a source, homily X,1 (Migne PG 57,183.185), meanwhile in the marginal note of the 1559 edition, there is Homil. on Matth. 14.⁹⁹

6) Right after rejecting the interpretation of Chrysostom on the difference between the two types of baptisms, we read a short statement related to Augustine’s position:

In addition, we must not accept the subtle reasoning of Augustine that in the baptism of John sins were remitted in hope, but in the baptism of Christ are remitted in reality. (Inst IV 15,7).¹⁰⁰

Both the original 1559 edition¹⁰¹ and its modern English translation name Augustine’s *On baptism, against the Donatists* V, X,(12) as source.

⁹⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1305.

⁹⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1308–1309.

⁹⁹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.

¹⁰⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1309.

¹⁰¹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.

7) In 15,8, we find an anonymous reference to “early writers”, but based on the context of the section, I think it is a summarizing reference to the quotations from the previous section, and eventually to other early Christian writers:

I believe the early writers, when they said that the baptism of John was only a preparation for the baptism of Christ, were deceived only because they read that those who had once received the baptism of John were rebaptized by Paul [Acts 19:3, 6]. (Inst IV 15,8).¹⁰²

8) At the end of 15,8, where Calvin underlines that independently of the person who administers baptism Christ alone is its author, we have another reference (quotation) to Augustine:

For they are only ministers of the outward sign, but Christ is the author of inward grace, as those same ancient writers everywhere teach, and especially Augustine, who in controversy with the Donatists relied chiefly on this argument: whosoever may baptize, Christ alone presides. (Inst IV 15,8).¹⁰³

Meanwhile there is no source mentioned in the 1559 edition,¹⁰⁴ we find a reference to two works of Augustine in the footnote of this passage in the English translation: *Against the writings of Petilianus the Donatist* I,VI and III,XLIX,59 (Migne PL 43,249 and 379) and the *Against the letter of Parmenianus* II,XI,23 (Migne PL 43,67).

9) In 15,10, where Calvin argues that baptism does not set believers free from the original sin, we read an indirect reference without names, by which probably early Christian authors are meant:

Now, it is clear how false is the teaching, long propagated by some and still persisted in by others, that through baptism we are released and made exempt from original sin, and from the corruption that descended from Adam into all his posterity; and are restored into that same righteousness and purity of nature which Adam would have obtained if he had remained upright as he was first created. For teachers of this type never understood what original sin, what original righteousness, or what the grace of baptism was. (Inst IV 15,10).¹⁰⁵

The expression “the teaching long propagated” suggests the awareness or eventual use of early Christian writings. Nevertheless, since we do not have any specific references, I will not analyse this passage in this study.

¹⁰² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1309.

¹⁰³ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1310.

¹⁰⁴ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.

¹⁰⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1311.

10) In 15,16 we find a reference to the Donatists again who are compared with the Anabaptists (as Calvin says: Catabaptists) of the 16th century:

This argument neatly refutes the error of the Donatists, who measured the force and value of the sacrament by the worth of the minister. Such today are our Catabaptists, who deny that we have been duly baptized because we were baptized by impious and idolatrous men under the papal government. They therefore passionately urge rebaptism. (Inst IV 15,16).¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile there is no source mentioned in the 1559 edition,¹⁰⁷ in the footnote associated to this passage, there is an indication to such description of the Donatists in the following works of Augustine: *Psalms* 10,5 (Migne PL 36,134); *Letters* 89,5 (Migne PL 33,311).

11) At the beginning of 15,19, we find the description of the erroneous evolution of the baptismal rites which could also be an indirect reference to early Christian writings:

For, as though to be baptized with water according to Christ's precept were a contemptible thing, a benediction, or rather incantation was devised to defile the true consecration of water. Afterward, a candle was added, with the chrism. However, exsufflation seemed to open the gate to baptism. Though I am aware how ancient the origin of this alien hodge-podge is, I still have the right, together with all pious men, to reject whatever men have dared to add to Christ's institution. (Inst IV 15,19).¹⁰⁸

Here Calvin rejects the erroneous baptismal practices of the Church of Rome. I deem this assertion of Calvin rather a simple historical remark than a real patristic reference. Unfolding the early Christian sources would need a more specific study which would exceed the frames of the present paper.

In 15,20, where Calvin speaks against "emergency baptism", we surely find patristic quotations and references. Here we find two references and one quotation.

12) First, a general reference to a custom which was practiced "from the beginning of the church":

For many ages past and almost from the beginning of the church, it was a custom for laymen to baptize those in danger of death if a minister was not present at the time. (Inst IV 15,20).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1316.

¹⁰⁷ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 486.

¹⁰⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1319.

¹⁰⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1320.

The English translation of the *Institutes* that we use indicates Tertullian's *De baptismo* XVII as the source of this statement, meanwhile in the 1559 edition we find no reference to the source. Nevertheless, as we will see it later, Calvin's source for this reference is rather the *Decretum Gratiani* where a similar statement attributed to Augustine can be read. I, however, due to the incertitude around the authorship, will count it as a reference with an unknown source.

13) Regarding the incertitude of the early Church around the emergency baptism administered by laymen, Calvin quotes Augustine:

Now Augustine displays this doubt when he says, "Even if a layman compelled by necessity should give baptism, I do not know whether anyone might piously say that it should be repeated. For if no necessity compels it to be done, it is a usurping of another's office; but if necessity urges it, it is either no sin at all or a venial one." (Inst IV 15,20).¹¹⁰

Both the 1559 edition¹¹¹ and the footnote related to this quotation in the English translation indicate Augustine's work as source: *Against the letter of Parmenianus* II. XIII,29 (Migne PL 43,71).

14) Right after the above-mentioned passage in which Calvin writes against the emergency baptism administered by non-professionals, he quotes the decree of the Council of Carthage which prohibited the administration of baptism by women as well:

Concerning women, it was decreed without exception in the Council of Carthage that they should not presume to baptize at all. (Inst IV 15,20).¹¹²

Calvin himself indicates chapter 100 of the decrees of the council as source in the marginal note of this passage.¹¹³ As the source of the decree of the Council of Carthage, the *Decretum Gratiani* III. IV,20 (Migne PL 187,1800) is indicated.

In 15,21, where Calvin returns to the argumentation that women are not permitted to baptize, we find patristic references to Tertullian and Epiphanius of Salamis again:

15) First, he refers to Tertullian who excluded women completely from public speaking in church and from administering sacraments:

The practice before Augustine was born is first inferred from Tertullian, who held that a woman was not allowed to speak in the church, and also not to teach, to baptize, or to of-

¹¹⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1320–21.

¹¹¹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 487.

¹¹² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321.

¹¹³ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 487.

fer. This was that she might not claim for herself the function of any man, much less that of a priest. (Inst IV 15,21).¹¹⁴

The 1559 edition gives no indication to the source of this statement, but the English translation of the *Institutes* indicates Tertullian's *De baptismo* XVII.

16) Thereafter, we find a reference to the work of Epiphanius of Salamis:

Epiphanius also is a trustworthy witness of this matter when he upbraids Marcion for having given women permission to baptize. In addition, I am well aware of the answer of those who think otherwise that there is a great difference between common usage and an extraordinary remedy required by dire necessity. Nevertheless, since Epiphanius declares that it is a mockery to give women the right to baptize and makes no exception, it is clear enough that he condemns this corrupt practice as inexcusable under any pretext. Also in the third book, where he teaches that permission was not even given to the holy mother of Christ, he adds no reservation. (Inst IV 15,21).¹¹⁵

Epiphanius's works, Panarion XLII,4 and LXXIX,3 (Migne PG 41,699 and 42,745) are indicated as sources of the above presented thoughts in the English translation. In the marginal note of the 1559 edition, we find the source mentioned as: "Lib. contra haeres. 1.".¹¹⁶

17) At the end of 16,8 where Calvin argues that the "silence of Scripture on the practice of the infant baptism" is not an evidence for its absence, we read the following sentence:

For indeed, there is no writer, however ancient, who does not regard its origin in the apostolic age as a certainty. (Inst IV 16,8).¹¹⁷

Although there is no source mentioned in the 1559 edition,¹¹⁸ the English translation indicates the following works as sources of this statement: Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* II. XXII,4 (Migne PG 7,784); Origen's *Commentary on Romans* V,IX (Migne PG 14,1047) and Cyprian's *Letters* LXIV,6.

18) In 16,16 which deals with the apparent differences between infant baptism and circumcision, we read an allegoric interpretation of the 8th day:

¹¹⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321.

¹¹⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321–22.

¹¹⁶ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 488.

¹¹⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1331.

¹¹⁸ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 491.

If they wanted to allegorize upon the eighth day, it was still not fitting to do so in this way. According to the old writers, it would be more fitting to refer the number eight to the resurrection (which took place on the eighth day), upon which we know that newness of life depends; or to the whole course of the present life, during which mortification ought always to proceed until, when life is finished, it also is accomplished. (Inst IV 16,16).¹¹⁹

Augustine's *Letters* CLVII,14 (Migne PL 33,680) and *Against Faustus the Manichee* XVI,29 (Migne PL 42,335) are indicated as sources of the statement in the English translation, meanwhile there are no indicated sources in the 1559 edition.¹²⁰

19) At the beginning of 16,30, which deals with the relation between infant baptism and Lord's Supper, we read:

Furthermore, they object that there is no more reason to administer baptism to infants than the Lord's Supper, which is not permitted to them. As if, Scripture did not mark a wide difference in every respect! This permission was indeed commonly given in the ancient church, as is clear from Cyprian and Augustine, but the custom has deservedly fallen into disuse. (Inst IV 16,30).¹²¹

As sources of this statement, Cyprian's *On the Lapsed* IX, XXV, Augustine's *On the merits and remission of sins* I, XX,27 (Migne PL 44,124) and *Letters* CCXVII 5,16 (Migne Pl 33,984) are mentioned. In the original 1559 edition, there is no source named for this reference.¹²²

* * * * *

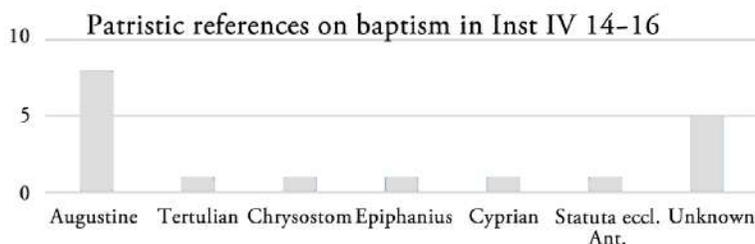
For a better overview, I present the patristic quotations and references related to baptism in a diagram. Obviously, the most often quoted Church Father is Augustine (8 quotations and references). There is one reference or quotation from the following authors: Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Epiphanius and the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* of Gennadius of Marseilles. On account of the incertitude around the identification of sources, I count five references from unknown authors. A reference from the beginning of Inst IV 15, 8 is only an allusion to the quotations from Inst IV 15, 7 on the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ. If we wish to delineate the quantity of the 18 quotations and references on baptism, we obtain the following figure:

¹¹⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1338–39.

¹²⁰ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christiana religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 494.

¹²¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1352.

¹²² Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christiana religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 499.



We have to recognize that many of the source indications are only presumptions because there are only a few marginal notes indicating the sources of quotations (references) in the “original” 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. In this list, I will analyse only the quotations and references that are indicated either by Calvin himself in the “original” 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, or, based on the comparison with the works of other reformers, I adjudge that we can estimate Calvin’s sources pretty precisely.

ACCEDAT VERBUM AD ELEMENTUM ET FIET SACRAMENTUM...

In Inst 14,4, arguing that the Word must explain the sign and refuting the “monstrous profanation of the mysteries by the “papal tyranny”, Calvin quotes Augustine’s famous words related to baptism concerning the creation of the sacrament:

At longe aliter de verbo sacramentali docet Augustinus. Accedat, inquit, verbum ad elementum, et fiet sacramentum: unde enim ista tanta virtus aquae ut corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur; nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus, inquit apostolus; unde in Actis apostolorum: fide mundans corda eorum; et Petrus apostolus: sic et nos baptisma salvos facit, non depositio sordium carnis, sed conscientiae bonae interrogatio. Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus: quo sine dubio, ut

Augustine’s teaching concerning the sacramental word is far different: “Let the word be added to the element and it will become a sacrament. For whence comes this great power of water, that in touching the body it should cleanse the heart, unless the word makes it? Not because it is said, but because it is believed. In the word itself the fleeting sound is one thing; the power remaining, another. ‘This is the word of faith which we proclaim,’ says the apostle [Rom 10:8]. Accordingly, in The Acts of the Apostles: ‘Cleansing their hearts by faith’ [Acts 15:9]. In addition, the apostle Peter: ‘Thus baptism... saves us, not as a removal of filth from the flesh, but as an appeal... for a good conscience...’ [I Peter 3:21 p.]. ‘This is the word of faith which we proclaim’ [Rom. 10:8], by which doubtless baptism, that it

mundare possit, consecratur et baptismus. ¹²³	may be able to cleanse, is also consecrated.” (Inst IV 14,4). ¹²⁴
--	--

Calvin himself indicates Augustin’s 80th homily on John 15,1–3 as source. According to the chronological table on the website www.augustinus.it which contains a collection of Augustine’s works, this homily was preached after the year 422¹²⁵ which was the last period of his life, determined by the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian debate.

However, the text of the homilies can be found both in the humanist editions of the 16th century and in the modern editions and at the same time, I find it important to use an edition that – most probably – could be the edition used by Calvin, or at least very similar to it. According to Irena Backus,

we can conclude reasonably safely that at the time of his quarrel with Pighius he used either the Basel 1527/1528 edition of Augustine by Erasmus or one of the Parisian revisions of it (Claude Chevallon, 1531/1532; Yolande Bonhomme and Charlotte Guillard, 1541).¹²⁶

Based on Irena Backus’s statement, I will quote the Latin text of the Augustinian homilies from the 1528/1529 Basel edition of Augustine by Erasmus.

The homily from which the above-mentioned passage is quoted can be found in volume 9 of the Basel edition. If we compare the text of the homily with the text of Calvin’s quotation, we can see that it is an almost word-for-word quotation with some omissions and minor stylistic alterations. In order to see these differences more clearly, we quote the text of Augustine (from the Basel edition) – italicizing the differences:¹²⁷

<i>Iam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait, propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis; nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit</i>	Now you are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Why does He not say, You are clean through the baptism wherewith you have been washed, but through the word which I have spoken unto you, save only that in the water also it is the word that cleanses? Take away the word, and the water is neither more nor less than water. The word is added to the element, and
--	--

¹²³ Calvinus, Joannes: Institutio christianae religionis 1559. In: Barth, Petrus – Niesel, Guilelmus (eds.): *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Volumen 5. Chr. Kaiser, München 1936. 261. (In the followings abbreviated: Calvini OS 5).

¹²⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1279.

¹²⁵ See: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/commento_vsg/index2.htm (accessed: 13th May 2015).

¹²⁶ Backus, Irena: Theological relations: Calvin and the Church Fathers. In: Selderhuis, Herman (ed.): *Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 126. I have to mention here that the Basel edition of Augustine by Erasmus appeared in 1528/1529, not in 1527/1528.

¹²⁷ Augustinus: In Evangelium Ioannis, expositio. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529. 303B.

sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum. Nam et hoc utique dixerat, quando pedes discipulis lavit: Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus. Unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo: non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo, aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus, ait Apostolus, *quia si confessus fueris in ore tuo quia Dominus est Iesus, et credideris in corde tuo quia Deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.* Unde in Actibus Apostolorum legitur: Fide mundans corda eorum: et in Epistola sua *beatus Petrus*: Sic et vos, inquit: Baptisma salvos facit; non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiae bonae interrogatio. Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus: quo sine dubio ut mundare possit, consecratur et Baptismus.

there results the Sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word. For He had said also to the same effect, when washing the disciples’ feet, He that is washed needs not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit. And whence has water so great an efficacy, as in touching the body to cleanse the soul, save by the operation of the word; and that not because it is uttered, but because it is believed? For even in the word itself the passing sound is one thing, the abiding efficacy another. This is the word of faith which we preach, says the apostle, that if you shall confess with your mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and shall believe in your heart that God has raised Him from the dead, you shall be saved. For with the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. (Romans 10,10) Accordingly, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, Purifying their hearts by faith; (Acts 15,9) and the blessed Peter says in his epistle, Even as baptism does also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience. This is the word of faith which we preach, whereby baptism, doubtless, is also consecrated, in order to its possession of the power to cleanse.¹²⁸

I find that the role of changes carried out in Calvin’s quotation does not alter the essence of Augustine’s texts related to the sacraments but they are of different nature. For example, When Augustine writes about “*beatus Petrus*”, Calvin quotes it simply as “*Petrus apostolus*”. I think, in this case, Calvin simply wanted to evade any kind of overstatement of the Church of Rome. In the following sentence where Augustine quotes Peter’s words “*Sic et vos, inquit: Baptisma salvos facit*”, Calvin quotes them as “*sic et nos baptisma salvos facit*”. In my opinion, Calvin wanted to apply here the apostolic message to the whole community of the Church of Christ – including himself –, and personalizing the biblical doctrine, he used “*nos*” instead of the original “*vos*”. The sentences omitted by Calvin do not modify Augustine’s aim: I think that the introductory sentence which determines the context of Augustine’s assertion is omitted in order to emphasize the sacrament-making strength of the Word (*Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*), and the other sentences are omitted in order to keep the quotation

¹²⁸ Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 80.*

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701080.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)

shorter. In the first sentence quoted by Calvin, we can see that he used the verbs of the sentence in a different form from Augustine: instead of 3rd person singular, indicative active present of the “accedo” (accedit), he used a subjunctive form (accedat). In the case of “fio”, he used the future form (fiet) instead of the 3rd person singular, indicative active present (fit) used by Augustine. I think that in the case of “accedo”, using the subjunctive form was a grammatical necessity in building the quotation into the text of the *Institutes*, while by using “fiet” instead of “fit”, Calvin emphasised that the “coming into being” of the sacrament is the result of the “addition of the Word to the element” (accedit Verbum).

This quotation proves that Calvin and Augustine are of the same opinion regarding the essence of the sacrament. I find that the key-expression is the water of the baptism which has its great heart-cleansing power “*non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*”. This way, the effect of the sacrament – that of baptism in this case – is close-knitted to faith. The lavation of baptism does not operate by itself as a “Ding an sich” (to use a Kantian expression) but only if God’s Word is added to the water. Furthermore, it seems like both Calvin and Augustine believe that adding the Word to the element is meant as a description of faith, which is “perceptible” in the term used twice in the quotation: “*Verbum fidei*”.

The *Institutes* reveals that Calvin’s primary aim is to avoid using the Word as a “mere noise, like a magic incantation”. Therefore, he underlines the importance of faith and makes it unambiguous that the word which is added to the element is God’s Word, and it must be accepted (received) with faith. For, according to Calvin, it is not enough if “the priest mumbled the formula of consecration while the people looked on bewildered and without comprehension” because this way “nothing of doctrine should penetrate to the people”. Calvin declares not only the formula of the sacrament’s institution but also that preaching in the native language of people as the “*sine qua non*”-condition of receiving the sacrament with faith. This addition of the Word (the formula of institution and preaching) to the element will have, according to Calvin, a magnificent result: it will unequivocally show what the Church (as an institution and the believers as its members) has to follow. As Calvin himself states,

we need not labour to prove this when it is perfectly clear what Christ did, what he commanded us to do, what the apostles followed, and what the purer church observed.¹²⁹

POSSIBLE INFLUENCES

Augustine’s ideas occur also in the *Decretum Gratiani* – which, especially in his early years, was an important source for Calvin in getting acquainted with the Church Fathers –, but in a much shorter form:

¹²⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1279.

Detrahe verbum, quid est aqua nisi aqua? accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum. Unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur. Nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens.¹³⁰

We might suppose that the *Decretum Gratiani* was among Calvin’s first sources in learning the relation between the matter of the sacrament and the Word, and later he amplified his knowledge from the eventual works of the co-Reformers and Augustine’s *Opera omnia* edition.

Among the works of other Reformers, I shall mention *Martin Luther’s* Larger Catechism from 1530 in which he quotes Augustine’s axiom

It is the Word (I say) which makes and distinguishes this Sacrament, so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called, the body and blood of Christ. For it is said: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*. If the Word be joined to the element it becomes a Sacrament. This saying of St. Augustine is so properly and so well put that he has scarcely said anything better. The Word must make a Sacrament of the element; else it remains a mere element. Now, it is not the word or ordinance of a prince or emperor, but of the sublime Majesty, at whose feet all creatures should fall, and affirm it is as He says, and accept it with all reverence fear, and humility.¹³¹

This short catechetical instruction shows that Luther emphasizes that the visible matter forms the sacrament only with God’s Word together. He deems Augustine’s formulation to be appropriate and accurate.

If we look into the former editions of the *Institutes*, we might find that this Augustinian quotation does not appear in the 1536 edition. Nevertheless, two fragments of it can be found in two different parts of this edition. The famous thesis “*accedat verbum ad elementum et fiet sacramentum*” appears in chapter 5 where the author speaks about false sacraments, namely about confirmation.¹³² In the 1539 edition, it appears the same way.¹³³ The other part of the quotation (*non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*) appears in a different context both in the 1536 and the 1539 editions. Calvin inserts Augustine’s assertion where he writes about the effect of the Word in the sacrament (*ef-*

¹³⁰ *Decretum Gratiani. Secunda pars. Causa I., Quaestio I., c. 54.* Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879. col. 379. See: http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/kapitel/dc_chapter_1_1133 (accessed: 17th May 2015)

¹³¹ Luther, Martin: *Larger Catechism*. See: <http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/luther/catechism/web/cat-14.html> (accessed: 17th May 2015)

¹³² Calvinus, Joannes: *christianae religionis Institutio*. In: Barth, Petrus – Niesel, Guilelmus (eds.): *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Volumen 1. Chr. Kaiser, München 1926. 163. (In the followings abbreviated: Calvini OS 1).

¹³³ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribellium, Strasbourg 1539. 394.

fficacia Verbi in sacramento).¹³⁴ The Augustinian quotation appears as a whole for the very first time – as we find it in the 1559 edition – in the 1543 edition (16th chapter, *De sacramentis*).¹³⁵

I'd find a short review timely to see how this quotation occurs in the *Decades* of *Bullinger*. It is important because Bullinger's aim was the same with his *Decades* as Calvin's with his *Institutes*. Furthermore, if we read these two works parallelly, the similarities and differences regarding both the content and structure will be obvious, as well as the usage of the Church Fathers' works. We can find the fragments of this Augustinian quotation in two different sections of the 6th sermon on the sacraments, in the fifth decade.

Arguing that God is the only author of the sacraments, he quotes Augustine's sentence "*accedit Verbum ad elementum et fiet sacramentum*" in the following context:

Hic accedit quod sacramenta divinae erga nos voluntatis & benevolentiae testimonia & quasi sigilla sunt. [...] Iam & S. Augustinus, quod omnium in ore versatur, dixisse legitur, Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum: unde colligimus in sacramentis potissimas partes habere ipsum dei verbum: verbum inquam Dei, non verbum hominum, non ecclesiae: unde denuo sequitur signum proficisci oportere ab ipso Deo, non ullis hominibus, licet numero multis, eruditione doctis, & vitae innocentia sanctis: ut iam alius author sacramentorum esse nequeat, quam Deus solus. Quemadmodum vero recipimus verbum salutis & gratiae, ita necesse est nos accipere & signa gratiae. Licet autem verbum Dei nobis annuncietur ab hominibus, non tamen illud amplectimur tanquam verbum hominis, sed veluti verbum Dei, iuxta illud apostoli: Cum acciperetis sermonem a nobis. accepistis non sermonem

Hereunto is added, that sacraments are testimonies, and as it were seals, of God's good will and favour toward us. [...] In this behalf is read that saying of St. Augustine, which is in every man's mouth: "The word is added to the element, and there is made a sacrament". Whereby we gather, that in the institution of sacraments the word of God obtaineth principal place, and hath most ado; the word, I say, of God, not the word of men, nor yet of the church: whereupon it followeth, that the sign ought to have his proceeding even from God himself, and not from any manner of men, be they never so many, be they never so clerklike or learned, be they never so harmless and holy of life: of that now there can be no other author of sacraments than God himself alone. As we do receive the word of salvation and grace, so it is needful also that we receive the signs of grace. Although the word of God be preached unto us by men, yet we receive it not as the word of man, but as the word of God, according to the saying of the apostle: When ye had received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received

¹³⁴ Calvini OS 1, 120.

¹³⁵ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribeliium, Strasbourg 1543. 398.

hominum, sed sicut erat, vere sermonem Dei. ¹³⁶	it not as the word of men, but (as it is indeed) the word of God. ¹³⁷
--	--

This very clear and unambiguous argumentation needs no further clarification. I note only that while Calvin (beginning with the 1543 edition of the *Institutes*) quotes this Augustinian axiom in a larger context (i.e., that of baptism), Bullinger quotes it generally about the sacraments (as Calvin did in the 1536 and 1539 editions).

A bit further, speaking of the life-purifying power of faith, he quotes the other fragment from Augustine’s 80th treatise on John’s Gospel (non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur). Here Bullinger quotes it without the “*accedit verbum ad elementum*”, and he begins the quotation directly with the question: “*unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo*”. Since Bullinger quotes this passage as a whole (as I quoted it above in the comparison of Calvin’s and Augustine’s text), in order to avoid superfluous repetition, I shall not insert the text of the quotation here. I merely note that Bullinger’s quotation is longer than Calvin’s, and they apply it in order to reach different goals. While Calvin argues that “sacrament requires preaching to beget faith” (Inst IV 14,3) with this quotation, Bullinger emphasizes that the “word of faith preached does truly cleanse”, whereby “baptism is consecrated that it might have power to cleanse”.¹³⁸ By the expression “the word of faith preached” Bullinger does not mean the regular sermon but the formula of institution of the sacrament.

The above-mentioned similarities suggest both a strong relation and independence between Calvin and Bullinger. On the one hand, Bullinger probably used the 1539 edition of the *Institutes* (the order of the sermons of the *Decades*). E.g., he quotes the Augustinian passage in two fragments or he embeds it into a similar context to that of Calvin. On the other hand, it is safe to say that Bullinger did not borrow Calvin’s patristic sources in a servile way but he built them in as organic parts of his own argumentation, and when he felt it necessary, he completed them from the extant patristic editions. However, he quotes the second part of the Augustinian passage (*non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*) separately from its opening sentence; the quotation is much longer than in Calvin’s 1543 or 1559 *Institutes*. This longer and more complete quotation presupposes that Bullinger owned (or used) the edition of Augustine’s works which contained the quoted passage.

To determine the connection between Bullinger’s *Decades* and Calvin’s *Institutes*, we have to reckon with the following factors:

¹³⁶ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VI. De Sacramentis. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 324 verso.

¹³⁷ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 240.

¹³⁸ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 259.

- in the 1543 *Institutes*, we find the two fragments quoted as one unit
- in Bullinger's *Decades*, we find them as they are in the 1536 and 1539 editions of the *Institutes* (i.e., in two fragments), however, the second part of the Augustinian passage is quite different from Calvin's;
- furthermore, the structure of Bullinger's *Decades* follows not only the structure and logic of the 1539 *Institutes* but the manner of using the patristic references and quotations as well.

Based on these clues, it seems more likely that it was Bullinger who drew inspiration from Calvin's work, but it is also obvious that he did it without any servility. Reading Bullinger's dogmatic and theological sermons, we can ascertain that the follower of Zwingli in Zürich was a diligent student of the Church Fathers, and he attempted to know the larger context of the patristic references which he read in Calvin's *Institutes* or anywhere else.

GRATIA: VIRTUS SACRAMENTORUM

In Inst IV 14,15 Calvin argues that there is a difference between the matter of the sacrament and that of the sign. To prove the necessity of this distinction, he quotes Augustine's ideas on more occasions. In one of these quotations, we find information not only on the sacraments in general but also on baptism:

Hinc illa, si rite intelligatur, inter sacramentum et rem sacramenti ab eodem Augustino saepius notata distinctio. [...] De separatione loquitur [...] ubi de Iudaeis sic scribit: *sacramenta quum essent omnibus communia, non erat communis gratia; quae virtus est sacramentorum: sic et nunc commune est omnibus lavacrum regenerationis; sed ipsa gratia qua membra Christi cum suo capite regenerantur, non omnibus est communis.*¹³⁹

Hence the distinction (if it be duly understood) between a sacrament and the matter of the sacrament often noted by the same Augustine. [...] He speaks of their separation when [...] he writes thus of the Jews: "Although the sacraments were common to all, grace was not common—which is the power of the sacraments. So also the laver of regeneration [Titus 3:5] is now common to all; but grace itself, by which the members of Christ are regenerated with their Head, is not common to all." (Inst IV 14,15).¹⁴⁰

The 1559 edition of the *Institutes* indicates "In Psalmum 78" as source. In the footnote of the English translation, we find the following information: "Augustine, Psalms, Ps. 77,2 (in substance) (Migne PL 36,983 f.; translation NPNF VIII. 367 [Ps. 78,2])."¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Calvini OS 5, 272.

¹⁴⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1290.

¹⁴¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1290.

The explanation of this psalm can be found in volume 8 of the Basel edition of Augustine's works. After quoting from 1Cor 10,14, Augustine explains the psalm the following way:

Sed utique sacramentum regni coelorum velabatur in Veteri Testamento, quod plenitudine temporis revelaretur in Novo. Nolo enim vos ait Apostolus, ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes per mare transierunt, et omnes per Moysen baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, et omnes eundem cibum spiritualement manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualement biberunt: bibebant enim de spirituali consequente eos petra; petra autem erat Christus. Idem itaque in mysterio cibus et potus illorum qui noster; sed significatione idem, non specie; quia idem ipse Christus illis in petra figuratus, nobis in carne manifestatus. Sed non, inquit, in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo. Omnes quidem eundem cibum spiritualement manducaverunt, et eundem potum spiritualement biberunt, id est, spirituale aliquid significantem; sed non in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo. Cum dicit: Non in omnibus, erant ergo ibi aliqui in quibus beneplacitum est Deo; *et cum essent omnia communia sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia, quae sacramentorum virtus est. Sicut et nunc iam revelata fide quae tunc velabatur, omnibus in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti baptizatis, commune est lavacrum regenerationis; sed ipsa gratia cuius ipsa sunt Sacramenta, qua membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus.*¹⁴² Nam et haeretici habent eundem Baptismum, et falsi fratres in communionem catholici nominis. Ergo et hic recte dicitur: Sed non in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo.¹⁴³

But without doubt the mystery of the Kingdom of Heaven was veiled in the Old Testament, which in the fullness of time should be unveiled in the New. For, says the Apostle, "I do not want you to be ignorant of the fact, brethren, that our ancestors were all under the cloud and that they all passed through the sea. They were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea. They all ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink; for they drank from the spiritual rock that accompanied them, and that rock was Christ." In a mystery therefore theirs was the same meat and drink as ours, but in signification the same, not in form; because the same Christ was Himself figured to them in a Rock, manifested to us in the Flesh. But, he says, not in all of them God was well pleased. All indeed ate the same spiritual meat and drank the same spiritual drink, that is to say, signifying something spiritual: but not in all of them was God well pleased. When, he says, not in all: there were evidently there some in who was God well pleased; and although all the Sacraments were common, grace, which is the virtue of the Sacraments, was not common to all. Just as in our times, now that the faith has been revealed, which then was veiled, to all men that have been baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the Laver of regeneration is common; but the very grace whereof these same are the Sacraments, whereby the members of the Body of Christ are to reign together with their Head, is not common to all. For even heretics have the same Baptism and false brethren too, in the communion of the Catholic name.¹⁴⁴

The chronological table on www.augustinus.it¹⁴⁵ indicates the period between the years 414–416 as the date of origin of this psalm-exposition. It means that the bishop of Hippo explained Psalm 77/78 in the first decennia of the Pelagian controversy which ran parallelly with the Donatist debate. Although Donatism was banned in 411 (because of the council of Carthage) by an edict of the emperor, the movement persisted in North Africa until the 7th century, when the emerging Islam assimilated it with Catholicism, its former theological adversary. The “imprints” of Augustine’s polemical position are perceptible in this passage as well, e.g., when Augustine highlights that “grace is the virtue of the Sacraments”. At the end of the quoted passage, Augustinus mentions that also the heretics, the “false brethren” have “the same Baptism”, but he gives no further indication concerning their identity. However, seeing the historical text of the years 414–416 raises the question: which is the most suitable way to interpret this statement by Augustine? Can it be interpreted as an anti-Donatist assertion; or rather, can it be used against Pelagianism? According to scholars, one can discover three lines of polemics in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*: very rarely against the Manichaeans (e.g. Ps 140,8–12; Ps 146,13), he emphasizes the priority of grace against the Pelagians in other cases (e.g. Ps 70,1–2; Ps 144,10), and a great attention is paid to the dispute with Donatism as to a complex conflict of conceptions about the image of the true church.¹⁴⁶ Most probably, the Donatists were the primary adversaries who were accused of measuring the power and the effect of the sacraments as a gear of the person who administers it – and this way having disregarded the role of God’s grace. Interpreting this passage in an anti-Pelagianaist way, we must cut it adrift from the context of the sacraments, and place it in an anthropological, hamartiological and soteriological context.

As primary context of Augustine’s assertion concerning the Sacraments, especially baptism, we must consider that here he explains the following words of the psalmist “*hearken, My people, unto My law*”, and that based on this biblical verse, he speaks about the relation between the Old and the New Testament. Furthermore, it is also important that Augustine explain this verse of the Psalm with Paul’s sayings from 1 Corinthians 10,1–5. Augustine argues, “the mystery of the Kingdom of Heaven was veiled in the Old Testament, which in the fullness of time should be unveiled in the New”. He underlines that both the Old and the New Testament testify about the same

¹⁴² The passage in italics is the passage quoted in Calvin’s *Institutes*.

¹⁴³ Augustinus: *Enarratio in Psalmum 77*. In: *Octavus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hippo-nensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529. 586D.

¹⁴⁴ Augustine: *Exposition on Psalm 78*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801078.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015.)

¹⁴⁵ See: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/esposizioni_salmi/index2.htm (accessed on 23rd May 2015)

¹⁴⁶ Cameron, Michael: “Enarrationes in Psalmos” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999. 294.

Christ – in different forms: “*the same Christ was Himself figured to them* [i.e., the people of the Old Testament liberated from Egypt – noted by the author] *in a Rock, manifested to us in the Flesh*”. However, each of them was a partaker in God’s miraculous liberation and of the spiritual feeding (see: baptizing in the cloud and in the sea; eating from the same spiritual food and drinking the same spiritual drink), “*God was not pleased in all of them*”. Based on this analogy, Augustine asserts that in the case of the sacraments of the Christian Church, “sacraments are common, but grace, which is the virtue of the sacraments, is not common to all”. Through this argumentation, Augustine emphasizes that the effectiveness of the sacraments is not the result of the human action but of God’s elective grace.

Calvin turns Augustine’s argument against the Church of Rome which is accused of attaching some sort of secret powers to the sacrament and this way weakening it (see: Inst IV 14,14). As Calvin saw that the matter of the sacrament and sign ran into one another in the interpretation of the Church of Rome, and that the matter of the sacrament gained more importance, he argued that sign and matter must be distinguished. The matter of the sacrament is common to all, but the sign, God’s grace, which is the virtue of the sacrament, is not common to all. In the case of baptism, “the laver of regeneration is now common to all; but grace itself, by which the members of Christ are regenerated with their Head, is not common to all”. Through this argumentation, Calvin wanted to abolish those magical conceptions of the sacrament which partly emphasized the human action (in this case the delivery of the matter), and which partly obscured its biblical meaning, creating other complementary sacramental actions. Therefore, in the defence of the absolute autocratic role of the grace concerning the effectiveness of the sacraments (*sola gratia*), he concludes:

But that you may have not a sign empty of truth but the matter with the sign, you must apprehend in faith the word, which is included there. As much, then, as you will profit through the sacraments in the partaking of Christ, so much profit will you receive from them. (Inst IV 14,15)¹⁴⁷

Looking back into the former editions of the *Institutes*, we find that this quotation from Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 77/78 appears in the 1543 edition for the first time.

We can find this quotation in **Bullinger**’s sermon on the sacraments (fifth decade, 6th sermon) as well, used in the argumentation about the sacraments of the Old and the New Testament being the same. He presents many quotations by Augustine, among which we can also find the passage from the commentary on Psalm 77/78. If we compare the text of this quotation in Calvin’s *Institutes* with the text in Bullinger’s work, we see that Bullinger quotes Augustine in a longer way than Calvin. The difference of the context in Calvin’s and Bullinger’s work is eye-catching at first glance. Calvin, in

¹⁴⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1291.

order to prevent a magical concept of the sacrament, underlines the necessity of differentiating the matter and the sign – and therefore he brings forward many quotations from Augustine’s works. Meanwhile, Bullinger aims to show the oneness of the sacraments in the Old and the New Testament. He argues, using the quotations from Augustine’s works, that the signs or the sacraments both of the Old and of the New Testament are equal and alike, and that the only difference between them rests in the diversity of the time; otherwise, they do not differ.¹⁴⁸

THE BAPTISM OF JOHN AND THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

Concerning this topic, we found two patristic quotations which Calvin uses to reject the position of the Church Fathers who made distinctions between the baptism of John and that of Christ and of the apostles. Both quotations appeared in the 1539 edition of the *Institutes* for the very first time.

QUIS ENIM CHRYSOSTOMO POTIUS AUSCULTET?

John Chrysostom, one of the most famous patriarchs of Constantinople, is the third most often quoted Church Father, both with his *Opera omnia* and his *Institute*. According to scholarly opinions in exegetical questions, Calvin esteemed Chrysostom more than Augustine who had a more normative theological opinion in dogmatic questions.¹⁴⁹ Based on Calvin’s vast knowledge of Chrysostom that he proves in his works, J. F. Gilmont concludes that Calvin read the works of Chrysostom not only once or occasionally but rather frequently.¹⁵⁰ Calvin declared in his response to the defamations of Albert Pighius that he did not mutilate Chrysostom’s ideas but he quoted them word for word as he read them in his own writings.¹⁵¹ From a modern Calvin-research we know that Calvin used the 1536 Chevallon-edition of John Chrysostom’s works¹⁵², which he probably acquired during his stay in Strasbourg.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 301.

¹⁴⁹ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 39–41.

¹⁵⁰ Gilmont, Jean-François: *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 2005. 161–62.

¹⁵¹ Calvin, John (auth.) – Lane, Anthony (ed.) – Davies, Graham (translator): *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will: A Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine of Human Choice Against Pighius*. Pater-noster 1996. 31.

¹⁵² Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. 48.; *ibidem* 168.; Backus, Irena: *Theological Relations – Calvin and the Church Fathers*. in: Selderhuis, Herman J. (ed.): *The Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 126.; Ganoczy, Alexandre – Müller, Klaus: *Calvins handschriftliche Annotationen zu Chrysostomus*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1991.

¹⁵³ Gilmont, Jean-François: *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 2005. 161.

We find the following reference to Chrysostom in Inst IV 15,7:

Quis enim Chrysostomo potius auscultet, neganti in Ioannis baptismo comprehensam fuisse peccatorum remissionem, quam Lucae (6,3) contra asserenti, Ioannem baptismum poenitentiae praedicasse in peccatorum remissionem?¹⁵⁴

For who would rather listen to Chrysostom denying that forgiveness of sins was included in John’s baptism than to Luke asserting to the contrary that John the Baptist preached repentance unto forgiveness of sins [Luke 3:3]? (Inst IV 15,7).¹⁵⁵

In the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, the “Homil. on Matth. 14.” by Chrysostom is indicated as a source.¹⁵⁶ However, if we read Chrysostom’s homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, we will see that Calvin’s reference is more suitable for the 10th homily on Matthew 3,1–2 as it is referred to in the English translation used in the present survey.¹⁵⁷ The homilies on the Gospel of Matthew were delivered in Antioch, as it “is evident from a passage of the seventh homily and most probably in 390”.¹⁵⁸ As general characteristics of these homilies, Quasten underlines that Chrysostom oftentimes refutes both the claim of the Manichees that the Old Testament is widely different from the New one, and the Christology of the Arians, according to which Christ is not equal with the Father but is of an inferior rank.¹⁵⁹

In the Chevallon-edition of Chrysostom’s works used by Calvin, we find the following text:¹⁶⁰

Verbum Domini factum est ad Ioannem filium Zachariae: id est, praeceptum Dei. Et ipse ait: qui me misit baptizare in aqua, ille mihi dixit, super quem videris Spiritum Sanctum descendentem, hic ext qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto.

Qua vero de causa ad baptizandi est missus officium? Et hoc nobis idem Baptista declarat, dicens: quoniam venerit in regio-

The word of the Lord (that is, His commandment) came unto John, the son of Zacharias. He himself said: “He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said to me, upon whom you will see the Spirit descending, the same is Who which baptizes with the Holy Spirit.”

Wherefore then was he sent to baptize? The Baptist again makes this also plain to us, saying that “he came into the country about

¹⁵⁴ Calvini OS 5, 290.

¹⁵⁵ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1308–1309.

¹⁵⁶ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.

¹⁵⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1308–1309.

¹⁵⁸ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 437.

¹⁵⁹ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 437.

¹⁶⁰ *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536. 25M.

ne Iordanis, praedicans baptismum poenitentiae, in remissionem peccatorum, & certe remissionem hoc baptismum non habebat. Hoc enim munus illius baptismatis erat, quod postea Christus instituit. In hoc enim vetus homo noster crucifixus est, ac sepultus, & ante crucem nusquam prorsus remissio extitit peccatorum.

Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins”, and yet it had not remission. This [i.e., the remission of sins] was the duty of that baptism, which Christ has established afterwards. For in this our old man is crucified and buried, and before the cross there does not appear remission of sins anywhere.

Furthermore, if we compare the text from the Chevallon-edition with the Greek text by Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca* (which I believe is much more akin to the original text of Chrysostom¹⁶¹), we can see that there are no major differences between the two texts, except for some stylistic differences. The Latin translation made by Anianus of Celeda¹⁶² is of relatively good quality and it reflects Chrysostom’s original thoughts.

Calvin, stating that according to Chrysostom, remission of sins was not included in the baptism of John, is right – but it is only one side of the coin. For Chrysostom goes further, showing the relation between the baptism of John and that of Jesus. His starting point is that “before the cross there does not appear remission of sins anywhere”. Based on this idea, he argues that the remission of sins can be attributed only to the baptism instituted by Jesus. According to Chrysostom’s approach, the role of John’s baptism was to bring the Jews who “were senseless, and had never any feeling of their own sins” to a sense of their own sins (*ad peccatorum suorum cognitionem trahat*).¹⁶³ According to Chrysostom, John the Baptist summoned the Jews to repentance in order to become more humble through it, and condemning themselves, they might hasten

¹⁶¹ The Greek text of this passage of the homily sounds as it follows: Τίνας δὲ ἔνεκεν τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτῷ ἐπενοήθη τοῦτο; Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴκοθεν ὁ Ζαχαρίου παῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κινήσαντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθε, καὶ ὁ Λουκάς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ λέγων, Ρῆμα Κυρίου ἐγένετο ἐπ’ αὐτόν, τουντέστι, πρόσταγμα. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν· Ὁ ἀποστείλας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν· Ἐφ’ ὃν ἂν ἰδῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστέρην, καὶ ἰμένον ἐπ’ αὐτόν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Τίνας οὖν ἔνεκεν ἐπέμθη βαπτίζειν; Πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Βαπτιστῆς δηλὸν ἡμῖν ποιεῖ, λέγων, ὅτι Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔρειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ’ ἵνα φανῆ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίζων. Καὶ εἰ αὕτη μόνη ἡ αἰτία, πῶς φησιν ὁ Λουκάς, ὅτι Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν; Καίτοιγε οὐκ εἶχεν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα δοθέντος βαπτίσματος ἦν· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ συνετάφημεν, καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος τότε συνεσταυρώθη, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται ἄφεσις οὐσα· πανταχοῦ γὰρ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ τοῦτο λογίζεται. See: Migne PG 57,185 (29–50).

¹⁶² *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536. 1–3A.; See also: Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 438.

¹⁶³ *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536. 26AB.

the reception of remission.¹⁶⁴ This way, the baptism of John is the preparation of the baptism of Christ (*istud baptisma Christi baptismatis praeparatio est*).¹⁶⁵

Seemingly, Calvin rejected Chrysostom’s viewpoint due to their very different context and way of interpretation. We can see in the presentation given above that Chrysostom’s homilies on Matthew have a strong apologetic and polemical aspect. If we mind the fact that he contended the heresy of the Manicheans and that of the Arians, it becomes obvious why he emphasized on the one hand the superiority of Christ’s baptism, and on the other hand, why he said that John’s baptism is a preparation for Christ’s baptism. In opposition, Calvin emphasized the unity of the two baptisms, asserting it to be proven by the fact that both John (the Baptist) and later the apostles baptized “with a baptism of repentance unto forgiveness of sins” (Inst IV 15,6). Calvin interprets the related biblical passages as both baptisms having the same characteristics:

John and the apostles agreed on one doctrine: both baptized to repentance, both to forgiveness of sins, both into the name of Christ, from whom repentance and forgiveness of sins came. (Inst IV 15,7).¹⁶⁶

However, Calvin did not express his motivation for this approach, I believe that it was exceedingly important to him to emphasize (in the context of the disagreement with the Church of Rome and especially with the radical streams of Reformation) that only one baptism exists.

If we compare the approach of Calvin and to the approach of Chrysostom, we can see that they emphasized different aspects of baptism: Chrysostom highlights the centrality of Christ within the remission of sins, while Calvin emphasizes the unity of baptism instituted by Christ, still in the beginning of the covenant with God’s elected nation.

NEC RECIPIENDA EST ILLA AUGUSTINI ARGUTIA...

After rejecting Chrysostom’s standpoint, Calvin turns his attention to Augustine’s approach concerning the difference between the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ.

Nec recipienda est illa Augustini argutia, in spe dimissa fuisse peccata baptismo Ioannis, Christi baptismo re ipsa dimitti.¹⁶⁷

In addition, we must not accept that subtle reasoning of Augustine that in the baptism of John sins were remitted in hope, but in the baptism of Christ are remitted in reality.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536. 26B.

¹⁶⁵ *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536. 26C.

¹⁶⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1308.

¹⁶⁷ Calvini OS 5, 290.

¹⁶⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1309.

The first edition of the *Institutes* from 1559 mentions Augustine's work "De baptismo contra Donatistas, caput 10"¹⁶⁹ as source. In the work that can be found in volume 7 of the Basel edition we find the following text in the passage indicated as the source of the quotation:

Quaero itaque, si baptismo Ioannis peccata dimittebantur, quid amplius praestari potuit per Baptismum Christi eis quos apostolus Paulus post baptismum Ioannis Christi Baptismo voluit baptizari? [...] Quapropter quamquam ita credam baptizasse Ioannem in aqua poenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum, ut ab eo baptizatis in spe remitterentur peccata, re ipsa vero in Domini Baptismo id fieret: sicut resurrectio quae expectatur in finem spe in nobis facta est, sicut dicit Apostolus: *Quia simul nos excitavit, et simul sedere fecit in coelestibus*, et idem dicit: *Spe enim salvi facti sumus*: nam et ipse Ioannes cum dicat: *Ego quidem baptizo vos in aqua poenitentiae, in remissionem peccatorum*; Dominum videns ait: *Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*: tamen ne quisque contendat etiam in baptismo Ioannis dimissa esse peccata, sed aliquam ampliorem sanctificationem eis quos iussit Paulus denuo baptizari, per Baptismum Christi esse collatam, non ago pugnaciter.¹⁷⁰

I ask, therefore, if sins were remitted by the baptism of John, what more could the baptism of Christ confer on those whom the Apostle Paul desired to be baptized with the baptism of Christ after they had received the baptism of John? [...] My belief is that John so baptized with the water of repentance for the remission of sins, that those who were baptized by him received the expectation of the remission of their sins, the actual remission taking place in the baptism of the Lord, — just as the resurrection which is expected at the last day is fulfilled in hope in us, as the apostle says, that "He has raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" and again, "For we are saved by hope;" or as again John himself, while he says, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, for the remission of your sins," yet says, on seeing our Lord, "Behold the Lamb of God, which takes away the sin of the world," — nevertheless I am not disposed to contend vehemently against anyone who maintains that sins were remitted even in the baptism of John, but that some fuller sanctification was conferred by the baptism of Christ on those whom Paul ordered to be baptized anew.¹⁷¹

The *De baptismo contra Donatistas* was written around 400–401 to fulfil a pledge made in *Contra epistulam Parmeniani*. His goal is to provide a more detailed theological description of the sacrament of baptism, but instead of giving a systematic presentation, he focuses on the teachings which part Donatists from Catholics.¹⁷² The difference be-

¹⁶⁹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.

¹⁷⁰ Augustinus: *De baptismo contra Donatistas*. Liber 5, caput 10,12. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 295A-B.

¹⁷¹ Augustine: *On baptism, against the Donatists*. Book 5, chapter 10,12. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14085.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015).

¹⁷² Tilley, Maureen: "De baptismo" (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999. 91.

tween Augustine’s and Donatists’ approach to baptism can be summarized the following way:

Augustine emphasized baptism as the sacrament of the remission of sins while the Donatists emphasized incorporation into the true Church through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷³

In connection to the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ, Augustine’s aim is to prove that the baptism of Christ is superior to that of John. While Chrysostom (as we read it in the previous passage) differentiates between the two types of baptism saying that the baptism of John was a baptism of repentance and the baptism instituted by Jesus was the baptism of forgiveness of sins, Augustine discerns them from another point of view: he talks about hope and reality (or fulfilling). The same way as Chrysostom, Augustine emphasizes the priority of Jesus Christ, but for other reasons. While Chrysostom debates with Manichaeans and Arians on the dignity of Jesus Christ, Augustine contests with the Donatists on ecclesiological questions and their implications in other fields of theology. It is clear: the historical texts of the two Church Fathers were quite different, but both of them had to accentuate an ancient formulation of the Christological testimony, on which a special emphasis was placed during the Reformation: “*solus Christus*”. Both Chrysostom and Augustine aim to emphasize that the perfect manner of the administration of baptism is the one instituted by Jesus Christ and not by heretics who corrupt the original intention of the sacrament.

We also have to consider that according to Augustine, differentiating the baptism of John and that of Christ does not belong to the major questions of the baptismal theology. Augustine himself recognizes that there were people in his time holding the position “that sins were remitted even in the baptism of John”. These people said that the baptism of Christ confers “a fuller sanctification” – this is the reason Paul ordered people baptized “only” with the baptism of John to be rebaptized with the baptism of Christ. Augustine’s description of his own approach is important in our research: “I am not disposed to contend vehemently against” them. Here we can see that the question, which was only a secondary one to Augustine, held more importance to Calvin. Seeing the threat against the oneness of the sacrament in the differentiation of baptisms, he could not approach to it as to a (nearly) *adiaphoron* but he rejected it radically.

Rejecting Augustine’s opinion concerning the difference between the two baptisms, Calvin – as we saw it in the case of Chrysostom – wanted to emphasize the oneness of baptism. In other words, baptism does not have many types, one of John, one of Christ, another of the Church of Rome, again another of the churches of the Reformation (including the Anabaptists) but there is only one baptism, the one instituted by

¹⁷³ Tilley, Maureen: “De baptismo” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999. 92.

Christ which was administered also by John the Baptist, and after Pentecost by the apostles. Therefore, the baptismal practices of the Church of Rome are incorrect, although Calvin accepts them as valid. The rebaptism of the Anabaptists is dispensable, as the effectiveness of baptism does not depend on its administrator but on God’s grace.

As a conclusion to the question of the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ, Calvin asserts:

Nevertheless, if anyone should seek a difference between them from God’s Word, he will find no other difference than that John baptized in him who was to come; but the apostles, in him who had already revealed himself. (Inst IV 15,7)¹⁷⁴

RELATION WITH OTHER REFORMERS

In his *Decades*, **Heinrich Bullinger** makes a short anonymous reference in connection with the question of the difference between the two types of baptism:

<p>Plerique veterum distinxerunt inter baptismum Ioannis Baptistae, & baptismum Christi ac apostolorum. Etenim negant aliqui remissionem peccatorum comprehensam fuisse baptismum Ioannis. Caeterum, si diligenter impliciamus, & expendamus Scripturae sanctae doctrinam, deprehendemus Ioannis baptismi, & Christi, apostolorumque unum atque eundem esse.¹⁷⁵</p>	<p>Many in the old time have distinguished between the baptism of John, and the baptism of Christ and his apostles. For some of them deny that forgiveness of sins was comprehended in the baptism of John: but if we diligently and weigh the doctrine of the holy scripture, we shall find, that the baptism of John and Christ and his apostles is one and the self-same.¹⁷⁶</p>
--	--

Here Bullinger refers to the Church Fathers only as “plerique veterum” without mentioning names. Furthermore, due to the very similar usage of words, it seems likely that he used Calvin’s *Institutes* from 1539 (or in every case an edition after 1539 and before 1559) as source or both of them read the same patristic sources.

In the case of **Melanchthon**, Luther’s fellow-reformer, who had a significant influence on Calvin, we see how he moved from the Augustinian position closer to Calvin’s position. However, Melanchthon does not quote or refer to the early Christian writers in this topic; reading his works parallelly with Calvin’s *Institutes*, we can see the relation between the two scholars. In his *Loci communes* (1521), he writes about this question in a completely different way from Calvin:

¹⁷⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1309.

¹⁷⁵ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 349 verso.

¹⁷⁶ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 354.

Those, who have the most correctly perceived about the problem, have come to this conclusion: John’s baptism is simply a sign of mortification, while the baptism of Christ is a sign of vivification inasmuch as to the latter baptism has been added the promise of grace or of the forgiveness of sins. And in consequence John’s baptism has been called a baptism unto repentance; Christ’s moreover a baptism unto remission of sins. [...] It seems to me that these two washings can be more simply distinguished if you accept John’s baptism as a sign of grace through Christ to be subsequently declared, and Christ’s baptism as a sign of grace already given. Thus both baptisms signify one and the same, but with this difference: John’s baptism is the sign of grace to come; Christ’s a pledge καὶ σφραγίς of grace already conferred. So both baptisms signify the same: mortification and vivification.¹⁷⁷

In the 1555 edition of the *Loci communes*, Melancthon takes a much closer position to that of Calvin’s:

Both of these baptisms [i.e., that of John and that of the apostles] are external signs and testimonies of the New Testament. And there is no distinction between the baptism of John and that of the apostles, except that the baptism of John signifies and points to the future Christ; the apostles’ baptism points to the Christ who has arrived and has been revealed. Both baptisms are of one and the same office, and require faith in the Savior Christ; both those who are baptized by John and those baptized by the apostles are equally sanctified and saved.¹⁷⁸

CALVIN, THE DONATISTS BAPTISM IN INST IV 15–16

“Named after its initiator, Donatus (Magnus, i.e., the Great), Donatism was a protest movement that shook the Church of Africa over a period of three and a half centuries (fourth-seventh centuries).¹⁷⁹ As primary sources concerning the movement, we have a few acts of councils, acts of martyrs, and the famous *Liber regularum* by Tyconius. The most important authors who write against them are Augustine and Optatus of Milevis.

Donatism roots in the social pressure on the Christian community in the Roman North Africa during the persecutions of Christians under Diocletian (303–305). The initial disagreement between Donatists and the rest of the Church was over the treatment of those who renounced their faith during the persecutions and handed over their Scriptures as a sign of repudiating their faith. When the persecutions came to an end,

¹⁷⁷ Melancthon, Philip (auth.) – Hill, Charles Leander (ed. & tr.): *The Loci Communes of Philip Melancthon: with a critical introduction by the translator*. Wipf & Stock Pub, Eugene (OR) 2007. 247.

¹⁷⁸ Melancthon, Philip (auth.) – Manschreck, Clyde (ed. & tr.): *Melancthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci communes 1555*. Oxford University Press, New York 1965. 207.

¹⁷⁹ Vannier, Marie-Anne: “Donatism”. In: Lacoste, Jean-Yves: *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*. Volume I. Routledge, London – New York 2004. 457.; See further: Frend, W.H.C.: “Donatism”. In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 735.

those who had handed the Scriptures over to the persecutors were branded *traditores* by those who persevered during the persecution. The last ones gathered around Donatus (Magnus) who became the central figure of the fight for the purity of the Church.

Donatists were intransigent towards the *traditores*, banishing them indefinitely from the Church. Like the Novatians of the previous century, Donatists were rigorists, believing that the Church must be a church of saints, not of sinners. They believed that sacraments administered by *traditores* were invalid.

Although there are a lot more references to the Donatists in the *Institutes*,¹⁸⁰ we find two comments on their approach to baptism in Inst IV 15–16. Calvin accuses the Donatists of having “measured the force and the value of the sacrament by the worth of the minister” (Inst IV 15,16). In contrast, Calvin underlines that one has to recognize God’s hand in the sacrament, whosoever administers it. A few sections earlier, he quotes Augustine’s assertion against them, namely: whosoever may baptize, Christ alone presides (Inst IV 15,8). Calvin compares the Donatists of the Early Church to the Anabaptists of his age, “who deny that we have been duly baptized because we were baptized by impious and idolatrous men under the papal government. They therefore passionately urge rebaptism” (Inst IV 15,16). It is also worthwhile to mention that writing about the false sacraments in Inst IV 19,10–11, Calvin compares the Church of Rome with the Donatists because they determine the rank of the sacraments to the ecclesiastical hierarchy accordingly, “reckoning the force of the sacrament from the worthiness of the minister”. This way, they put “confirmation above baptism” because the bishop administers it, while baptism can be administered by simple priests as well.

While Calvin does not mention the sources of his expertise on the Donatists, the conclusion of his short reference in Inst IV 15,8 is that he gathered information about them from different works of Augustine. In the chapter which presents the review of the patristic references in Inst IV,15–16, I mentioned that the editors of the English translation indicated the following works of Augustine as sources of the Donatists’ description:

For Inst IV 15,8	<i>Against the writings of Petilianus the Donatist</i> I,VI and III,XLIX,59 (Migne PL 43,249 and 379) <i>Against the letter of Parmenianus</i> II,XI,23 (Migne PL 43,67)
For Inst IV 15,16	<i>Psalms</i> 10,5 (Migne PL 36,134); <i>Letters</i> 89,5 (Migne PL 33,311)

Out of these references the most important passage from Inst IV 15,8 is, I believe, where we find a free quotation of one of Augustine’s famous axioms:

¹⁸⁰ Calvin mentions Donatists mainly in the context of the ecclesiology and of the sacraments. He rejects – among others – their opinion that no weakness must be accepted in the Church (Inst IV 8,12; IV 1,13).

Quid et qui hodie baptizant sunt enim exterioris duntaxat signi ministri, Christus interioris gratiae autor, ut iidem illi veteres ubique docent, in primisque Augustinus, cui haec praecipua est fultura contra Donatistas, qualiscumque sit qui baptizat, unum tamen Christum praeesse.¹⁸¹

For they are only ministers of the outward sign, but Christ is the author of inward grace, as those same ancient writers everywhere teach, and especially Augustine, who in controversy with the Donatists relied chiefly on this argument: whosoever may baptize, Christ alone presides. (Inst IV 15,8).¹⁸²

Both sources indicated by the editors of the English translation can be found in volume 7 of the Basel edition.

In the *Contra epistulam Parmeniani libri tres*, which has no English translation, we find the following passage that can be counted as a possible source of Calvin:

Si ergo tunc homo baptizat, cum baptizator manifestus est bonus, cum vero baptizator latet malus, tunc Deus baptizat aut angelus et unusquisque spiritualiter talis nascitur qualis fuerit a quo baptizatur. [...] Hanc absurditatem si cogitant evitare, per quemlibet hominem, cum quisque Christi baptismo baptizatur, Christum baptizare fateantur de quo solo dictum est: *Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto*.¹⁸³

If, then, a human [minister] baptizes, either the one who baptizes manifests to be good, or it is hidden that he is a wicked one, then God is who baptizes, or an angel [does it], and everyone is born in a spiritual way according to the character of the one by whom he is baptized. [...] If one intends to avoid this absurdity, by means of a mere man, when a man is baptized with the baptism of Christ, one should confess that Christ is the one who baptizes, of whom only it is written: “This is him who baptizes with the Holy Spirit”.

From the *Contra litteras Petilianus donatistae libri tres*, two passages are indicated as possible sources of Calvin’s quotation. In book 1, there is a longer passage which I quote for its expressiveness:

Nos ergo quaerimus, quia dixit iste: *Qui fidem a perfido sumpserit, non fidem percipit, sed reatum*; statimque connexuit, dicens: *Omnis enim res origine et radice consistit, et si caput non habet aliquid, nihil est*: quaerimus itaque nos, cum ille baptizator perfidus latet, si tunc ille quem baptizat, fidem percipit, non reatum: si tunc ei

We ask, therefore, since he says, “He who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt,” and immediately adds to this the further statement, that “everything consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, it is nothing;”—we ask, I say, in a case where the faithlessness of the baptizer is undetected: If then, the man whom he baptizes receives faith, and not guilt; if, then, the baptizer is

¹⁸¹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 483.; Calvini OS 5, 291.

¹⁸² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1310.

¹⁸³ Augustinus: *Contra epistulam Parmeniani libri tres. Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 25B.

non est baptizator eius origo et radix et caput, quis est a quo accipit fidem? ubi est origo de qua oritur? ubi radix unde germinat? ubi caput unde incipit? An forte cum baptizantem perfidum ille qui baptizatur ignorat, tunc Christus dat fidem, tunc Christus est origo et radix et caput? O humana temeritas et superbia! cur non sinis potius ut semper Christus det fidem, christianum dando facturus? Cur non sinis ut semper sit Christus origo christiani, in Christo radicem christianus infigat, Christus christiani sit caput? [...] Quapropter sive a fidei, sive a perfido dispensatore sacramentum Baptismi quisque percipiat, spes ei omnis in Christo sit. [...] Alioquin si talis quisque in gratia spirituali renascitur, qualis est ille a quo baptizatur, et cum manifestus est qui baptizat homo bonus, ipse dat fidem, ipse origo et radix caputque nascentis est; cum autem latet perfidus baptizator, tunc quisque a Christo percipit fidem, tunc a Christo ducit originem, tunc in Christo radicatur, tunc Christo capite gloriatur: laborandum est omnibus qui baptizantur, ut baptizatores perfidos habeant, et ignorent eos. Quamlibet enim bonos habuerint, Christus est utique incomparabiliter melior, qui tunc erit baptizati caput, si perfidus lateat baptizator.¹⁸⁴

not his origin and root and head, who is it from whom he receives faith? where is the origin from which he springs? where is the root of which he is a shoot? where the head which is his starting-point? Can it be, that when he who is baptized is unaware of the faithlessness of his baptizer, it is then Christ who gives faith, it is then Christ who is the origin and root and head? Alas for human rashness and conceit! Why do you not allow that it is always Christ who gives faith, for the purpose of making a man a Christian by giving it? Why do you not allow that Christ is always the origin of the Christian, that the Christian always plants his root in Christ, that Christ is the head of the Christian? [...] Wherefore, whether a man receive the sacrament of baptism from a faithful or a faithless minister, his whole hope is in Christ [...] Otherwise, if each man is born again in spiritual grace of the same sort as he by whom he is baptized, and if when he who baptizes him is manifestly a good man, then he himself gives faith, he is himself the origin and root and head of him who is being born; whilst, when the baptizer is faithless without its being known, then the baptized person receives faith from Christ, then he derives his origin from Christ, then he is rooted in Christ, then he boasts in Christ as his head,—in that case all who are baptized should wish that they might have faithless baptizers, and be ignorant of their faithlessness: for however good their baptizers might have been, Christ is certainly beyond comparison better still; and He will then be the head of the baptized, if the faithlessness of the baptizer shall escape detection.¹⁸⁵

In book 3 of the same work, we find the following passage concerning the presidium of Christ in baptism:

¹⁸⁴ Augustinus: *Contra litteras Petiliani donatistae libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 51A.

¹⁸⁵ Augustine: *Answer to Petilian the Donatist (Book 1.)* – Chapter 5,6 – 6,7.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14091.htm> (Accessed: 13th May 2015).

Cum enim dicimus: Christus baptizat, non visibili ministerio dicimus, sicut putat vel putari cupit nos dicere Petilianus; sed occulta gratia, occulta potentia in Spiritu sancto, sicut de illo dictum est a Ioanne Baptista: *Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto*.¹⁸⁶

For when we say, Christ baptizes, we do not mean by a visible ministry, as Petilianus believes, or would have men think that he believes, to be our meaning, but by a hidden grace, by a hidden power in the Holy Spirit as it is said of Him by John the Baptist, “The same is He, who baptizes with the Holy Spirit.”¹⁸⁷

Beside the sources indicated in the English translation of the *Institutes*, I find Augustine’s words more expressive from his 6th homily (tractate) on the Gospel of John, which can also be found in the 1528/1529 Basel edition of Augustine by Erasmus. The following sentence in this homily shows more similarity to Calvin’s text:

Quid ergo per columbam didicit, ne mendax postea inveniatur (quod avertat a nobis Deus opinari); nisi quamdam proprietatem in Christo talem futuram, ut quamvis multi ministri baptizaturi essent, sive iusti, sive iniusti, non tribueretur sanctitas Baptismi, nisi illi super quem descendit columba, de quo dictum est: *Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto*? Petrus baptizet, hic est qui baptizat; Paulus baptizet, hic est qui baptizat; Iudas baptizet, hic est qui baptizat.¹⁸⁸

What then did he learn from the dove, that he may not afterwards be found a liar (which God forbid we should think), if it be not this, that there was to be a certain peculiarity in Christ, such that, although many ministers, be they righteous or unrighteous, should baptize, the virtue of baptism would be attributed to Him alone on whom the dove descended, and of whom it was said, This is He that baptizes with the Holy Spirit? Peter may baptize, but this is He that baptizes; Paul may baptize, yet this is He that baptizes; Judas may baptize, still this is He that baptizes.¹⁸⁹

In Inst IV 15,16 Calvin accuses the Donatists of measuring the force and value of the sacrament by the worth of the minister (pretium sacramenti metibantur ministri dignitate). After studying the two texts given as possible sources by the editors of the English translation of the *Institutes*, we see that the Donatists’ accusation by Calvin is rather an interpretation of Augustine’s texts – a realistic one, though. The accusations against the Donatists which can be found in the texts referred to as sources – especially Letter 89 by Augustine –, deal rather with the same question as we have seen it in relation with Inst IV 15,8 (concerning the presidium of Christ in baptism). As an illustration, let us see a very impressive passage from Letter 89:

¹⁸⁶ Augustinus: *Contra litteras Petiliani donatistae libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 130D.

¹⁸⁷ Augustine: *Answer to Petilian the Donatist (Book 3.)* – chapter 49,59.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14093.htm> (Accessed: 13th May 2015).

¹⁸⁸ Augustinus: *Tractatus 6. in Evangelium Ioannis*. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529. 35B.

¹⁸⁹ Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 6*.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701006.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)

Illos autem vana sentientes, tanta absurditas sequitur, ut quo ab ea fugiant non invenient. Cum enim fateantur ratum et verum esse Baptismum, quando baptizat apud eos aliquis criminosus, cuius crimina latent; dicimus eis, Quis tunc baptizat? nec habent quid respondeant nisi, Deus: neque enim possunt dicere quod homo adulter quemquam sanctificet. Quibus respondemus, Si ergo cum baptizat homo iustus manifestus, ipse sanctificat, cum autem baptizat homo iniquus occultus, tunc non ipse, sed Deus sanctificat; optare debent qui baptizantur, ab occultis malis hominibus potius baptizari, quam a manifestis bonis: multo enim eos melius Deus, quam quilibet homo iustus sanctificat. Quod si absurdum est, ut quisque baptizandus optet ab occulto adultero potius baptizari, quam a manifesto casto, restat utique ut quilibet ministrorum hominum accesserit, ideo ratus sit Baptismus, quia super quem descendit columba, ipse baptizat.¹⁹⁰

So great is the absurdity in which the Donatists are involved in consequence of these foolish opinions, that they can find no escape from it. For when they admit the validity and reality of baptism when one of their sect baptizes who is a guilty man, but whose guilt is concealed, we ask them, Who baptizes in this case? And they can only answer, God; for they cannot affirm that a man guilty of sin (say of adultery) can sanctify any one. If, then, when baptism is administered by a man known to be righteous, he sanctifies the person baptized; but when it is administered by a wicked man, whose wickedness is hidden, it is not he, but God, who sanctifies. Those who are baptized ought to wish to be baptized rather by men who are secretly bad than by men manifestly good, for God sanctifies much more effectually than any righteous man can do. If it be palpably absurd that one about to be baptized ought to wish to be baptized by a hypocritical adulterer rather than by a man of known chastity, it follows plainly, that whoever be the minister that dispenses the rite, the baptism is valid, because He Himself baptizes upon whom the dove descended.¹⁹¹

In all these passages, Augustine accuses the Donatists of rejecting the presidium of Christ in baptism and of determining the value and the effect of the sacrament from the faithfulness (or genuineness) or the unfaithfulness of the minister. According to Augustine, they believed not only that baptism administered by a faithless minister is invalid but also that the faith or the perversion of the administering minister will be passed on to the baptized person. Calvin saw the revival of the ancient Donatism – as I presented it a little bit earlier – partly in the practices of the Church of Rome, and partly in the urge to rebaptise Anabaptists. Calvin saw a stable ground against the misuse of the baptismal actions of the 16th century and a firm proof of Christ’s presidium in baptism in the above presented passages from Augustine’s writings. Therefore, he summarized these and maybe some other similar passages: “whosoever may baptize, Christ alone presides”, i.e., he is the primary administrator of baptism.

¹⁹⁰ Augustinus: *Epistola 167*. In: 491B–492C

¹⁹¹ Augustine: *Letter 89,5*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102089.htm> (accessed 15th May 2015)

“EMERGENCY” BAPTISM

In terms of the historical endorsement of the practice of the so-called emergency baptism, Augustine is an important witness of Calvin. Calvin’s thesis of this type of baptism is clear and unambiguous: “it is also pertinent here to know that it is wrong for private individuals to assume the administration of baptism”.

THE OLD CUSTOM OF THE EARLY CHURCH...

In Inst IV 15,20 when Calvin writes against emergency baptism, the editors of the English translation of the *Institutes* mention that one of Calvin’s possible sources is the *De baptismo* XVII of Tertullian¹⁹² in the case of an anonymous reference to the early church. The passage from Inst IV 15,20 goes like this:

Quod autem multis abhinc saeculis, adeoque ab ipso fere ecclesiae exordio usu receptum fuit, ut in periculo mortis laici baptizarent, si minister in tempore non adesset, non video quam firma ratione defendi queat.¹⁹³

For many ages past and almost from the beginning of the church, it was a custom for laymen to baptize those in danger of death if a minister was not present at the time. I do not see, however, how this can be defended with sound reasoning. (Inst IV 15,20).¹⁹⁴

I don’t think it comes clear in Calvin’s text whether he refers to a certain Church Father or it is only a general reference to the state of the practice of emergency baptism in the early church based on Calvin’s several lectures. Based on the textual similarity, I believe that Calvin’s primary source in this case was the *Decretum Gratiani*. Namely there, right after the passage prohibiting women from baptizing, we find the following passage:

Item Augustinus ad Fortunatum. In necessitate, cum episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut quilibet ministrorum non inveniuntur, et urget periculum eius, qui petit, ne sine isto sacramento hanc uitam finiant, etiam laicos solere dare sacramentum, quod acceperunt, solemus audire.¹⁹⁵

Also Augustine to Fortunatus: In need, when the bishop or presbyters or someone from the ministers are not available, and the danger of the candidate urges it, lest the candidate should die without receiving the sacrament, a laymen also can give the sacrament – which they have received, we are accustomed to hear it.

¹⁹² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1320.

¹⁹³ Calvin OS 5, 300.

¹⁹⁴ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1320.

¹⁹⁵ *Decretum Gratiani. Tertia pars de consecratione, distinctio IV, c. 21*. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879. col. 1368. See: http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/kapitel/dc_chapter_3_3991 (accessed: 17th May 2015).

However, Gratian ascribes this quotation to Augustine; in footnote 247, the editor of the *Decretum* mentions¹⁹⁶ that this passage cannot be from Augustine. We can see that the phrasing is quite different, but the logical and substantial relationship is incontestable. For example, what the *Decretum Gratiani* expresses somewhat longer and in more detail, specifically that “*cum episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut quilibet ministrorum non inueniuntur*”, Calvin summarizes in a shorter sentence: “*si minister in tempore non adesset*”. Alternatively, here comes another example. Concerning the condition of the candidate, Gratian describes it in three sentences: “*et urget periculum eius, qui petit, ne sine isto sacramento hanc uitam fniant*”, while Calvin summarizes it as shortly as possible: “*in periculo mortis*”.

Based on the context in which Calvin uses the paraphrase from the *Decretum Gratiani*, I think he wants to indicate a historical point of reference which will be exemplified by a quotation from Augustine and refuted with theological arguments, using the typical arsenal of the polemical rhetoric.

NULLUM AUT VENIALE DELICTUM

According to Calvin, even the ancient writers were not sure whether the practice of emergency baptism is correct or not. Therefore, they “either followed this practice or condoned it”. As an example for the uncertainty of the early church, Calvin quotes Augustine’s words from his *Against the Letter of Parmenianus* – as it is indicated in the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*.¹⁹⁷ The title of this chapter is also the main idea that Augustine wants to prove: “*etsi laicus christianus baptizet, sacramentum est validum*”. Reading Augustine’s text, we see that Calvin quotes it almost word for word, the differences being solely stylistic. To illustrate the comparison, I will insert the Latin text from Augustine’s work,¹⁹⁸ the Latin text from Calvin’s *Institute* and the English translation of Calvin’s text:

Augustine: <i>Contra epistolam Parmeniani</i>	Calvin: <i>Institutes</i> (Latin)	Calvin: <i>Institutes</i> (English)
Quamquam <i>etsi laicus</i> aliqua pereuntis <i>necessitate compulsus dederit</i> , quod cum ipse acciperet quomodo dandum esset addidit, <i>nescio utrum quisquam pie dixerit esse repetendum. Nulla enim cogente necessitate si fiat, alieni muneris</i>	Hanc enim dubitationem prae se fert Augustinus, quum dicit: <i>etsi laicus necessitate compulsus baptismum dederit, nescio an pie quisquam dixerit esse repetendum; nulla enim cogente necessitate si fiat, alieni muneris usurpatio</i>	Now Augustine displays this doubt when he says, “Even if a layman compelled by necessity should give baptism, I do not know whether anyone might piously say that it should be repeated. For if no necessity compels it to be done, it is usurping of another’s office;

¹⁹⁶ See the previous footnote.

¹⁹⁷ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 487.

¹⁹⁸ The passages which are quoted by Calvin will be italicized both in Augustine’s and in Calvin’s text.

<i>usurpatio est; si autem necessitas urgeat, aut nullum aut veniale delictum est.</i> ¹⁹⁹	<i>est; si autem necessitas urgeat, aut nullum aut veniale delictum est.</i> ²⁰⁰	but if necessity urges it, it is either no sin at all or a venial one.” (Inst IV 15,20). ²⁰¹
---	---	---

We see that the two texts are nearly identical, except for a few differences. First, Calvin speaks only about laymen who “compelled by necessity should give baptism – *necessitate compulsus* baptismum *dederit*”. In contrast, Augustine inserts the expression “*aliqua pereuntis* (if anyone is in danger of passing away)” as an adjective to “necessitate”, determining the nature of emergency that might compel a layman to administer baptism. Calvin does not insert it in the quotation because a few lines earlier he defined the nature of necessities in which emergency baptism was practiced with the expression “*in periculo mortis*”. Furthermore, he omits the word *baptismum*, which is inserted by Calvin for the sake of understanding the context. In Augustine’s text, it is obvious that *baptismum* is the direct object of the verb *dederit*. Another sentence from Augustine’s text which Calvin did not quote is “*quod cum ipse acciperet quomodo dandum esset addidit*” (= after the baptized one [cf. ipse] received it as it was instituted [i.e., the baptism] that it should be given). Calvin omits this clause because he considers it unnecessary in his argumentation. For, according to him, the administration of baptism is the task of ordained ministers and from this point of view, it is irrelevant whether the layman who administered baptism did it the right way or not. While Augustine leans towards accepting baptism administered by layman in cases of necessity, Calvin rejects it as “usurping of another’s office”. In his *Institutes*, he quotes this passage from Augustine’s work to illustrate the incertitude of the Church Fathers (namely of Augustine) concerning emergency baptism administered by laymen.

We find a reference to this Augustinian passage in Bullinger’s *Decades* too – in the sermon on baptism, quoted a few chapters earlier.

Quid quod in hoc dogmate ne sibi ipse quidem per omnia satisfacit Augustinus? Putat veniale peccatum esse laico, si in tempore necessitatis baptizet. Nescit quisquam pie dixerit laici baptismum esse repetendum. ²⁰²	What will you say if in this opinion, Augustine doth not satisfy, no, not himself, in all and every point? To a layman he tinketh it venial sin, if he baptize in time of necessity. He cannot tell whether be godly spoken that baptism ministered by a layman ought to be iterated or done again. ²⁰³
---	--

¹⁹⁹ Augustinus: *Contra epistolam Parmeniani libri tres*. II 13,29. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 27B.

²⁰⁰ Calvini OS 5, 301.

²⁰¹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1320–21.

²⁰² Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 354 verso.

²⁰³ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 380.

After this reference, Bullinger expresses his opinion on the needlessness of emergency baptism, asserting that children who die unbaptised due to early and sudden death are also saved. Therefore, the so-called emergency baptism does not have any lawful causes:

Quanto vero satius et rurius fuerat, praerita baptisandi necessitate, quae nullas legitimas causas habet, sentire infantulos, si a morte non praeoccupati fuerint, a ministro ecclesiae in ecclesia procurantibus parentibus prima quaque opportunitate baptisandos esse: praeproperam mortem autem (quam nos necessitatis articula appellamus) non esse fraudi aut salutis impedimentum ad baptismum nondum delatis.²⁰⁴

But how much better and safer had it been, letting the necessity of baptism pass, which hath no lawful causes, to hold opinion that infants, if they be not prevented by death, ought to be baptized of the minister of the church, in the church, their parents procuring it as opportunity first serveth; and that too too speedy and sudden death (which we call the pinch of necessity) is no let or hinderance to salvation to them which are not yet brought to be baptized?²⁰⁵

After the passage quoted above, Bullinger illustrates Augustine's incertitude related to the emergency baptism and to the status (or punishment) of children died unbaptized with more quotations from his works, which Calvin did not quote in his *Institutes*. Here we find quotations from Augustine's *De anima et ejus origine* (lib. 1. cap. 9.), *Contra Iulianum Pelagianum* (lib. 5. cap. 8.), *Epistola ad Hieronymum* 28 and *De baptismo contra Donatistas* (lib. 4. cap. 22–23.).

This combination of the patristic quotations and references reveals important aspects of the way Reformers used the works of the Church Fathers. The Similarities suggest an exchange between Calvin's *Institutes* and Bullinger's *Decades*, but the differences suggest an independent use of patristic sources.

WOMEN BAPTIZING

In Inst IV 15,20–21, discussing erroneous baptismal practices, Calvin writes about the following question in detail: who is allowed to administer the sacrament of baptism? Calvin underlines on the one hand that only ordained ministers can administer baptism, and on the other hand (which is a direct consequence of the first presupposition) that women are not allowed to administer baptism. In Inst IV 15,20, writing against the so called “emergency baptism”, he quotes the decree of the Council of Carthage which prohibits baptism by women. In the following chapter, Calvin uses more patristic references in his argument that only men should baptize and perform the baptismal liturgy.

²⁰⁴ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 354 verso.

²⁰⁵ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 380.

DECREE OF A COUNCIL?

Calvin quotes the decree of the Council of Carthage in the following form:

De mulieribus porro, ullam exceptionem, sanctitum fuit in concilio carthaginensi, ne baptizare omnino praesumant. ²⁰⁶	Concerning women, it was decreed without exception in the Council of Carthage that they should not presume to baptize at all. ²⁰⁷
--	--

Calvin got acquainted with the 100th decree (as it is indicated in the marginal note of the first printing of the 1559 edition) of the Council of Carthage probably²⁰⁸ in the *Decretum Gratiani*, which was an unavoidable study book during his years at the university. In the famous collection of Decrees, we find the following text:

Item ex Concilio Cartaginensi V. [c. 99. et 100.] III. Pars. Mulier, quamuis docta et sancta, baptizare aliquos uel uiros docere in conuentu, non presumat. ²⁰⁹	From the Council of Carthage V. [ch. 99 and 100]. Third part. Even if a woman is learned and saintly, she still must not presume to baptize or to instruct men in a [congregational] assembly.
--	--

Gratian himself adds to this synodic decree the idea of “Nisi necessitate cogente” (except in case of emergency). The critical edition of the *Decretum Gratiani* reveals that certain manuscripts have different opinions on which Council of Carthage should be counted as the source of this passage. The textus receptus marks the 5th Council of Carthage, while the Editio Romana has the 4th Council.²¹⁰ According to the modern scholarship, Gratian erroneously ascribes this decree to one or another Council of Carthage. What Gratian quotes is

a composite of two canons of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, a collection of 102 chapters on church discipline, which are given in the Collectio Hispana (Isidoriana) [...] under the title of a Council of Carthage (the fourth) in the year 389.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Calvini OS 5, 301.

²⁰⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321.

²⁰⁸ At least according to the footnote of the English translation used during this research.

²⁰⁹ *Decretum Gratiani. Tertia pars de consecratione, distinctio IV, c. 20*. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879. col. 1367. See: http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/kapitel/dc_chapter_3_3991 (accessed: 17th May 2015)

²¹⁰ *Corpus Iuris Canonici [...] Pars Prior: Decretum Magistri Gratiani*. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879. col. 1367–68. See: http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/seite/bsb00009126_00736 (accessed: 17th May 2015)

²¹¹ Raming, Ida: Gratian’s *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination. In: Raming, Ida: *A History of Women and Ordination. Volume 2: the Priestly Office of Women: God’s Gift for a Renewed Church*. Scarecrow Press, Lanham (MD) 2004. 11. (In the followings: Raming, Ida: Gratian’s *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination.)

Nevertheless, – according to Ida Raming – the source of the *Statuta* has nothing to do with any Council of Carthage.²¹² The *Statuta* is rather a work composed probably by Gennadius of Marseilles in the second half of the 5th century,²¹³ maybe between 476 and 485²¹⁴. The *Statuta* does not reflect thus the situation in North Africa at the end of the 4th century, but rather the situation in South-Gaul at the end of the 5th century. Different Eastern and local councils can be mentioned among its sources²¹⁵ as well as the *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* of Gennadius, the Apostolic Tradition attributed to Hippolytus, different pseudo-apostolic compilations like the *Didascalia* or the *Apostolic constitutions*²¹⁶. Munier characterizes the era of the *Statuta* as a transitional period between the Golden Age of the Church Fathers and the Early Middle Ages when

the theological and mystical tendency no longer animates Christian people, who, it seems, are taken up by earthly concerns and are involved in duties of every kind; the clergy rarely performs its duties. Culture itself already seems to escape to the monasteries that are preparing the bishops of tomorrow. To awaken the dormant faith of the Christian people, to win the barbarians to the truth, to put the relatively still intact riches of the church at the service of addressing all the adversities: these were, in its main lines, the directives offered by the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* to the provincial episcopate.²¹⁷

Furthermore, this transitional period of the Gallican churches is characterised by composing many canonical collections which reflect the contemporaneous political events, the continuously developed and destroyed kingdoms of Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths etc.,²¹⁸ and tried to manage the Church in those difficult times.

²¹² Raming, Ida: Gratian's *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination. 12.

²¹³ Kéry, Lotte: *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): a bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature*. The Catholic University of America, 1999. 7.; The scholarly edition of its text: Munier, Charles: *Concilia Africae*. (Serie: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 259.) Brepols, Turnhout 1974. 342–54.

²¹⁴ Raming, Ida: Gratian's *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination. 12.; Munier, Ch.: "Statuta ecclesiae antiqua". In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume III. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 630.

²¹⁵ Munier, Charles: "Canonical Collections". In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 419.

²¹⁶ Munier, Charles: "Statuta ecclesiae antiqua". In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume III. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 630.

²¹⁷ Munier, Charles: "Statuta ecclesiae antiqua". In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume III. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 631.

²¹⁸ Munier, Charles: "Canonical Collections". In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014. 419.

I am aware: Calvin could not have known that the decree quoted by him was not from the Council of Carthage because these text-critical questions had not arisen in his time yet. However, in the case of our topic, it is only of secondary importance. Calvin’s intention is more important. He argued against the so-called emergency baptism which was administered frequently by laymen and women. Calvin wanted to show that only ordained male ministers could administer baptism both in the time of the Early Church and in Calvin’s era. Therefore, in the following section of Inst IV 15, he brings more evidence together to show that women are prohibited from administering baptism.

TERTULLIAN ON BAPTISM ADMINISTERED BY WOMEN

Calvin quotes Tertullian as a witness of the practice before Augustine (Inst IV 15,21). Accordingly,

Qualis vero ante natum Augustinum consuetudo fuerit, primum ex Tertulliano colligitur, non permitti mulieri loqui in ecclesia, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre: ne ullius virilis, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vendicet.²¹⁹

The practice before Augustine was born is first of all inferred from Tertullian, who held that a woman was not allowed to speak in the church, and also not to teach, to baptize, or to offer. This was that she might not claim for herself the function of any man, much less that of a priest.²²⁰

The first printing of the 1559 edition gives no indication as to the source of this statement, but the English translation of the *Institutes* in use indicates Tertullian’s *De baptismo* XVII as its source.

According to the opinion of scholars such as Irena Backus and Anthony Lane, Calvin had access to the 1528 Basel edition of Tertullian’s work.²²¹ Nevertheless, in this edition, *De baptismo* cannot be found, which is indicated as a possible source of these references by the editors of the English translation of the *Institutes*. About the history of the text and edition of this treatise, Ernest Evans writes:

De Baptismo was not contained in the earliest editions of Tertullian’s works, those made by Rhenanus in 1521, 1528, and 1539. It was first printed in 1545 by Mesnart at Paris, from a manuscript now lost. For a second edition, by Gelenius at Basle in 1550, its editor consulted a manuscript of English origin (probably from Malmesbury) supplied to him by John Leland the antiquary: he also records in his margin the readings of an unidentified

²¹⁹ Calvini OS 5,301–302.

²²⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321.

²²¹ Backus, Irena: Theological relations: Calvin and the Church Fathers. In: Selderhuis, Herman (ed.): *Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 126.; Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1. 10–12.

script which, if not identical with the Troyes MS. (to be mentioned later) had at least very close affinities with it.²²²

Anthony Lane writes as follows: “in 1545 François Baudouin wrote to Calvin announcing that he had tried unsuccessfully to send him a copy of the [1544] Greek edition of Eusebius and the [1545] edition of Tertullian works”.²²³ Thereafter, he concludes that he did not use Tertullian’s 1545 edition in later times. Studying the table of contents of this edition, we can see that Tertullian’s *De baptismo* appears for the first time in print. Furthermore, it is also important that the reference to Tertullian and to the prohibition of women administering baptism appear only in the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*.²²⁴

Agreeing with Anthony Lane on the fact that Calvin did not use the 1545 edition, we have to look for another work by Tertullian in which he prohibits women from administering baptism. According to Anthony Lane’s statistic, there are only two references to Tertullian’s sentence in question in Calvin’s writings:²²⁵ one in Inst IV 15,21, and another in the *Appendix libelli adversus Interim adultero-germanum*.²²⁶ As a possible source of Tertullian’s idea, Anthony Lane suggests a work which can be found also in the 1528 edition of his works, namely the *De virginibus velandis*.²²⁷ According to Quasten, due to the emphasis on the unity of the Church and on the oneness of hope, faith, and sacraments, it must have been written before the year 207.²²⁸

In *De virginibus velandis IX* we read the following sentence that seems to be quoted almost word for word by Calvin:

Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere nec tinguere nec offerre nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicarent.²²⁹

It is not permitted to a *woman* to speak in the church; but neither (is it permitted her) to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to claim to herself a lot in any manly function, not to say (in any) sacerdotal office.²³⁰

²²² Evans, Ernest: *Tertullian’s Homily on Baptism*. SPCK, London 1964. Introduction. xxxvi.

²²³ Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1. 10.

²²⁴ See: Wright, David: ‘Development and Coherence in Calvin’s *Institutes*’. 227.

²²⁵ Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1. 22.

²²⁶ Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1. 25.; *ibid.* 29.

²²⁷ Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1. 29.

²²⁸ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 307.

²²⁹ Tertullianus: *De virginibus velandis*. In: *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani*. [Froben], Basel 1528. 499.

²³⁰ Tertullian: *On the veiling of virgins*. See: (accessed: 19th May 2015.)

In this work, Tertullian argues that the biblical decrees of the church discipline written for women are valid in the case of virgins as well (*De virginibus velandis* IX,1). As a natural consequence, if women are not allowed to speak, teach, baptize or offer in the church and this way to practice any “manly function” (including the sacerdotal office) (*De virginibus velandis* IX,2), virgins are also forbidden from performing them (*De virginibus velandis* IX,3–6).

Because of the literal accordance between the *De virginibus velandis* IX,1 and Calvin’s reference in Inst IV 15,21, the best decision is to accept Tertullian’s work as Calvin’s source concerning baptism administered by women.

* * * * *

However, it cannot be unambiguously proved that the *De baptismo* was in fact one of Calvin’s sources. Due to its helpfulness in understanding Tertullian’s approach to the question of administering baptism by women, I find it useful to present here the *De baptismo* 17. I think it could help us get acquainted with Tertullian’s way of thinking in this topic. Furthermore, in the 16th century editions of Tertullian’s works which Calvin could have read, however, we do not have clear evidences for it, it is the most important witness of the administering of baptism by laymen.

As this tract of Tertullian is free of every trace of Montanism, it must have been written in his early years, probably between 198 and 200.²³¹ On the one hand, it has an apologetic or polemical aspect because it tries to defend Christian values from the attacks of a certain Quintilla, “a female viper from the heresy of Cainites²³² (de caina haeresi vipera), who carried off a great number with her exceptionally pestilential doctrine, making a particular point of demolishing baptism” (*De baptismo* 1). On the other hand, it is composed to instruct both those who “are just becoming formed in the faith, and those who, content with simple belief, do not investigate the grounds of tradition and carry an untried credible faith through inexperience”.²³³

Because of its expressiveness and internal coherence, I think it would be useful to quote first the whole chapter from Tertullian’s tractate:

Dandi quidem summum habet ius summus sacerdos, si qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non ta-	The supreme right of giving it [the baptism] belongs to the high priest, which is the bishop: after him, to the presbyters and deacons, yet not
--	---

²³¹ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 280.

²³² Quasten writes that she was a member of the sect of Caius, and characterizes her as being an ancient rationalist. See: Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 278.

²³³ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 278.

men sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiae honorem quo salvo salva pax est. [2] alioquin etiam laicis ius est: 'quod enim ex aequo accipitur ex aequo dari potest; nisi episcopi iam aut presbyteri aut diaconi vocabuntur discentes domini: id est, ut sermo non debet abscondi ab ullo, proinde et baptismus segue dei census ab omnibus exerceri potest'. sed quanto magis laicis disciplina verecundiae et modestiae incumbit cum ea [quae] maioribus competat, ne sibi adsumant [dicatum] episcopi officium. episcopates aemulatio schismatum mater est. omnia licere dixit sanctissimus apostolus sed non omnia expedire. [3] sufficit scilicet in necessitatibus [ut] utaris sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personae condicio compellit: tunc enim constantia succurrentis excipitur cum urguetur circumstantia periclitantis, quoniam reus erit periti hominis si supersederit praestare quod libere potuit. [4] petulantia autem mulieris quae usurpavit docere utique non etiam tinguendi ius sibi rapiet, nisi si quae nova bestia venerit similis pristinae, ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat ita aliqua per se [eum] conferat. [5] quod si quae Acta Pauli, quae perperam scripta sunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendant, sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse. quam enim fidei proximum videtur ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminae potestatem qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? Taceant, inquit, et domi viros suos consulant.

without commission from the bishop, because of the Church's dignity: for when this is safe, peace is safe. Except for that, even laymen have the right: 'for that which is received on equal terms can be given on equal terms: unless perhaps you are prepared to allege that our Lord's disciples were already bishops or presbyters or deacons: that is, as the word ought not to be hidden by any man, so likewise baptism, which is no less declared to be "of God", can be administered by all.' Yet how much rather are the rules of humility and restraint incumbent upon laymen, seeing they apply to greater persons, who must not arrogate to themselves the function of the bishop. Opposition to the episcopate is the mother of schisms. The holy apostle has said that all things are lawful but not all things are expedient which means it is enough that you should use this right in emergencies, if ever conditions of place or time or person demand it. The boldness of a rescuer is acceptable when he is constrained to it by the necessities of the man in peril, since he will be guilty of a man's destruction if he forbears to give the help he is free and able to give. However, the impudence of that woman who assumed the right to teach is evidently not going to arrogate to her the right to baptize as well – unless perhaps some new serpent appears, like that original one, so that as that woman abolished baptism, some other of her own authority should confer it. But if certain Acts of Paul, which are falsely so named, claim the example of Thecla for allowing women to teach and to baptize, let men know that in Asia the presbyter who compiled that document, thinking to add of his own to Paul's reputation, was found out, and though he professed he had done it for love of Paul, was deposed from his position. How could we believe that Paul should give a female power to teach and to baptize, when he did not allow a woman even to learn by her own right? Let them keep silence, he says, and ask their husbands at home.

The *De baptismo* XVII²³⁴ shows Tertullian’s main chain of thought: he defends first the unity and the solidarity of the Church, asserting that “opposition to the episcopate is the mother of schisms”. The earthly personification of this unity is the bishop, who – because of his position – has also the supreme right to administer baptism. With his permission and commission, the presbyters and deacons are also allowed to baptize.

Furthermore, Tertullian considers theologically well-grounded that laymen are also allowed to administer, but in his opinion, obeying the “rules of humility”, laymen should practice this right only in case of emergency because “they must not arrogate to themselves the function of the bishop”. Thereafter, Tertullian turns his attention to women who arrogate to themselves not only the right to publicly teach but to baptize as well. Tertullian rejects this practice using harsh words. He calls the endeavour of women to “usurp” the right to administer baptism *petulantia* (=impudence), and he calls those who want to abolish the order which was given by the apostles *nova bestia* (= new beast – in the English translation used in this research: new serpent). Here we read also a short refutation of the apocryphal Acts of Paul, which – according to Tertullian – has only been written recently and defends women’s right to teach and baptize. Tertullian closes this chapter with a literal application of Paul’s words, namely that women should “keep silence, and (if they want to learn something) ask their husbands at home”.

Tertullian’s position can be understood by observing that he viewed “presiding at baptism as a leadership role equivalent to teaching, which he quotes Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:35 as denying to a woman”.²³⁵

At this point, we see that the practice of emergency baptism and the idea of baptism administered by women intersect both in Tertullian’s and Calvin’s perception. While Tertullian forbids women from baptizing and permits laymen to administer emergency baptism, Calvin rigorously forbids both, asserting that only ordained ministers can administer baptism.

THE TESTIMONY OF EPIPHANIUS

In order to prove that women do not have the right to administer baptism, Calvin refers to the arguments of Epiphanius of Salamis:

Eiusdem rei locuples testis est Epiphanius, ubi Marcioni exprobrat quod mulieribus daret baptizandi licentiam. Nec vero me latet eorum qui contra	Epiphanius also is a trustworthy witness of this matter when he upbraids Marcion for having given women permission to baptize. In addition, I am well aware of the answer of those
---	--

²³⁴ The source both of the Latin text and its English translation is: Evans, Ernest: *Tertullian’s Homily on Baptism*. SPCK, London 1964. 34–37.

²³⁵ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 343.

sentiant responsio, multum scilicet differre communem usum ab extraordinario remedio quum ultima urget necessitas; sed quum, ludibrium esse pronuntians, dare foeminis baptizandi licentiam, nihil excipiat, satis apparet, corruptelam ab eo damnari, ut nullo praetextu sit excusabilis. Libro etiam tertio, ubi ne sanctae quidem Christi matri fuisse permissum docens nullam restrictionem addit.²³⁶

who think otherwise that there is a great difference between common usage and an extraordinary remedy required by dire necessity. However, since Epiphanius declares that it is a mockery to give women the right to baptize and makes no exception, it is clear enough that he condemns this corrupt practice as inexcusable under any pretext. Also in the third book, where he teaches that permission was not even given to the holy mother of Christ, he adds no reservation. (Inst IV 15,21).²³⁷

As I mentioned it in the chapter in which there is a catalogue with patristic references, the English translation indicates the above presented ideas as the source of the two passages from the *Panarion*: XLII,4 and LXXIX,3. In the marginal note of the 1559 edition we read “Lib. contra haeres. 1”²³⁸ – which is the abbreviated title of the Latin translation of Epiphanius’ *Panarion*.

In the scholarly writings available at the time of my research, I did not find any indication as to which edition of the *Panarion* Calvin used. In the catalogue of the library of the Academy of Geneva, we find two copies of Epiphanius’ *Panarion* or with the contemporary title *Contra octoaginta haereses opus*: one from 1544²³⁹ and one from 1545.²⁴⁰ The 1544 edition contains the Greek text of Epiphanius’ *Panarion*, *Ancoratus* and *De mensuris et ponderibus*, while the 1545 edition contains the Latin text of the same works translated by the medic and physician Ianus Cornarius. From the (possessor and other) annotations indicated by Gánóczy²⁴¹, it can be concluded that both copies were in the possession of Petrus Martyr, or at least he used them for an unknown period of time.

However, we have no direct evidence of Calvin having used any of these editions; we might presume with great chance that he knew Epiphanius’s work from one of these editions. The reason of my assumption is that in a later period of the Reformation era, these editions by Epiphanius were (according to my circumspect appraisal) the only sources to get acquainted the work of the bishop of Salamis. Research on the websites www.worldcat.org and www.prdl.org shows that the first printed edition of the Greek text of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius and of its Latin translation appeared only in the

²³⁶ Calvini OS 5, 302.

²³⁷ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1321–22.

²³⁸ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559. 488.

²³⁹ Ganoczy, Alexandre: *La Bibliothèque de l’Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements*. Librairie DROZ, Genève 1969. 168 (item nr. 29 bis)

²⁴⁰ Ganoczy, Alexandre: *La Bibliothèque de l’Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements*. Librairie DROZ, Genève 1969. 175 (item nr. 48)

²⁴¹ See the previous two footnotes.

years 1544–1545. Therefore, I will use these editions of Epiphanius’s *Panarion* as a main text in his case.

The first part of Calvin’s paraphrase contains a direct reference to a certain passage from the *Panarion*, namely the chapter in which the author writes against the Marcionite heresy. Epiphanius mentions here that they allowed women to baptize as one of their many wrong cultic practices. For the sake of comparison, I quote both the Greek and the Latin text of the topical passage:

<p>δίδωσι καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν γυναίξει βάπτισμα διδόν- ναι. παρ’ αὐτοῖς γὰρ πάντα χλεύης ἔμπλεα καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ὅποτε καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐνώ- πιον κατηγουμένων ἐπι- τελεῖν τολμῶσιν.²⁴²</p>	<p>Dat etiam permissionem mulie- ribus ut baptismum dent. Apud ipsos enim omnia sunt ludibrio plena, & nihil aliud, quum etiam mysteria coram his qui instituuntur atque initiantur in sacris perficere audeant.²⁴³</p>	<p>They even permit women to administer baptism! For, given that they even venture to celebrate the mysteries in front of cate- chumens, everything they do is simply ridiculous.²⁴⁴</p>
---	--	---

While reading the texts, we can see that there are no major differences between the Greek text and its Latin translation. The only difference is that the “κατηγουμένος” of the Greek text is translated as “*qui instituuntur atque initiantur in sacris*” (i.e., the ones instructed and initiated into the holy [things]). Ergo, Ianus Coronarius made a good translation. Furthermore, based only on this short passage from Epiphanius’ work, we cannot decide whether Calvin used the Greek or the Latin edition in the end.

Based on the above quoted passage from the *Panarion*, Calvin states two ideas: on the one hand, he mentions that Epiphanius “upbraided” Marcion because he allowed women to baptize, and on the other hand, he endorses when Epiphanius calls it a “mockery” to allow women to baptize. Concerning the first statement, I have no supplementary remarks: it is a simple historical reference in which Calvin informs the reader that Epiphanius refuted a cultic practice of the Marcionites. The second statement requires some clarifications. Here, according to Calvin, “Epiphanius declares that it is a mockery to give women the right to baptize”, and that Epiphanius also condemns “this corrupt practice as inexcusable under any pretext”. Nevertheless, reading the text of Epiphanius, we cannot apprehend that he considers giving women the right of baptism a mockery. Instead we read, “everything they do is simply ridiculous” because they celebrate the mysteries in front of catechumens. From Epiphanius’s text, it can be concluded that it is the Marcionite baptismal liturgy that he deems ridiculous or a mockery of the divine institution of the sacraments. It seems highly probable that

²⁴² D. Epiphanii episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus eximium*. Basel 1544. 136.

²⁴³ D. Epiphanii episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus, Panarion, sive Arcula, aut Capsulla Medica appellatur*. Basel 1545. 144–45.

²⁴⁴ Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (sects 1–46)*. Heresy 42. BRILL, Leiden 2009. 298.

Calvin extended the meaning of “πάντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς/omnia apud ipsos” to the administration of baptism by women as well. This way, what Epiphanius states in a specific context, Calvin interprets in a wider one.

* * * * *

A few lines further, Calvin refers to book 3 of the *Panarion* where the bishop of Cyprus aims to refute the heresy of the Collyridians. Collyridianism was an early Christian heretical movement whose adherents apparently worshipped the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, as a goddess. They

brought from Thrace into Arabia the practice of performing rites in honor of the Blessed Virgin on certain days, the chief being the offering of a cake (κολλυρίς), and partaking of it by the worshippers.²⁴⁵

Against them, Epiphanius argues that even “the holy mother of Christ” had no right to baptize. Calvin summarizes here a longer passage which – for the sake of the context – I will quote in its entirety, both in Greek and in Latin:

<p>Ἐλεύομαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην. εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες θεῷ προσετάσσοντο ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατεῖαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν καινῇ διαθήκῃ, τὴν καταξωθεῖσαν ἐν κόλποις ἰδίῳις ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἐπουράνιον υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἧς ἡ μήτρα ναδὸς γενομένη καὶ κατοικητήριον εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν θεοῦ καὶ ἔκπληκτον μυστήριον ἡτοιμάσθη. ἀλλ’ οὐκ εὐδόκησεν.</p>	<p>Deveniam autem et ad Novum Testamentum. Si mulieribus praeceptum esset sacrificare Deo, aut regulare quidquam operari in ecclesia, oportebat magis Mariam sacrificium perficere in Novo Testamento, quia digna facta est suscipere in propriis sinibus universorum regem Deum, coelestem filium Dei: cuius uterus templum factum est ac domicilium ad Domini in carne dispensationem, per Dei benignitatem, et admirandum mysterium praeparatus est. At non</p>	<p>However, I shall also go on to the New Testament as well. If it were ordained by God that women should offer sacrifice or have any canonical function in the church, Mary herself, if anyone, should have functioned as a priest in the New Testament. She was counted worthy to bear the king of all in her own womb, the heavenly God, the Son of God. Her womb became a temple, and by God’s kindness and an awesome mystery was prepared to be the dwelling place of the Lord’s human nature. Nevertheless, it was not God’s pleasure [that</p>
---	--	--

²⁴⁵ Salmon, George: “Collyridians”. In: Wace, Henry – Piercy, William (eds.): *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Hendrickson Publishers, London 1999. 199. (reprinted from the edition originally titled *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, published by John Murray, London, 1911) See: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wace/biodict.html?term=collyridians> (accessed: 22nd May 2015)

<p>ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ βάπτισμα διδόναι πεπίστευται, ἐπεὶ ἡδύνατο ὁ Χριστὸς μάλλον παρ’ αὐτῆς βαπτισθῆναι ἢπερ παρὰ Ἰωάννου. ἀλλὰ Ἰωάννης μὲν παῖς Ζαχαρίου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διετέλεσε βάπτισμα ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν πεπιστευμένος, ὁ δὲ τούτου πατὴρ θεῷ ἱεράτευσε καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ θυμιάματος ὄπτασιον εἶδε. Πέτρος τε καὶ Ἄνδρέας, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης, Φίλιππος καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος, Θωμᾶς, Θαδδαῖος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου, καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου καὶ Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος, καὶ Ματθίας ὁ εἰς πλήρωσιν τῶν δώδεκα ἐκλελεγμένος, οὗτοι πάντες ἐξελέγησαν ἀπόστολοι κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἱερουργούντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἅμα Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ λοιποῖς, καὶ μυστηρίων ἀρχηγέται σὺν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πρώτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.²⁴⁶</p>	<p>complacuit. Sed neque baptisma dare concreditum est, alioque potuisset Christus ab ipsa baptizari potius, quam a Ioanne. At Ioannes quidem filius Zacchariae in deserto perficit baptisma remissionis peccatorum sibi concreditum habens. Pater vero huius Deo sacrificabat, & in tempore suffitus visionem vidit. Petrus item, & Andrea, Iacobus & Ioannes, Philippus et Bartholomaeus, Thomas, Matthaëus, & Iacobus Alphaei, & Iudas Iacobi, & Simon Cananaeus, & Matthias qui in complementum duodecim electus est: hi omnes electi sunt Apostoli, sacrificantes per terram Evangelium una cum Paulo & Barnaba ac reliquis, & mysteriorum duces cum Iacobo fratre Domini et primo episcopo Hierosolymorum.²⁴⁷</p>	<p>she be a priest]. (2) She was not even entrusted with the administration of baptism—for Christ could have been baptized by her rather than by John. However, John the son of Zacharias dwelt in the wilderness entrusted with baptism for the remission of sins, while his father offered sacrifice to God and saw a vision at the time of the offering of incense. 3,3 Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Thaddaeus, James the son of Alphaeus, Judas the son of James and Simon the Zealot, and Matthias who was chosen to make up the number of the Twelve—all these were chosen to be apostles and “offer the Gospel” throughout the world, together with Paul, Barnabas and the rest, and with James, the Lord’s brother and the bishop of Jerusalem, [they were chosen] to preside over mysteries.²⁴⁸</p>
--	--	--

There are some differences between the Greek and the Latin texts, but they do not alter Epiphanius’s original intention. There are differences such as the expression “ἱερατεῦειν θεῷ” (to take a clerical position for God) being translated as “*sacrificare Deo*” (to bring an offer to God). Another difference and also an expression with several meanings is the following phrase: “τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἐπουράνιον υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ”

²⁴⁶ D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus eximium*. Basel 1544. 447.

²⁴⁷ D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus, Panarium, sive Arcula, aut Capsula Medica appellatur*. Basel 1545. 506.

²⁴⁸ Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Books II and III. Heresy 79*. BRILL, Leiden 2013. 638–39.

(the Son of God, [who is the] king of all [and] heavenly god²⁴⁹) which is translated as “universorum regem Deum, coelestem filium Dei” (God, the king of all, the heavenly Son of God). Furthermore, the difference of the punctuation between the Greek text from the 1544 edition and the Greek text of a modern edition is also worth to mention. In the text edited in the 16th century, the passage contains no commas, while in another edition from 1933 we find it divided into three sections by two commas: τὸν παμβασιλέα, θεὸν ἑπουράνιον, υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.²⁵⁰ The variant punctuation offers different ways of interpretation, but these are related to Christology rather than the administration of baptism. The 1544 edition suggests that the singular masculine accusative form of the definite article belongs to the word “υἱὸν”, and all the words between the article and noun are independent adjectives, filling the role of a chain of independent majestic epithets. In the 1933 edition, the commas group these epithets, and this way, the text suggests that the Son of God is above all the king of everything and secondly a heavenly god.

As Calvin solely summarizes this longer passage and he focuses explicitly on the historical aspect of the text, again, we cannot decide whether Calvin used the Greek or the Latin text. I suppose that Calvin used the Latin text (which was obviously easier for him to read), but he might eventually have looked into the Greek text as well.

Calvin merely mentions that Epiphanius underlines that permission to baptize “was not even given to the holy mother of Christ”. According to Calvin, this argument also proves that women are not allowed to baptize. From Epiphanius’s text, we can conclude that the administration of baptism is allowed only to ordained ministers – as we saw it in Calvin’s case as well. The direct consequence of this condition is that women are not allowed to administer baptism because they are not ordained ministers. According to Epiphanius, if Mary, the mother of Jesus was not allowed to fulfil a priestly office (and therefore to administer baptism), how could a common woman be? Calvin accepts Epiphanius’s argumentation as it is and uses it as a historical evidence that administering baptism is the right and duty of ordained ministers who must be men, and by no means women.

* * * * *

We see that through mentioning these two passages from the *Panarion* by Epiphanius, Calvin tries to draw a conclusion from the history of baptismal practice performed in former centuries. If we want to embed Calvin’s argumentation into its historical context, I believe we have to mention women’s right to baptize in the framework of emer-

²⁴⁹ The word “god” is written with small letter, because it is used as an adjective and not as a substantive.

²⁵⁰ Epiphanius von Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3., Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933. 477.

gency baptism. According to this custom, women were allowed to baptize in some cases too. Next to Tertullian, Epiphanius or the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, many other determinative collections oppose to the practice of baptism administered by women. For example, we read in the *Apostolic Constitutions*:

Concerning women baptizing, we make known to you that there is no small danger to women who undertake this. Therefore, we counsel against this, for it is dangerous, or rather unlawful and impious. (3.9.1.)²⁵¹

Concluding from Calvin’s argumentation, it is obvious that he rejects the necessity of emergency baptism. Accordingly, he rejects the administration of baptism by laymen and of course by women too.

* * * * *

Reading Bullinger’s *Decades*, we can find all of these three patristic sources in his 8th sermon on baptism of the fifth “Decade”. While Calvin only summarizes the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius, Bullinger quotes them. In Tertullian’s case, while Calvin merely mentions that Tertullian argued against the administering of baptism by women, Bullinger mentions the title of Tertullian’s treatise used as source. It is his *De virginibus velandis* which – as we saw it in Anthony Lane’s argumentation – was Calvin’s source as well.

The decree of the supposed “fourth council of Carthage” concerning the right of women to baptize is only briefly referred to:

Hoc ipsum repetitur legitur in Concilio Carthaginense IIII, cui interfuisse dicitur etiam Aurelius Augustinus. ²⁵²	This is also read repeated in the fourth council of Carthage, where also Aurelius Augustine is said to have been present. ²⁵³
---	--

By underlining Augustine’s presence in this council, Bullinger wishes to attribute more authority to his argumentation. Comparing both Bullinger’s and Calvin’s reference to the decree of the fourth council of Carthage, which – as we saw it in the analysis of Calvin’s text – can be found in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* by Gennadius, we see that in the 16th century its authenticity was not yet questioned as the collection of the decrees of the council of Carthage.

²⁵¹ See: Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 568.

²⁵² Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 352 verso.

²⁵³ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 370.

In Bullinger's usage of Epiphanius's work (at least concerning baptism), we find the same accuracy as in the case of his usage of other Church Fathers' works. However, he does not mention the title of Epiphanius's work, it is obvious though that the source of the quotations was the *Panarion* by the bishop of Salamis from references as "*confuting Marcion*" or "*reasoning against the heretics Collyridiani*". In Bullinger's work, Epiphanius's quotations are nearly word-for-word quotations from the 1545 Latin edition of the *Panarion*, with occurrent minor stylistic differences.²⁵⁴ E.g., in the last sentence of the first quotation on the Collyridians in the *Panarion*, we read "*sed neque baptimsa dare concreditum est, alioque potuisset Christus ab ipsa baptizari potius, quam a Ioanne*",²⁵⁵ while Bullinger quotes it as "*Sed neque baptimsa dare concreditum est. Alioque potuisset filius ab ipsa potius, quam a Ioanne baptizari*".²⁵⁶ Three differences can be identified between the two sentences. The first difference is that Bullinger divides into two shorter sentences what the translator of the *Panarion* expresses in one longer sentence. Secondly, at the end of the sentence, there is a difference in word order. Thirdly, while the translator speaks of *Christus*, Bullinger simply uses the term *filius*.

There are some major differences to be noted between Calvin's and Bullinger's usage of Epiphanius's work. The first important difference is that Bullinger inserts a passage about the existence of the order of "women ministers, called women deacons" which Calvin did not refer to. However – as it was emphasized both by Epiphanius and more than a millennia later by Bullinger as well – they were not allowed "to sacrifice, neither to attempt anything, but for reverence sake of women-kind, or for the hour of bathing, or visiting, or for affection and travel".²⁵⁷ Another difference compared with Calvin is that Bullinger refers to the passage of the *Panarion*, where Epiphanius refutes the "Quintilian and Peputian heretics", who considered Moses's sister a prophet in order to prove women's right to ministry.²⁵⁸

The last difference between Calvin's and Bullinger's usage of the Church Fathers' work related to the question of administering baptism by women is that while Calvin speaks only about women who are not allowed to baptize, Bullinger specifies who these women are. He speaks about "*obstetrices foeminae*": midwives who used to administer

²⁵⁴ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 352 verso – 253 recto.

²⁵⁵ D. Epiphanii episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoaginta haereses opus, Panarium, sive Arcula, aut Capsulla Medica appellatur*. Basel 1545. 506.

²⁵⁶ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 253 recto.

²⁵⁷ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 371.

²⁵⁸ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557. 352 verso.

baptism in cases of necessity when a newborn baby was in danger of dying before they could have been baptized by an ecclesiastical minister. Bullinger argues with the same illustrations as Calvin that

a ministerio autem ecclesiae arceri mulieres, has ergo non posse nec debere baptizare, quemadmodum & docere nullo modo permittuntur. ²⁵⁹	women are forbidden to minister in the church, therefore they neither can nor ought to baptize, as they are by no means permitted to teach”. ²⁶⁰
---	---

PATRISTIC REFERENCES RELATED TO INFANT BAPTISM

There are only three direct patristic references on infant baptism in the whole chapter (Inst IV 16). The reason of the low number in these references might be that Calvin’s adversaries who fought against infant baptism were not the theologians of the Church of Rome (which highly esteemed the Church Fathers) but the Anabaptists – against whom Calvin needed different kind of arguments than against Roman-Catholics. The three topics which contain patristic references are the following ones:

- where Calvin speaks about the origins of infant baptism (Inst IV 16,8)
- where he argues that there is no difference between baptism and circumcision (Inst IV 16,16)
- where he explains the relation between infant baptism and the Lord’s Supper (Inst IV 16,30)

The references from Inst IV 16,8 and Inst IV 16,16 are anonymous; Calvin refers here to the Church Fathers as “ancient writers” and the “old writers”. In Inst IV 16,30 he mentions two names: Augustine and Cyprian, but without naming the works he used. In the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, we find no source indications neither in the main text nor among the marginal notes. If we want to determine Calvin’s sources, we have to rely either upon the works of Calvin’s co-Reformers or the results of the research done by those scholars who had already tried it.

THE ORIGINS OF INFANT BAPTISM

In Inst IV 16,8 Calvin argues that the silence of the Scripture on the practice of infant baptism is no evidence of its inexistence. He accuses the opponents of denying the practice of infant baptism “most shamefully untruthful”. Regarding the origin of infant baptism, Calvin states:

²⁵⁹ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froshoveri 1557. 352 verso.

²⁶⁰ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 370.

<p>Siquidem nullus est scriptor tam vetustus qui non eius originem ad apostolorum saeculum pro certo referat.²⁶¹</p>	<p>For indeed, there is no writer, however ancient, who does not regard its origin in the apostolic age as a certainty. (Inst IV 16,8).²⁶²</p>
---	---

This summative sentence appears for the first time in the 1539 edition of the *Institutes*, but there are no references to its sources. The editors of the English translation used in this research indicate the following works as possible sources for this statement: Irenaeus’ *Adversus haereses II*. XXII,4; Origen’s *Commentary on Romans V*, IX and Cyprian’s *Letters LXIV*,6.

However, there are many passages in the *Decretum Gratiani* and the *Sententiarum libri quattuor* of Petrus Lombardus which deal with different questions of infant baptism. We cannot find references in them, which should prove its apostolic origins. I think the answer should be sought in historical circumstances. In the Middle Ages, due to the interpretation of tradition, it was self-evident that infant baptism has apostolic origins. It became the most questioned issue in the 16th century, alongside the appearance of Anabaptists.

Therefore, Calvin’s primary source should be sought among the first adversaries of the Anabaptists. In the second edition (*secundum aetas*) of *Melanchton*’s *Loci communes* from 1535, we find a series of patristic quotations which are meant to prove the apostolic origins of infant baptism. In the first edition from 1521, we find no reference to the apostolic origins of infant baptism because in those very early years of the German Reformation, it was generally accepted and not questioned. It was necessary to insert an independent chapter on infant baptism in the second edition because of the appearance of Anabaptists. His first writing against them dates from 1528: *Adversus Anabaptistas Philippi Melanchthoni Judicium*. Now, let us see which testimonies of the Church Fathers (and in which context) Melanchthon quotes in order to prove the apostolic origins of the practice of infant baptism:

<p>Cum igitur constet anabaptistas agi phanatico spiritu, non moveat nos eorum autoritas, ut discedamus a communi consensui veteris ecclesiae de baptizandis infantibus. Nam vetustissimi scriptores ecclesiastici probant baptismum infantum. Origenes enim in 6. cap. ad Roma. sic scribit. Itaque et ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem accepit etiam parvulis dare baptismum. Sciebant enim illi quibus</p>	<p>This being so, that the Anabaptists are moved by a fanatic spirit, their authority does not move us from teaching that established doctrine of the early Church on the infant baptism. The oldest ecclesiastical writers support infant baptism. Origen, commenting on 6th chapter of Romans, writes, “The Church received from the apostles this tradition that we should baptize young children as well. For, those who were entrusted with the mysteries of divine things</p>
--	--

²⁶¹ Calvini OS 5, 311.

²⁶² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1331.

secreta divinorum misteriorum commissa sunt, quod essent in omnibus genuinae sordes peccati quae per aquam et spiritum ablui deberent. Haec sunt Origenis verba, in quibus utrumque testatur et baptizari infantes et consequi eos per baptismum remissionem peccati originale, hoc est, reconciliari eos deo. Cyprianus scribit in concilio damnatam esse opinionem cuiusdam qui infantes non volebat ante octavum diem baptizari. Sensit enim Synodus infantes baptizandos esse, nec observari oportere praescriptum tempus octavi diei. Augustinus de baptismo contra Donatistas li. 4. ait. De baptismo parvulorum quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi apostolica autoritate traditum rectissime credimus. Item veraciter coniecere possumus quid valeat in parvulis baptismi sacramentum ex circumcisione carnis quam prior populus accepit. Haec et similia loca testantur veterem ecclesiam approbare baptismum infantum, quae ideo observanda sunt, quia noni ulli impostores ut fucum faciant illiteratis allegant patres quasi improbant baptismum infantum. Afficiunt patres insigni iniuria. Deinde et hoc observandum est Non est tutum dogma aliquod recipere cuius prorsus non extat testimonium in veteri ecclesia.²⁶³

well know that all men have original sin, which should be washed away by water and Spirit." These are the words of Origen, in which he teaches and confesses both that we should baptize infants, and that through it they obtain the forgiveness of the original sin, that is: they are reconciled to God.

Cyprian writes that the council judged the opinion of those who did not want to baptize their children before the 8th day. The council concluded that children should be baptized, without observing a prescribed period of eight days.

Augustine asserts in the 4th book of his *De baptismo contra Donatistas*: the tradition about infant baptism, which the entire church maintains, was not established in the councils, but on the contrary, it has been always maintained in the Church. Therefore, we rightly believe that it was begun by the apostles themselves and established as a custom. Likewise, what the sacrament of baptism effects in young children, we can truly judge from the circumcision, which was received by the early people of God.

These and similar passages clearly indicate that the Early Church has kept infant baptism. These should be diligently noted, because some impostors wish to depress the unintelligent, saying that the ancient fathers taught against infant baptism. This, however, is doing a great injustice to the fathers. From these, one should further observe one should not receive any dogma, which has absolutely no testimony in the early Church.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Melancthon, Philippus: *Loci communes theologici recens collecti & recollecti*. Klug, Wittenberg 1535. without page numbering. The title of the chapter from which I quote this passage is: *de baptismo infantium*.

²⁶⁴ Since I did not find any English translation of the 1535 edition of the *Loci communes*, I have translated this passage based on the translation of Clyde Manschreck of the 1555 edition. I followed his translation, but where I found necessary I adapted it to the Latin text of 1535. See. Manschreck, Clyde: *Melancthon on Christian Doctrine. Loci Communes 1555*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1965. 210–11.

However, in the catalogue of the Academy of Genève edited by Gánóczy, we cannot find references to Melanchthon's *Loci communes*; we shall not exclude the possibility of Calvin having read it. We know that during his stay in Strasbourg, Calvin must have sold some of his own books, first those which remained in Geneva, but later other books as well.²⁶⁵ Calvin could have owned Melanchthon's *Loci communes* during his first stay in Geneva, but we shall not exclude the possibility of Calvin having had access to it from other sources, e.g., in Bucer's library. I think I am not wrong if I suppose that one of the main sources of Calvin's argument regarding the apostolic origins of infant baptism was the collection of the patristic quotations from the 1535 edition of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*.

As I mentioned, while Calvin merely summarizes the opinions of certain Church Fathers without particular references, Melanchthon quotes them largely and in detail. Apparently, Melanchthon quotes the testimony of the Church Fathers against Anabaptist due to his own humanist erudition. Calvin, on the contrary, solely summarizes these patristic testimonies because he argues against them using the explanations of biblical passages rather than applying the early Christian tradition.

Finally, I'd find it interesting to take a look at the (now frequently mentioned) 8th sermon of the fifth decade from *Bullinger's Decades*. I am aware that it could not have been Calvin's source because of the date of publication, but it reveals some aspects of the Reformer's use of the Church Fathers' works. We can see on the one hand that both Bullinger and Melanchthon aim to prove the apostolic origin of infant baptism, while on the other hand, only the fragments from Origen's commentary on Romans and Augustine's *De baptismo contra Donatistas* are common in the patristic quotations of the two authors. Cyprian's letter is only mentioned with a remark that it was discussed in the passage on the time of baptism. Beside these references, Bullinger mentions other relevant testimonies of the early Church. As it is evident from Bullinger's text, through the writings of the "old doctors" he wants to show that the pope did not establish the practice of infant baptism as the Anabaptists imagined it. For the sake of comparison, let us insert Bullinger's text here:

Iam vero ex veterum scriptis demonstrare possumus, infantium baptismum duravisse ab apostolorum temporibus ad nos usque, neque ullis conciliis aut Papae aliorumque hominum decretis institutum esse, sed ab ipsis apostolicis ex Scriptura traditum.
Origenes lib. enarrat. epst. Pauli ad

Now I can show by the writings of the old doctors that baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time even unto us; neither was it ordained by any council or by the decrees of any pope, or other men; but instituted and delivered of the apostles out of the scriptures.
Origen, Lib. Enarrat. in Epist. Pauli ad Rom.

²⁶⁵ Gilmont, Jean-François: *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 2005. 136–37.

Rom. 5 exponens 6. cap. dicit ecclesiam Christi parvulorum baptismum ab ipsis accepisse apostolis.

S. Hierony. meminit baptismi infantium lib. 3. contra Pelagianos, & in epist. ad Laetam.

S. Augustinus citat locum Chrysostomi, imo a Iuliano citatum illustrat lib. contra Iulian. I. cap. 2. Idem ad S. Hierony. epist. 28. Beatus Cyprianus non aliquod decretum novum condens, ait, sed ecclesiae fidem firmissime servans, mox natum rite baptizari posse cum suis quibusdam coepiscopis censuit.

Locus Cypriani extat in epist. ad Fidum, sicuti supra etiam cum de tempore baptismi loqueremur ostendimus.

Idem August. contra Donatistas lib. 4. cap. 23. & 24. afferit paedobaptismum non ex autoritate hominum aut conciliorum esse petatum, sed ex traditione vel doctrina apostolorum.

Cyrillus libro in Levit. 8. & puerorum baptismum approbat, & iterationem baptismi condemnat.

Id quod non in hunc finem profero ut humanis imponam testimoniis paedobaptismum, sed ut doceam divinis testimoniis congruere humana, & vetustatis veritatem stare a patribus nostris, mendacia & nova figmentum a patribus effrontium anabaptistarum, fingentium paedobaptismum a Papa esse praeceptum.²⁶⁶

v. expounding the vi. chap, saith, “That the church of Christ received of the apostles themselves baptizing of infants”.

St Hierome maketh mention of the baptizing of infants, Lib. iii. Contra Pelagianos 2, and in his epistle to Laeta.

St Augustine citeth the place of Chrysostom, nay, being cited of Julian, chap. ii. He also unto Jerome, Epist. 28, saith, “St Cyprian, making no new decree, but most steadfastly keeping the faith of the church, was of this opinion with certain of his fellow-bishops, that the new-born child might rightly be baptized”.

The place of Cyprian is to be seen in Epi. ad Fidum; as also I declared before, when I spake of the time of baptism”.

The same Augustine against the Donatists, Lib. iv. cap. 23 and 24, boldly affirmeth, “baptizing of children was not fetched from the authority of men, or of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles”.

Cyri. Lib. in Levit. viii. both approveth the baptizing of children, and condemneth the iterating of baptism.

Which thing I do not allege to this end, to build the baptizing of children upon man’s witness; but to teach that man’s testimonies agree with the testimonies of God, and that the truth of antiquities is on our part, lies, and new forgeries on the shameless Anabaptists’ side, who feign that baptizing of children was commanded by the pope.²⁶⁷

The similarities between the argumentations of Melanchthon and Bullinger raise the question: can we infer that Bullinger also used Melanchthon’s *Loci communes* during the preparations of his *Decades*? If we accept this presumption, comparing Calvin’s and Bullinger’s use of Melanchthon’s work, we see that while Calvin summarized the patristic testimonies used by Melanchthon within one sentence, Bullinger expanded them.

²⁶⁶ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VI. De Sacramentis. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froshoveri 1557. 357 verso.

²⁶⁷ Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852. 392–93.

That happened probably because Bullinger wanted to refute the Anabaptist approach to infant baptism not only with biblical but also with abundant historical evidence. This presupposition is confirmed by the fact that after these quotations related to the origins of infant baptism, through patristic references, Bullinger shows that the orthodox theologians condemned the predecessors of Anabaptists during the whole history of the early church.

ALLEGORIZING THE EIGHTH DAY

In Inst IV 16,16 Calvin objects “further apparent differences between baptism and circumcision” – as we read it in the title of the English translation used in this research. The difference between them, which Calvin refutes, is that according to the Anabaptists, “baptism applies to the first day of the spiritual combat, but circumcision to the eighth, after mortification is finished” (Inst IV 16,16).²⁶⁸ Calvin accuses them with self-contradiction as well because in other places they call circumcision “a figure of mortification of the flesh”. After presenting the accusations against them, Calvin offers a more plausible way of allegorizing the eighth day:

Si in octavo die libebat ἀλληγορεῖν, non tamen eo modo conveniebat. Multo satius fuerit post veteres numerum octonarium in resurrectionem octavo die factam referre, unde vitae novitatem pendere scimus; aut ad totum praesentis vitae cursum, quo procedere semper debet mortificatio, donec, eo *peracto*, ipsa quoque perfecta fuerit.²⁶⁹

If they wanted to allegorize upon the eighth day, it was still not fitting to do so in this way. According to the old writers, it would be more fitting to refer the number eight to the resurrection (which took place on the eighth day), upon which we know that newness of life depends; or to the whole course of the present life, during which mortification ought always to proceed until, when life is finished, it also is accomplished. (Inst IV 16,16).²⁷⁰

This argument appears for the first time in the 1539 edition of the *Institutes*.²⁷¹ Here Calvin refers to the Church Fathers as “*veteres*”, without any further indication of authors and their writings. The editors of the English translation indicated two works of Augustine – his *Letter 157^b to Hilarius* and his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres* – as possible sources. Both of these writings can be found in the Basel edition of Augustine’s works: the *Letter 157^b to Hilarius* (according to the numbering of the Basel edition, it is Letter 89) in volume 2, while the writing *Against Faustus the Manichee* is in volume 6. Both of these writings contain the same idea which Calvin refers to, but with different words:

²⁶⁸ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1338.

²⁶⁹ Calvini OS 5,319.

²⁷⁰ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1338–39.

²⁷¹ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christiana religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribellium, Strasbourg 1539. 319.

<i>Letter to 89 (157) Hilarius, ch. 14.</i>	<i>Against Faustus, book 16,29</i>
<p>Utique resurrectionem dicit iustorum, ubi est vita aeterna; non resurrectionem iniquorum, ubi mors erit aeterna: ideo ait, <i>vivificabuntur</i>; quia illi damnabuntur. Hinc et in veteribus Sacramentis circumcisio parvulorum octava die fieri praecepta est, quoniam Christus, in quo fit delicti carnalis exspoliatio, quam significat circumcisio, die dominico resurrexit, qui post septimum sabbati octavus est. Haec ergo fides etiam antiquorum iustorum fuit.²⁷²</p>	<p><i>Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem.</i> Ut ergo induatur immortalitate, exuitur mortalitate: hoc est circumcisionis mysterium, quae octavo die fieri iussa est, et octavo die, id est, dominico post sabbatum iam in veritate a Domino impleta. Unde dicitur: <i>Exuens se carnem, principatus et potestates exemplavit.</i> Per hanc enim mortalitatem nobis invidiae 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 complebitur: haec est fides nostra. Et quoniam, sicut testimonium propheticum Paulus commemorat: <i>Iustus ex fide vivit</i>; haec est iustificatio nostra.²⁷³</p>
<p>Therefore, he says the resurrection of the righteous, where there is everlasting life. He does not say the resurrection of the uneven, where there will be eternal death. Therefore, he says they will be vivified, because those will be judged. Hence was decreed in the old sacraments, that the circumcision of infants should happened upon the eighth day. Whereas Christ, in whom the spoiling of the carnal delicts (which is signified by the circumcision) will happen, has been resurrected on the Lord’s day, which, after the seventh day of Sabbat, the eighth day is. In consequence, this was the faith of the ancient righteous.</p>	<p><i>For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.</i> 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.²⁷⁴</p>

²⁷² Augustinus: *Epistola 89 ad Hilario*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 260C.

²⁷³ Augustinus: *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres*. In: *Sextus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 229A.

²⁷⁴ Augustine: *Against Faustus the Manichee*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/140616.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)

Since we cannot find these motifs neither in *Decretum Gortiani* nor in the *Sentences* of Petrus Lombardus, we might accept that Calvin got inspired while reading Augustine privately. Referring to Augustine's ideas, Calvin wants to show the Anabaptists a more suitable method – a method of allegorizing, which they did not do. Calvin does not evaluate Augustine's ideas; he mentions only that this kind of allegoric interpretation of the eighth day is by far better than the self-contradictory and unfounded allegorizing of the Anabaptists.

INFANT BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

In Inst IV 16,30 Calvin refutes the opinion of Anabaptists who argue that “there is no more reason to administer baptism to infants than the Lord's Supper, which is not permitted to them” (Inst IV 16,30). Against this opinion, Calvin writes:

Quasi vero scriptura latum modis omnibus discrimen non notaret. Fuit quidem id in veteri ecclesia factitatum, ut ex Cypriano et Augustino constat; sed merito mos ille obsolevit.²⁷⁵

As if, Scripture did not mark a wide difference in every respect! This permission was indeed commonly given in the ancient church, as is clear from Cyprian and Augustine, but the custom has deservedly fallen into disuse. (Inst IV 16,30).²⁷⁶

Later Calvin argues that the Bible makes a distinction between baptism and the Lord's Supper in every respect. He repeats what he already said at the beginning of Inst IV 15, that “is an entrance and a sort of initiation into the Church, through which we are numbered among God's people: a sign of our spiritual regeneration, through which we are reborn as children of God”. Therefore, “with respect to baptism, the Lord there sets no definite age”. In opposition, in the case of the Lord's Supper, the ability of “discerning the body and the blood of the Lord, of examining of their own conscience, of proclaiming the Lord's death, and of considering its power” is required (Inst IV 16,30).

We find this objection against the Anabaptists in the 1539 edition, but without any patristic references.²⁷⁷ The patristic references related to this question appear only in the 1543 edition.²⁷⁸ Here Calvin mentions two names, Cyprian's and Augustine's, but he does not specify which of their works he used in the formulation of this idea. In the English translation of the *Institutes*, Cyprian's *On the Lapsed* IX,XXV; Augustine's *On the merits and remission of sins* I, XX,27 and his *Letter 217* 5,16 are specified as possible sources. Next, based on the sources indicated above, I will try to unfold the content of the permission given in the early church, which later “has deservedly fallen into disuse”.

²⁷⁵ Calvini OS 5, 335.

²⁷⁶ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II., 1352.

²⁷⁷ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribelum, Strasbourg 1539. 326.

²⁷⁸ Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribelum, Strasbourg 1543. 428.

Cyprian of Carthage is one of the early Christian authors who Calvin refers to. In his treatise *De lapsi*, he mentions the story of a child²⁷⁹ as witness of the events in order to illustrate that “in a profane body and mouth the Eucharist could not remain” (*On the lapsed* 25). According to the narration, some parents left their daughter in the care of a wet-nurse who gave her to the magistrates. They fed her some bread with wine which was used in the immolation of Gentiles. Cyprian emphasizes that when her mother got her back, the girl “was no more able to speak, or to indicate the crime that had been committed, than she had before been able to understand or to prevent it”. The mother, knowing nothing of what had happened, took her to the worship of the Lord’s Supper. The girl grew impatient with the “prayer and supplications, and was at one moment shaken with weeping, and at another tossed about like a wave of the sea by the violent excitement of her mind”. When the minister got to her with the cup, “the little child, by the instinct of the divine majesty, turned away its face, compressed its mouth with resisting lips, and refused the cup”. The minister persisted, and against her efforts, “forced on her some of the sacrament of the cup. Then there followed a sobbing and vomiting.” Cyprian drew the conclusion that “in a profane body and mouth the Eucharist could not remain; the draught sanctified in the blood of the Lord burst forth from the polluted stomach. So great is the Lord’s power, so great is His majesty”.

In the 9th chapter of the same work, Cyprian gives the following words in the mouth of a child whose parents apostatized:

We have done nothing; *nor have we forsaken the Lord’s bread and cup* to hasten freely to a profane contact; the faithlessness of others has ruined us. We have found our parents our murderers; they have denied to us the Church as a Mother; they have denied God as a Father: so that, while we were little, and unforeseen, and unconscious of such a crime, we were associated by others to the partnership of wickedness, and we were snared by the deceit of others.²⁸⁰

The claim that children whose parents apostatized did not reject the Lord’s bread and cup which was placed upon their lips presupposes the fact that they were indeed participants at the Lord’s Supper by right.

The above presented passages reveal that Cyprian does not aim to legalize children’s participation in the Lord’s Supper. He merely wanted to illustrate that holiness is required to take part in the Lord’s Supper. However, his narrative implies that in some North-African churches of the 3rd century, children were also partakers of the community in the Lord’s Supper.

A sort of theological argumentation in the favour of children partaking in the community of the Lord’s Supper can be found in *Augustine’s De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*, where the author writes:

²⁷⁹ Cyprian: *On the lapsed*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050703.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).

²⁸⁰ Cyprian: *On the lapsed*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050703.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).

An vero quisquam etiam hoc dicere audebit, quod ad parvulos haec sententia non pertineat possintque sine participatione corporis huius et sanguinis in se habere vitam, quia non ait: “Qui non manducaverit”, sicut de baptismo: *Qui non renatus fuerit*, sed ait: *Si non manducaveritis*, velut eos alloquens qui audire et intellegere poterant, quod utique non valent parvuli? Sed qui hoc dicit, non adtendit, quia nisi omnes ista sententia teneat, ut sine corpore et sanguine Filii hominis vitam habere non possint, frustra etiam aetas maior id curat. Potest enim, si non voluntatem, sed verba loquentis adtendas, eis solis videri dictum, quibus tunc Dominus loquebatur, quia non ait “qui non manducaverit”, sed: *Si non manducaveritis*. Et ubi est quod eodem loco de hac ipsa re ait: *Panis, quem ego dederò, caro mea est pro saeculi vita?* Secundum hoc enim etiam ad nos pertinere illud sacramentum intellegimus, qui tunc nondum fuimus, quando ista dicebat, quia non possumus dicere ad saeculum nos non pertinere, pro cuius vita Christus suam carnem dedit. Quis autem ambigat saeculi nomine homines significasse, qui nascendo in hoc saeculum veniunt? Nam, sicut alibi ait: *Filii saeculi huius generant et generantur*. Ac per hoc etiam pro parvulorum vita caro data est, quae data est pro saeculi vita; et si non manducaverint carnem filii hominis, nec ipsi habebunt vitam.²⁸¹

Will, however, any man be so bold as to say that this statement has no relation to infants, and that they can have life in them without partaking of His body and blood – on the ground that He does not say, Except *one* eat, but Except *you* eat; as if He were addressing those who were able to hear and to understand, which of course infants cannot do? But he who says this is inattentive; because, unless *all* are embraced in the statement, that without the body and the blood of the Son of man men cannot have life, it is to no purpose that even the elder age is solicitous of it. For if you attend to the mere words, and not to the meaning, of the Lord as He speaks, this passage may very well seem to have been spoken merely to the people whom He happened at the moment to be addressing; because He does not say, Except *one* eat; but Except *you* eat. What also becomes of the statement which He makes in the same context on this very point: The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world? For, it is according to this statement, that we find that sacrament pertains also to us, who were not in existence at the time the Lord spoke these words; for we cannot possibly say that we do not belong to the world, for the life of which Christ gave His flesh. Who indeed can doubt that in the term *world* all persons are indicated who enter the world by being born? For, as He says in another passage, The children of this world beget and are begotten. From all this it follows, that even for the life of *infants* was His flesh given, which He gave for the life of the world; and that even they will not have life if they eat not the flesh of the Son of man.²⁸²

It comes clear in the passage that Augustine also favoured paedocommunion. He argues that the reference to eating Christ’s flesh and drinking His blood in John 6 refers

²⁸¹ Augustinus: *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 449–50. (In the exemplar used by me, the page number 450 is wrongly written 446.)

²⁸² Augustine: *On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Baptism of Infants*. Book I 20,27. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/15011.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)

to “the sacrament of His own holy table”. He asserts that the requirement of John 6,53 (*except you eat of my flesh and drink my blood, you shall have no life in you*) is universal, stressing the universality of Christ’s statement, including references to infants. This supports his argument which is meant to demonstrate the reality of original sin.

In his *Letter 217* (107 in the Basel edition) to *Vitalis*, Augustine proposes twelve anti-Pelagian assertions. In the eighth proposition, he asserts that “infants too will receive either reward or punishment in accordance with what they did in the body”. To see precisely what Augustine implies here, I quote the whole eighth proposition:

Scimus etiam parvulos secundum ea quae per corpus gesserunt, recepturos vel bonum vel malum. Gesserunt autem non per seipsos, sed per eos quibus pro illis respondentibus et renuntiare diabolo dicuntur et credere in Deum; unde et in numero fidelium computantur, pertinentes ad sententiam Domini dicentis: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*. Propter quod et illis qui hoc Sacramentum non accipiunt, contingit quod sequitur: *Qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur*. Unde et ipsi, sicut dixi, si in illa parva aetate moriuntur, utique secundum ea quae per corpus gesserunt, id est tempore quo in corpore fuerunt, quando per corda et ora gestantium crediderunt vel non crediderunt, quando baptizati vel non baptizati sunt, quando carnem Christi manducaverunt vel non manducaverunt, quando et sanguinem biberunt vel non biberunt; secundum haec ergo quae per corpus gesserunt, non secundum ea quae, si diu hic viverent, gesturi fuerant, iudicantur.²⁸³

We know that infants too will receive either reward or punishment in accord with what they did in the body. They did nothing by themselves, however, but by those who make the responses for them and by whom they are said to renounce the devil and to believe in God. Hence, they are counted in the number of believers, included in the Lord’s statement when he says; *one, who believes and is baptized, will be saved*. For this reason there also applies to those who do not receive this sacrament what follows: *but one who does not believe, will be condemned*. Hence, if they die at that early age, they too, as I said, are certainly judged in accord with what they did in the body, that is, at the time when they were in the body, when by the hearts and lips of those presenting them they believed or did not believe, when they were or were not baptized, when they ate or did not eat the flesh of Christ, when they drank or did not drink the blood of Christ. They will be judged in accord with what they did in the body, and no ways in accord with what they were going to do if they had lived here longer.²⁸⁴

Due to its explicitness, in order to illustrate Augustine’s position less ambiguously, I insert here a passage from his 174th sermon on 1 Timothy 1,15 which, however, I did not find in the Basel edition of his writings:

²⁸³ Augustinus: *Epistola 107 ad Vitali Carthaginensi*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 322D.

²⁸⁴ Augustine: *Letter 217*. In: Augustine (auth.) – Teske, Roland, S.J. (tr.): *Letters 211–270*. Augustinian Heritage Institute – New City Press, New York 2005. 60.

Qui dicit infantilem aetatem non habere quod salvet Iesus, omnibus fidelibus infantibus Christum negat esse Iesum. Qui dicit, inquam, infantilem aetatem non habere quod salvet Iesus in ea, nihil aliud dicit quam Christum Dominum fidelibus infantibus, id est, in Christo baptizatis infantibus non esse Iesum. Iesus enim quid est? Interpretatur Iesus, Salvator. Salvator est Iesus. Quos non salvat, non habendo quod in eis salvet, non est illis Iesus. Iam si corda vestra tolerant, aliquibus baptizatis Christum non esse Iesum, nescio utrum fides vestra in regula sana possit agnosci. Infantes sunt, sed membra eius fiunt. Infantes sunt, sed Sacramenta eius accipiunt. Infantes sunt, sed mensae eius participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam.²⁸⁵

Those who say that infancy has nothing in it for Jesus to save are denying that Christ is Jesus for all believing infants. Those, I repeat, who say that infancy has nothing in it for Jesus to save, are saying nothing else than that for believing infants, infants that is who have been baptized in Christ, Christ the Lord is not Jesus. After all, what is Jesus? Jesus means Savior. Jesus is the Savior. Those whom he does not save, having nothing to save in them, well for them he is not Jesus. Well now, if you can tolerate the idea that Christ is not Jesus for some persons who have been baptized, then I am not sure your faith can be recognized as according with the sound rule. Yes, they are infants, but they are his members. *They are infants, but they receive his sacraments. They are infants, but they share in his table, in order to have life in themselves.*

Beside Cyprian and Augustine, there were other early Christian theologians who testified for infants' communion with the Lord's Supper or who endorsed this practice. We can find such passages in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, or in the writings of Leo the Great (e.g., *Letter 167*).

Calvin does not evaluate the patristic references too long. He solely mentions that there was a custom in the early church (namely that the Lord's Supper was delivered to children as well), but this custom "has deservedly fallen into disuse" (*sed merito mos ille obsolevit*). The word *deservedly* (*merito*) expresses Calvin's unambiguous opinion about children's participation in the communion with the Lord's Supper: participation is allowed only for those who are able to understand its significance. Calvin argues against the idea of paedocommunion through the explanation of some passages from the formula of institution of the Lord's Supper. He writes about self-examination being required before the reception of the sacrament, and about eating and drinking unworthily, which brings condemnation upon the commitment. He believes that the most important duty of those who partake of the Lord's Supper is that they "proclaim the Lord's death until He comes". Satisfying these requirements postulates the ability to discern the matter of the sacrament and the sign, and to understand the real power of the sacrament(s). This way, through rejecting the practice of paedocommunion, Calvin makes a clear difference between the two sacraments: the definition of their essence and their role answer the question why baptism shall be delivered to infants as well, while

²⁸⁵ Augustinus: *Sermo 174,7*. See: <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/index2.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).

the Lord's Supper shall not. Those who are initiated into the Church and who are counted as God's people (especially infants) have to reach spiritual maturity when they are able to comprehend the mystery of salvation through Jesus Christ.

CONCLUSIONS

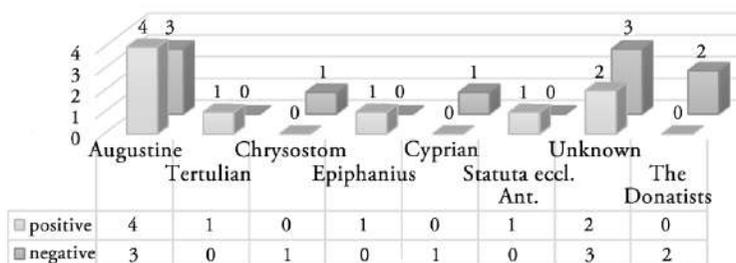
GENERAL ASPECTS IN CALVIN'S USE OF THE CHURCH FATHERS ON BAPTISM IN INST IV 14-16

Calvin's use of the patristic quotations and references concerning baptism is an eminent example that his perception of the (baptismal practice of the) Early Church is quite complex. General clichés are just not enough to describe it. If we wish for an overview of Calvin's positive and negative evaluation of the Church Fathers regarding baptism, I can offer it in the following table:

Name	evaluation			
	positive		negative	
Augustine	4	Inst IV 14,4; Inst IV 14,15; Inst IV 15,8; Inst IV 16,16	3	Inst IV 15,7; Inst IV 15,20; Inst IV 16,30
Tertullian	1	Inst IV 15,21		
Chrysostom			1	Inst IV 15,7
Statuta ecclesiae antiqua	1	Inst IV 15,20		
Epiphanius of Salamis	1	Inst IV 15,21		
Cyprian			1	Inst IV 16,30
The Donatists			2	Inst IV 15,8; Inst IV 15,16
Unknown sources	2	Inst IV 15,3; Inst IV 16,8	3	Inst IV 15,10; Inst IV 15,19; Inst IV 15,20

In order to express these data in a somewhat clearer way, we get the following diagram as a result:

Evaluation of patristic references on baptism by Calvin



From the above presented data, it is evident that positive rating and negative criticism on the different patristic quotations occur in approximately the same proportion (47% positive and 53% negative criticism). In the case of Augustine and the unknown sources we find both positive and negative feedbacks, while in the case of other authors who are quoted only once in this topic, we find either positive or negative opinions. We must clearly not judge Calvin's approach to the Church Fathers by modern scientific requirements. Sometimes, due to the absence of adequate sources, it is difficult to interpret it. It is obviously a really complex question, and every answer which we try to provide raises other questions. Nevertheless, there are some factors which can help us understand and interpret Calvin's approach to the Fathers:

The first and perhaps the most important one is a text-historical factor. I accept Anthony Lane's and Irena Backus's assumption that in most cases, Calvin did not read the original Greek text of the Eastern Fathers but only the Latin translation. In some cases, due to the lack of Greek editions, he could not have known how accurate the translation which he used was. Reading Epiphanius, Calvin had the chance to compare the Greek text by the bishop of Salamis with its Latin translation. But, unfortunately, the reference from Inst IV 15,21 does not provide enough foundation to determine whether he really did it. In the case of the doctrine of baptism, he had a translation of good quality, while in other cases – e.g., when he quotes the homily by Chrysostom entitled *De proditione Iudae* related to free will – we can see the immeasurable theological (and ethical) damage that can be caused by a wrong translation.

Furthermore, we must see that in nearly 500 years the requirements of the scholarship have changed as well. At this point, we raise the question: to what extent was the original context of the quotation minded? Even nowadays, it can be tempting to ignore the proper context of a quotation and to cite an idea in a rather different context. So, due to the changes of half a millennium, we must not judge Calvin's approach too harsh. I have to mention only that in some cases, ignoring the original context led him to misinterpreting the teaching of the Church Fathers, and to interpreting their teaching in the shadow of the theological questions of the 16th century. It means that Calvin appraised the teaching of the Church Fathers according to his own era and theological milieu. He condemned some of their teachings because he considered them dangerous to Reformation in the 16th century. Accordingly, Calvin accepted the teachings from the theological heritage of the Church Fathers as true and precious because he believed that those ideas can considerably fortify the cause of the Reformation. In this situation, Calvin did not question the larger context of the Church Fathers and the context in which he quoted them, for him, they were similar and by any means adequate. For instance, I will allude to the passage where Calvin rejects Augustine's and Chrysostom's position on the difference between the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ (and the apostles). In the passage in question, I present the difference between the context and the intention of the two Church Fathers and that of Calvin.

Furthermore, we must not ignore the fact that there was a difference between the partial aims of Calvin and the Church Fathers. I am convinced that their main goal was the same (practice of true piety), but their methods and audience were different. Calvin wrote a book about "systematic theology" about the persecuted Christians, while the Church Fathers wrote about treatises in their specific context. E.g., Chrysostom focused on the practical application of the divine message to his listeners and he did not exploit the problems of systematic theology too much. Therefore, different topics of systematic theology appear merely embedded in other topics regarding the practice of Christian life. Augustine and Tertullian wrote their works mainly with a strong polemical and apologetic character. They wanted to defend the Church and the true doctrine from the heretics of their time (Cainites, Donatists, Manichees, Pelagians etc). On the account of this difference between the contexts, Calvin did not always know how to handle their ideas and therefore qualified them as the ones who misinterpret the message of God's Word, and who were not able to teach the most delicate theological questions clearly and accurately (at least in the 16th century).

From the analysis of several passages where Calvin quotes from the writings of the Church Fathers, we find that he subordinates the original context of his patristic sources to his theological (and/or rhetorical) goals on many occasions. Furthermore, it is also evident that Calvin used the patristic theological heritage mostly independently from the Church Father he quoted or referred to. It means that e.g., in the case of Augustine, the qualification "*totus noster*" is relative. Within the chapters on baptism, we find both positive and negative assessment of Augustine's position.

In spite of Calvin's (sometimes) excessively rigorous evaluation concerning some Church Fathers, we can see his spiritual greatness in the fact that he did not judge the person but only their thoughts. I will illustrate this statement with the example of Chrysostom. Related to baptism, Calvin rejects Chrysostom's view on the difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ. Another example: regarding the free will from the 10 references by Chrysostom (excluding Pseudo-Chrysostom), only one contains positive evaluation. In the nine other references, we find Chrysostom's position rejected, sometimes by using rather harsh words. But concerning other topics, e.g., speaking about the divine commandments or about the false sacrament of penance and reconciliation, Calvin was able to discover the positive aspects of Chrysostom's theology. Once he writes about it as follows: *I have always been exceedingly delighted with the words of Chrysostom* (Inst II 2,11); or another time

This much, however, I dare affirm, that though they sometimes go too far in extolling free will, the main object which they had in view was to teach man entirely to renounce all self-confidence, and place his strength in God alone. (Inst II 2,9)

During the analysis of the patristic quotations, we saw that many of them appear in the works of other reformers as well. Bullinger's *Decades* seems to be one of the most important affined works. It is a series of sermons divided into five collections of ten sermons each (hence the name) on basic doctrines about faith. Similar in scope and purpose to Calvin's *Institutes*, the first two *Decades* appeared in 1549, with the subsequent sets coming in 1550 and 1551. The full folio was published in 1552.

The similar references and quotations show the possibility of Bullinger having read the former editions of Calvin's *Institutes* and of Calvin Bullinger's *Decades*, and they learnt from each other, but the differences suggest an independent use of the Church Fathers' works. The most important trace of the independent use of patristic quotations is that Bullinger uses sources which are not quoted by Calvin. To exemplify the patristic sources specific to Bullinger, we can mention: the decree of the fourth council of Toledo on baptizing into the name of the Trinity, but through only one dipping;²⁸⁶ or the quotations from Tertullian's *De corona militis*, from the *Commentary of Jerome on Isaiah* and from some works of Augustine (*De baptismo contra Donatistas*, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali libri duo*), whereof we can get an insight into the liturgy of the early Christian baptismal rite.²⁸⁷

As a conclusion of the relationship between Calvin and Bullinger, we can say that they learnt from each other, they probably used the patristic quotations from each other's books, but they did not stop at the servile borrowing of certain patristic quotations. We can assume with great certainty that they read the works of one another, but they both read the patristic texts from the extant editions as well. This is suggested by the simultaneous similarities and differences concerning the use of the Church Fathers' works as it can be seen in Inst IV,15–16 and in the sermon on baptism in Bullinger's *Decades*.

GUIDANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Summarizing the theological focuses of the dialog on baptism between Calvin and the Church Fathers, I will proceed the following way:

- Calvin underlines and demonstrates (or illustrates it) through patristic quotations that the element in itself is not a Sacrament. It needs God's Word as "Verbum fidei".
- The power of the Sacrament – as it is – is only God's grace: i.e., the electing, justifying, and sanctifying grace.

²⁸⁶ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froshoveri 1557. 351 verso.

²⁸⁷ Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froshoveri 1557. 350 verso – 351 recto.

- According to Calvin, the Bible teaches only about one kind of baptism: baptism for the remission of sins. There is no difference between the baptism of John and that of Christ. At this point, we have to see that Calvin did not follow the original intention of Chrysostom and Augustine. Both Church Fathers differentiated the two kinds of baptism in order to emphasize the superiority of Christ in baptism – which was an important element in Calvin’s sacramentology. However, Calvin emphasized it in his debate with the neo-Donatists of the 16th century. In contrast with Chrysostom and Augustine, he emphasized the oneness of baptism.
- Augustine’s assertion concerning the person who administers baptism was an important axiom for Calvin as well: whosoever may baptize, Christ is the one who presides (or with Augustine’s words: who baptizes). Therefore, the power and the value of the sacrament should be measured only by the worth of its constitutor and not by that of the minister (who administers it).
- Regarding the person who administers baptism, Calvin states that he should be in part an ordained minister, and in part male. At this point, we have to realize that Calvin approaches the administration of baptism in accordance with his era. We can accept without question that administering baptism is the task of ordained ministers, but in Calvin’s time, ministers were exclusively men. Nowadays the question raises automatically: in those Christian denominations where women are ordained as ministers as well, should they be prohibited from administering sacraments in any case? On the other hand, are they allowed to teach, preach, baptize, and administer the Lord’s Supper? Let it remain an open question for further debate.
- As it is a sort of initiation into God’s family, Calvin underlines that infants may and ought to receive baptism too. Calvin points out only this difference between baptism and the Lord’s Supper. Since the Lord’s Supper requires the ability to understand its significance, Calvin rejects paedocommunion sharply, favoured by some early Christian writers.
- Calvin, with an anonymous reference to the works of the Church Fathers, argues that the custom of infant baptism does not originate in the decrees of Councils or the ordinances of bishops but it goes back to the apostles. For the sake of objectivity only, I have to mention that Calvin ignores the assertions of the Church Fathers who opposed to the practice of infant baptism and required faith and personal confession of the candidate (catechumen) as prerequisite of baptism.

In a few words: we can see that the dialog between Calvin and the Church Fathers on baptism covers many aspects of the theology of baptism: from the basic “theoretic” questions (regarding the essence of the sacrament) to the most practical questions (who

is allowed to administer it). I think that knowing the theological relationship between Calvin and the Church Fathers can on the one hand enrich our approach to the theology of baptism, and on the other hand, it can give new aspects in the renewal of our baptismal practice. I am convinced that the reinvention of the above-mentioned elements of the dialog between Calvin and the Church Fathers could facilitate – not only in the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania but also in worldwide Christianity – a shifting in the direction of a stronger confessionality. Churches, which are organized as “folk churches” and in which Christian values (and the cultic ceremonies) are rather a custom or tradition than an internal claim, can understand the exhortation to the emphasis of the transcendent aspects of baptism from this dialog. In opposition, the so-called “confessing churches” where rather the personal experience and personal relation with God is emphasized, this dialog bears another admonition: they should not forget that above personal experience, there is an inevitable theological foundation which gives the satisfaction of joy and enthusiasm of personal relationship with the gracious God.

We see, therefore, that both “folk churches” and “confessing churches” must emphasize the same theological foundations – but with different goals. If this foundation is neglected, baptism becomes either an empty exaltation or a “dry” and very immanent tradition. Calvin’s genius in “leading” this dialog was that he selected and commented the ideas of the Church Fathers that underlined God’s electing and justifying action in the life of humans, who thus became “simul justus et peccator”. This way, this dialog between Calvin and the Fathers of the first five centuries leads us to recognizing the reality of the remission of sins, which can be taken as the driving-gear of the renewed human life, whose token and seal is the sacrament of baptism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

JOHN CALVIN’S WORKS (LATIN AND ENGLISH)

- Calvin, John (auth.) – Lane, Anthony (ed.) – Davies, Graham (translator): *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will: A Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine of Human Choice Against Pighius*. Paternoster 1996.
- Calvin, John (auth.) – McNeill, John (ed.) – Battles, Ford Lewis (transl.): *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II. Westminster Press, Louisville 1960 (reissued 2006).
- Calvin, John: Psychopannychia. In: Bonnet, Jules – Beveridge, Henry (eds.): *Selected Works of John Calvin*. Volume 3. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids 1983.
- Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559.
- Calvinus, Joannes: *Institutio christianae religionis* 1559. In: Barth, Petrus – Niesel, Guilelmus (eds.): *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Volumen 5. Chr. Kaiser, München 1936.
- Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribelium, Strasbourg 1539.

Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribesium, Strasbourg 1543.

Calvinus, Johannes: Psychopannychia. In: Baum, Guilielmus – Cunitz, Eduardus – Reuss, Eduardus (eds.): *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*. Volumen V. *Tractatus Theologici minores*. Tomus 1. C.A. Schwetschke, Brunsvigae 1866.

WORKS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS (GREEK, LATIN, ENGLISH)

Augustine: *Against Faustus the Manichee*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/140616.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)

Augustine: *Answer to Petilian the Donatist (Book 1.)* – Chapter 5,6 – 6,7.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14091.htm> (Accessed: 13th May 2015).

Augustine: *Exposition on Psalm 78*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801078.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015.)

Augustine: *Letter 217*. In: Augustine (auth.) – Teske, Roland, S.J. (tr.): *Letters 211–270*. Augustinian Heritage Institute – New City Press, New York 2005.

Augustine: *Letter 89,5*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102089.htm> (accessed 15th May 2015)

Augustine: *On baptism, against the Donatists*. Book 5, chapter 10,12.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14085.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015).

Augustine: *On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Baptism of Infants*.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/15011.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)

Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 6*.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701006.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)

Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 80*.

See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701080.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)

Augustinus: *Contra epistolam Parmeniani libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 27B.

Augustinus: *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres*. In: *Sextus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.

Augustinus: *Contra litteras Petiliani donatistae libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.

Augustinus: *De baptismo contra Donatistas*. Liber 5, caput 10,12. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 295A-B.

Augustinus: *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.

Augustinus: *Enarratio in Psalmum 77*. In: *Octavus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.

Augustinus: *Epistola 107 ad Vitali Carthaginensi*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.

Augustinus: *Epistola 167*. In: 491B–492C

Augustinus: *Epistola 89 ad Hilario*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.

Augustinus: *In Evangelium Ioannis expositio*. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.

- Augustinus: *Sermo 174,7*. See: <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/index2.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).
- Augustinus: *Tractatus 6. in Evangelium Ioannis*. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.
- Chrysostomus: In Mattheum homiliae. Migne PG 57.
- Chrysostomus: In Matthaeeum homiliae. In: *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536.
- Cyprian: *On the lapsed*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050703.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).
- D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus, Panarium, sive Arcula, aut Capsulla Medica appellatur*. Basel 1545.
- D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus eximium*. Basel 1544. *Decretum Gratiani*. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879.
- Epiphanius von Salamis: Panarion. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3., Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933.
- Munier, Charles: *Concilia Africae*. (Serie: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 259.) Brepols, Turnhout 1974.
- Tertullian (auth.) – Evans, Ernest (ed.): *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism*. SPCK, London 1964.
- Tertullian: *On the veiling of virgins*. See: (accessed: 19th May 2015.)
- Tertullianus: *De virginibus velandis*. In: *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani*. [Froben], Basel 1528.

WORKS OF OTHER REFORMERS (LATIN AND ENGLISH)

- Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VI. De Sacramentis. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557.
- Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557.
- Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852.
- Luther, Martin: Auslegung des Micha. In: Luther, Martin (Auth.) – Walch, Georg Johann (Hg.): *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*. Band 14. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 1898.
- Luther, Martin: *Commentarius in Micham prophetam, anno 1542*. In: *Tomus quartus et idem ultimus omnium operum Reverendi Patris, Viri Dei, Doctoris Martin Lutheri*. Tobias Steinman, Jena 1611.
- Luther, Martin: *Larger Catechism*. See: (accessed: 17th May 2015)
- Melachton, Philip (auth.) – Manschreck, Clyde (ed. & tr.): *Melanchton on Christian Doctrine: Loci communes 1555*. Oxford University Press, New York 1965.
- Melanchthon, Philip (auth.) – Hill, Charles Leander (ed. & tr.): *The Loci Communes of Philip Melanchthon: with a critical introduction by the translator*. Wipf & Stock Pub, Eugene (OR) 2007.
- Melanchthon, Philippus: *Loci communes theologici recens collecti & recollecti*. Klug, Wittenberg 1535.

WORKS ON PATRISTIC AND REFORMATION STUDIES

- Backus, Irena: *Theological Relations – Calvin and the Church Fathers*. in: Selderhuis, Herman J. (ed.): *The Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 136.
- Cameron, Michael: “Enarrationes in Psalmos” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999.
- Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Frend, W.H.C.: “Donatism” In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Ganoczy, Alexandre – Müller, Klaus: *Calvins handschriftliche Annotationen zu Chrysostomus*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1991.
- Ganoczy, Alexandre: *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements*. Librairie Droz, Genève 1969.
- Gilmont, Jean-François: *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 2005. 161–62.
- Kéry, Lotte: *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): a bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature*. The Catholic University of America, 1999. 7.
- Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999.
- Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin’s use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1.
- Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*. Wageningen 1965. 17–18.
- Munier, Ch.: “Statuta ecclesiae antiqua”. In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume III. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Munier, Charles: “Canonical Collections”. In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Papp György: Eretneknek minősített ógyházi teológusok az *Institutió*ban (Heretics in the *Institutes* of Calvin). In: Adorjáni Zoltán (szerk.): *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis*. Kolozsvár 2013. 167–85.
- Papp György: Gnosztikusok és az egyháztant vitató ógyházi teológusok az *Institutió*ban (Gnostics and other early Christian heretics dealing with ecclesiology in the *Institutes*). In: *Reformatás Szemle*, 2013/6, 649–661.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Raming, Ida: Gratian’s *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination. In: Raming, Ida: *A History of Women and Ordination. Volume 2: the Priestly Office of Women: God’s Gift for a Renewed Church*. Scarecrow Press, Lanham (MD) 2004.
- Salmon, George: “Collyridians”. In: Wace, Henry – Piercy, William (eds.): *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Hendrickson Publishers, London 1999. 199. (reprinted from the edition

- originally titled *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, published by John Murray, London, 1911)
- Tilley, Maureen: “De baptismo” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999.
- Vannier, Marie-Anne: “Donatism”. In: Lacoste, Jean-Yves: *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*. Volume I. Routledge, London – New York 2004.
- Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (sects 1–46)*. Heresy 42. Brill, Leiden 2009.
- Wright, David: ‘Development and rence in Calvin’s *Institutes*: The Case of Baptism (*Institutes* 4,15 – 4,16)’. In: Wright, David: *Infant Baptism in Historical Perspective. Collected Studies*. Paternoster, Milton Keynes 2007.

THE PASSION OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST IN EARLY CHRISTIAN CONFESSIONS

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021.2

The purpose of this short paper is in part to give a comparative presentation of the sufferings of Lord Jesus Christ in the Western Creeds, and we also try to define the role of mentioning the name of Pontius Pilatus in them. The reason for doing so is that these passages are frequently the source of theological misunderstandings and debates. Furthermore, it is important to know that this paper is an expanded and somewhat more elaborate version of an earlier study in which I tried to give a general overview on the word-usage concerning the passion of Jesus Christ in the early Christian creeds.²⁸⁸ Back then, I used the excellent collection of August Hahn as primary source,²⁸⁹ but without a text-historical analysis. Now, I will limit the presentation to the creeds of western Christianity from the late antiquity and early Middle Ages (mostly the creeds from the families of R and T),²⁹⁰ but – where I see it necessary – I will refer to eastern creeds as well. In the present study, I used the very comprehensive work of Liuwe Westra²⁹¹ as the most important source for the text-reconstructions of the creeds. In order to preserve the perspicuity of our study, first, we will present the biblical background of the question, then there follows a selection from the works of the earliest Christian writers about the passion of Jesus Christ. Thereafter, I will present an analysis of the corresponding articles of R, then of its daughter-creeds in a regional arrangement. Finally, in a brief excursus, I will present the formulation of the passion of Lord Jesus Christ in the creeds of the Oriental Churches (including the ecumenical councils) and I will try to formulate the conclusions.

The main question which urged me to do this research had occurred in connection with the Apostolic Creed²⁹², namely, which version is correct:

²⁸⁸ Papp György: *The Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ in Early Christian Confessions*, in: Református Szemle (Reformed Review), Cluj-Napoca 2008/6. 700–708.

²⁸⁹ Hahn, August (ed.): *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*. Verlag von E. Morgenstern, Breslau 1897 (hereafter Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. Verlag von E. Morgenstern, Breslau 1897.).

²⁹⁰ R denotes the Creeds from the family of the Old Roman Creed, while T the textus receptus of the Apostle's Creed.

²⁹¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. (hereafter Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002.)

²⁹² Here we must note that the Apostolic Creed is apostolic only concerning its teaching, and not its authorship.

- “I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord: Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified*, died, and was buried; He descended into hell...”

or

- “I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord: Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, *suffered, under Pontius Pilate He was crucified*, died, and was buried; He descended into hell...”?

I shall try to answer this question by analysing the relevant passages of the creeds which were composed in the first eight centuries.

“YOU HAVE REDEEMED US THROUGH MANY PASSIONS...” (JAN HUS) – BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION²⁹³

‘The Messiah of God was behaving to suffer all these things, and to enter into his glory’ (Luke 24,26) – this is the core of the teaching that even the disciples did not understand. They were waiting for the Messiah who would redeem Israel, and somebody came from Nazareth, who was a mighty prophet in deed and word in front of God and all the people (Luke 24,19), but in the end it turned out that he was totally different from the Messiah they had been waiting for. They were hoping that he would be the one to redeem (λυτρώσθαι) Israel (Luke 24,21). The verb λυτρώω expresses the concept of ‘setting free’ by paying a ransom. The Messiah-expectations interpreted this expression suggesting that once God’s Messiah arrives, he will deliver Israel from under the rule of its current enemy – in this case from under the Roman oppression. The strong political connotation of this Messiah-image manifests after the feeding of the five thousand, when the crowd wanted to proclaim Jesus their king (John 6,14–15). Yet He was not a political Messiah, and His duty was not the origination and establishment of political independence but He was the one who was to save (σώσει) his people from their sins (Matthew 1,21). This way, it was declared before his birth that He will not mend the relationship between Romans and Jews but rather the one between God and humankind. This is why it was his duty to suffer and die, since – according to the Torah – there is no remission without bloodshed (Hebrews 9,22). He foretold his future passions his disciples (Mt 16,21; 20,14; Mk 10,32); after His resurrection, He explained their meaning on the way to Emmaus, and He has been proclaiming the same message for the past two millennia.

The prophets had spoken and written about His passion, and He revealed that to the two disciples, ‘*beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself*’ (Luke 24,27). The most important prophecies

²⁹³ I will present only the most important biblical teachings.

concerning the passion of our Lord are undeniably the prophecies of Isaiah about the Suffering servant of God (especially Is 50,6; Is 52,13 – 53,12). Likewise, in the passion of Christ, the prophecies of Psalm 22 are fulfilled.²⁹⁴ According to Isaiah, the passion of the Suffering Servant is undoubtedly a ‘locum-tenens’ sacrifice: *“Surely he hath borne our grieves, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all”* (Is 53,4–6).

The canonical books written after the resurrection of the Lord speak about His passion as the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament. The three decades between the events and their conception²⁹⁵ did not becloud the events, what is more, Paul the Apostle wrote to the Galatians after many years: *“before your eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you”* (Gal 3,1). The Gospels and the apostolic Epistles set forth the events of Jesus’s life as historical facts, signifying that they preach the might and the Second Advent not by following some cunningly devised fables (σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις) but they speak as eyewitnesses (ἐπόπτης) of His majesty (2Pet 1,16). This claim of authenticity is confirmed by the fact that during the time of the Gospels’ composition, the eyewitnesses of His life, including the people healed by Him, were still alive.²⁹⁶ Based on the biblical testimony, we cannot agree with those exegetes who claim that the redeeming death of the Lord and His resurrection was merely a later interpretation of the disciples, an interpretation triggered by the psychological effects of Jesus’s teaching.²⁹⁷

The writers of the New Testament emphasise that Jesus’s death was not a simple death but rather a redeeming death. The purpose and result of His passions and death are set forth by them in plastic and dynamic images in the Church: *“knowing that ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without spot, even the blood of Christ”* (cf. εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαιίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ – 1Pet 1,18–19). The result of this redeeming death,

²⁹⁴ In patristic literature, but not only there, Psalm 22 is interpreted as a Christological prophecy about the Messiah’s passion.

²⁹⁵ Concerning the dating of New Testament books I follow here the thesis of Carsten Peter Thiede and J. A. T. Robinson, who claim that the whole New Testament was complete until the year 70. See J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, London, SCM Press LTD, 1976; Carsten Peter Thiede, *Eyewitness to Jesus*, Doubleday, 1996. (in Hungarian: *Aki látta Jézust*, Debrecen, Goldbook, sine anno).

²⁹⁶ Carsten Peter Thiede, *Aki látta Jézust*, Debrecen, Goldbook, é.n. 16. (*Eyewitness to Jesus*, Hungarian edition)

²⁹⁷ Cf. Geréb Pál, *Barth Károly Dogmatikája*, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2006, 527. (Geréb Pál, *A compendium of Karl Barth’s Dogmatics*, Hungarian edition)

of this sacrifice for our sins (ἰλαστήριον) is redemption, liberation (ἀπολύτρωσις), atonement (καταλλαγή), and salvation (σωτηρία). The purpose of His death is presented in the clearest possible way in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans: “so then as through one’s trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation; even so through one’s act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life” (Rom 5,18).

Upon reading these notes, we might ask: when did the redeeming passions of our Lord truly begin? In the Garden of Gethsemane, where He was sweating blood? The New Testament teaches us that the Passion of the Lord did not begin with the events preceding Good Friday but with His birth, when *He emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men* (Phil 2,7). The great Hungarian bishop of the 20th century László Ravasz writes about the passion of the Lord the following way:

The passion of Christ is a grandiose crescendo, which began with His birth and continued until His death. Here we can speak about His poverty, homelessness, solitude. We must mention here that his own people despise Him and give Him over to death. And here belongs his gradual abandonment [by His own disciples] and His pain on account of the destructive effect of sin. That people did not receive His Gospel. ‘But you would not’ (cf. Luke 13,34). The events in the Garden of Gethsemane are the pinnacle of this passion, when His most faithful disciples fell asleep while He, sweating blood, implored His Father: ‘Father, if it is possible...’ [...] His death is the essence, the multiplication of His sufferings. Let us observe the disgracefulness of this death...²⁹⁸

So, the Passion of our Lord began with His incarnation (ἐνανθρώπησις) which is called self-humiliation by the apostle Paul, or self-emptying (exinanitio, κένωσις, in the patristic literature: ταπείνωσις). The 37th answer of the Heidelberg Catechism reflects on the same question and confirms this interpretation:

What do you understand by the word “suffered”?

That during his whole life on earth, but especially at the end, Christ sustained in body and soul the anger of God against the sin of the whole human race. This he did in order that, by his suffering as the only atoning sacrifice, he might set us free, body and soul, from eternal condemnation, and gain for us God's grace, righteousness, and eternal life.

TO KNOW ONLY ABOUT THE CRUCIFIED LORD (1COR 2,2)

While the apostle decided *to have knowledge of nothing among the Corinthians, but only of Jesus Christ on the cross* (1Cor 2,2), no confession can avoid the testimony of redeeming passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

²⁹⁸ Ravasz László, *Kis dogmatika*, Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 1996, 92–93. (László Ravasz, *Little Dogmatics*, Hungarian edition)

History reveals that the earliest Creeds, some of which we can also read in the Bible, were very short and concise, expressing only a few aspects of faith. For example, when somebody says, ‘I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God’ (John 11,27; Mt 16,18; Acts 8,37), they answer the question: *who is* Jesus in his person (*persona Christi cognoscere*)? Yet the statement ‘I believe that Jesus Christ, the Son of God is our Saviour’ is the answer to the following question: what did Jesus *do*, and who is He in His acts (*beneficia Christi cognoscere*)? Later, during the time of great theological debates when newer problematic questions came forth, detailed creeds were formulated which sketched out the teaching about salvation, detailing each article. Hereinafter, I shall present the parts of the Christological passages from the earliest creeds that discuss the passion of our Lord in some detail.²⁹⁹

We find one of the earliest credal formulas – following the apostolic age – in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch:³⁰⁰

ἀλλὰ πεπληροφορήσθαι ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου· πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, –

[...] but may be fully persuaded of the birth, the passion, and the resurrection which happened in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, which things were truly and surely done by Jesus Christ (Magnes 11).

The first particularity we observe is that in this fragment with the name of Pontius Pilate, Ignatius does not define the date of the crucifixion but rather the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, apparently because he wanted to demonstrate that the resurrection of the crucified Lord was a real and historical fact. He did not enclose the Lord’s passion into a specific time-frame, and that suggests that he saw the Passion as a chain of events which began with the birth of Jesus Christ. The same idea can be seen in the Epistle to the Ephesians:

For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to the dispensation, of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost; and He was born and was baptized that by His passion He might cleanse water (Eph 18,2).

In the Epistle to the Trallians we observe that Ignatius, whilst describing the events endured by Jesus Christ under Pontius Pilate, does not use the verb *πάσχω*, but the passive voice of *διώκω* (to persecute): *ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀλη-*

²⁹⁹ For the original text of the Creeds discussed here see August Hahn (ed.), *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, Breslau, Verlag von E. Morgenstern, 1897 (hereafter Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*).

³⁰⁰ Ignatius of Antioch died as a martyr (in 110 AD) under the reign of Emperor Traianus (98–117 AD) in the Colosseum. He wrote six letters to the following congregations: Magnesia, Tralles, Ephesus, Rome, Philadelphia and Smyrna; and one to the bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp.

θῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν – He was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate [he was] truly crucified and died' (Trall 9). In the epistle to the Smyrnaeans, we read: 'ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί – in the time of Pontius Pilate and Herod, the tetrarch, he was truly nailed [to the cross] for us in the flesh' (Smyrn 1,2; see also in Ignatius, Smyrn 1,1; Barnabas V 13.).³⁰¹

In his writings, Justin Martyr³⁰² uses the verb σταυρώω (= crucify) to denote the events which happened during the reign of Pontius Pilate: '[...] Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου – [...] Jesus Christ, who was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate' (First Apology 13; 61). In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin distinguishes the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ from the crucifixion which he endured under Pontius Pilate:

κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, ἢ καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεννηθέντος καὶ παθητοῦ γενομένου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν –
... for against the name of this same Son of God and Firstborn of the whole creation, who became man by the Virgin, who suffered, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate by your nation³⁰³..." (Trypho 85).

We can see that in this fragment, the verb πάσχω refers to the whole life of Jesus, and denotes those sufferings which the apostle Paul described as κενόσις, we find Isaiah's prophecy in the background of this usage, according to which the Messiah who will deliver his own nation from their sins will be 'a man of sorrows and familiar with suffering' (Is 53,3).

The next important stage in our research concerning the early creeds about the Suffering Messiah is represented by the work *Adversus haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyons (the name of Lyon was Lugdunum in the antiquity), who died around the year 202. In the Latin version of this originally Greek work, we encounter the expression *passus sub Pontio Pilato* (Adv haer III. 4,2) for the first time. In the 16th chapter of the same work, he uses the verb *patior* without setting a date:

³⁰¹ In Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole* instead of καθηλωμένον we read παθηλωμένον (word, which does not occur in the dictionaries). This is probably the result of a typographical error. The right among others could be found in Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/lake/fathers2.html> (opened at 20. February 2007.).

³⁰² Justin, venerated as martyr and philosopher died around 165 in Rome. His most important writings are the two *Apologies*, and the *Dialogue with Trypho*.

³⁰³ I mention only as a matter of curiosity that the term 'nation' is expressed by the word λαός, which denotes the elected Israel in the usage of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. With its application here the author accentuates that Jesus was rejected by his own nation.

Non ergo alterum filium hominis novit evangelium nisi hunc, qui ex Maria, qui et passus est – The Gospel, therefore, knew no other son of man but Him who was of Mary, who also suffered; and no Christ who flew away from Jesus before the passion; but Him who was born it knew as Jesus Christ the Son of God, and that the same suffered and rose again (Adv haer III. 16,5).

With the expression ‘passus est’, Irenaeus seems to refer to the sufferings endured in the time of Pontius Pilate. This usage differs from that of the aforementioned authors, since he notes the events of Good Friday with the verb πάσχω–patior, which had a rather general meaning in the previous tradition. It probably would have been more appropriate to use more specific and accepted verbs like σταυρόω–crucifigo, or διώκω–persequor, or even crucio (= to inflict torture upon, to torment, to rack)³⁰⁴ when referring specifically to the events of Good Friday.

In North-Africa, Tertullian (he died around 220), who was the younger contemporary of Irenaeus, noted the suffering of the Lord under Pontius Pilate with the words mentioned below:

Credendi [...] et filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato – to believe in His Son, Jesus Christ, who was born by the virgin Mary, and under Pontius Pilate he was crucified” (De virgin vel 1).

Furthermore, in his work *Adversus Praxeam*, whilst speaking of the ‘passion’ of the Lord which could be a reference to His whole human life as well as to His sufferings under Pontius Pilatus, Tertullian uses the verb ‘patior’:

Hunc missum a patre in virginem ex ea natum, hominem et deum, filium hominis et filium dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum; hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum, secundum scripturas... – He was sent by the Father into the Virgin, He was born from Her, He is man and God, son of man and Son of God, the above-named Jesus Christ. He suffered and died, [after that] He was buried according to the Scriptures” (Adv Praxeam 2).

In the first book of his *De principiis*, Origen uses the verb patior in the same sense, although he accentuates the fact that the passion of the Lord was real, not an illusion or phantasy: “[...] passus est in veritate, et non per phantasiam – He suffered truly, and not by appearance” (*De principiis* I, *Praefatio*, 4).

Speaking of the final passion of the Lord in the creeds of Adamantius and Alexander of Alexandria³⁰⁵, we find the verb σταυρόω:

³⁰⁴ For the meanings of the verb *crucio* see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, 461.

³⁰⁵ Alexander of Antioch died around the year 326, during the outbreak of the Arian controversy after Nicaea. Nonetheless, at a local council held in 317 he rejected the heresy of Arius for the first time.

ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἀμαρτίας ἐπιδημήσας τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀποθανὼν –
 in the fullness of times He arrived to the human race in order to abolish sin, He was crucified, and died...” (from the creed of Alexander of Alexandria).³⁰⁶

THE R / PROTO-R CONCERNING THE REDEMPTIVE PASSION OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST

According to the concurrent opinion of the scientific research, the most likely predecessor of the Apostles' Creed is the Old Roman (Baptismal) Creed. The very first evidence could be found in the *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum* of Rufinus of Aquileia, written in ca. 404. However, it is obvious that Rufinus quoted a much earlier text in the above-mentioned work. According to Kelly, the history of R goes back to “the obscurity of the second century”³⁰⁷ when both Greek and Latin were used as liturgical languages in Rome, but we cannot ignore the fact that some of its Christological elements were composed at the beginning of the second century, in the time of Justinus, and that the semi-stereotyped proclamation of the good news about Christ was inherited practically unaltered from the Apostles.³⁰⁸

In opposition, Westra is more cautious when he speaks about the origins of R. He marks with R the form of the Creed which was applied in the 4th century in Rome, and the original form of it, the “hypothetical father of all extant variants of the Apostles' Creed”, which he supposed to have been composed before 250, he denotes as Proto-R.³⁰⁹ Three differences are worth to be noted between the two texts:³¹⁰ the Proto-R omits “*unicum dominum nostrum*” from the second article³¹¹, the expression “*a mortuis*” from the sixth article, and the whole eleventh article “*remissionem peccatorum*”. The rest of the text, including the formulation of the 4th article which is relevant for our topic, is the same. As a short intermezzo, let us quote (without punctuation marks) side by side the two texts (we highlighted in blue the passages in the text of R which are omitted in Proto-R):

³⁰⁶ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 20.

³⁰⁷ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edition 1972). Continuum, London – New York (reprint) 2008. 119. (hereafter Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008.)

³⁰⁸ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 130.

³⁰⁹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 65–68. Inasmuch the problem of Proto-R and R from the viewpoint of the 4th article is not relevant we will put aside the detailed analysis of this question.

³¹⁰ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 27 (R) and 68 (Proto-R).

³¹¹ I'm aware that Kelly uses a three-article partitioning for R and a twelve-article partitioning for T; I, however, will use the twelve-article partitioning for R as well, due to its close relationship and similar structure with T.

<i>Proto-R</i>	<i>R</i>
Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem	Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem
Et in Christum Iesum filium eius	Et in Christum Iesum filium eius unicum
Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria uirgine	dominum nostrum
Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus	Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria uirgine
Tertia die resurrexit	Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus
Ascendit in caelos	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
Sedet ad dexteram Patris	Ascendit in caelos
Unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos	Sedet ad dexteram Patris
Et in Spiritum Sanctum	Unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos
Sanctam ecclesiam	Et in Spiritum Sanctum
	Sanctam ecclesiam
	Remissionem peccatorum
Carnis resurrectionem	Carnis resurrectionem

Inasmuch this Creed has both a Greek and Latin version, it seems more likely that its history goes back to the 2nd century when – as we quoted above the statement of Kelly – both languages were used in the Church of Rome.

Henceforth, we will move on to the analysis of the 4th article of Proto-R/R. The Latin text speaks of the Passion of the Lord with the following words: “*Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus*”. The Greek text expresses the same content with some stylistic differences: “τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα”. The only non-theological difference between the Greek and Latin text of this article is that the Latin text expresses with the nominative case of the relative pronoun what the Greek text describes with the accusative of the definite article, which can often suggest the role of the relative pronoun.

Kelly mentions that on the one hand, the expression “ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου” occurs in 1Tim 6,13, but on the other hand, it has no place in the earliest summaries of the kerygma.³¹² I would like to expand this information with the following facts: from the 55 occurrences of the name of Pontius Pilatus in the New Testament, 51 can be found in the Gospels, 3 in the Acts and one in the above-mentioned passage of the Pauline letters. Most of these occurrences are related to the trial and crucifixion of Jesus. Out of the four references outside of the Gospels, only one could be counted as a negative rating of Pilatus’ role in the crucifixion of Jesus: συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παιδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, / Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ (Acts 4,27). The quoted passage is part of a prayer which was said by the first Christian congregation after releasing Peter and John. It mentions the name of Pilatus as an accomplice of Herod and the religious elite

³¹² Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 149.

of the Jews in the betrayal of Jesus. Another passage, namely Acts 3,13, which is a part of Peter's sermon to the people of Israel after the healing of the crippled man, evaluates the role of Pilatus in a rather positive way: Israel denied Jesus in the presence of Pilatus, despite the fact that he wanted to let him go – *παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε [Ἰησοῦν] κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν*. Pilatus occurs in a similar, nonetheless rather neutral context in Acts 13,28, where Paul underlines that the leaders of the Jews demanded Pilatus to crucify Jesus in his sermon performed in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia. In 1Tim 6,13 Pilatus is mentioned in a completely neutral context: the good confession is emphasized, witnessed by Jesus in front of Pilatus. These four references show that the apostolic kerygma alluded to Pilatus in various contexts. The New Testament kerugma does not seem to lay the burden of the crucifixion on the back of the Roman governor.

Furthermore, Kelly mentions that the expression “ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου” appears also in the writings of the earliest post-apostolic writers: Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullianus. He argues – and it seems likely to me – that despite the fact that some of the references from their writings have an undeniable anti-heretic (more precisely anti-Docetic) context,³¹³ the primary reason for taking the reference to Pilatus in the Creed was one more constructive and contextual: “the real explanation of the presence of Pontius Pilate in the creed lies [...] in the fact that the saving story of which the creed is a recapitulation is rooted in history”.³¹⁴ Kelly mentions also that although the final form of the reference to Pilatus which became usual in creeds was the expression “*sub Pontio Pilato*” or “ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου”, its formulation in the early Christian writings may vary: “in the times of Pontius Pilate” (Ignatius' Letter in Smyrna 1), or “under Pontius Pilate, who was governor in Judea” (Justinus, Apologia I,13).³¹⁵

According to Kelly, “the claims of the remaining elements in this section to belong to the apostolic kerygma are undisputed”.³¹⁶ That implicitly means that the reference to the crucifixion and redemptive death of Jesus Christ are the most pristine elements of the Christological kerygma of the apostles. By first reading of R, it is eye-catching that after mentioning the crucifixion of Jesus, it omits his death and shifts directly to his burial: “*crucifixus est et sepultus*”. Kelly refutes the opinion of those who think that the burial of Jesus was inserted in the creed in order to underline the reality of his death – i.e., in an anti-Docetic context. He emphasizes that the burial of Jesus Christ appears already in the credal passages of the New Testament (1Cor 15,4; Rom 6,4), and therefore “there was no need for an anti-Docetic polemic in the first two or three decades

³¹³ That means that in an anti-Docetic context the goal of the reference to Pilatus was to underline the reality of Christ's sufferings.

³¹⁴ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 150.

³¹⁵ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 150.

³¹⁶ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 150.

of the Church's history".³¹⁷ According to his logic, the real background of mentioning Jesus's burial in the creed is that it has a prominent role in the Gospel's narrative and in this manner, it was a necessary prelude of the Resurrection.³¹⁸

Although I agree with Kelly in stating that the elements of the apostolic kerygma which were taken into the creed have a constructive-kerygmatic and contextual-historic background rather than polemical, the formulation of the credal articles became later an effective instrument in refuting and preventing heresies. Both allusions to Pontius Pilatus and the burial of Jesus could become useful instruments in the toolbox of the Christian tradition to emphasize and prove the historicity and reality of Jesus Christ's redemptive passion and death in contrast with all those heresies which denied it or deemed it to be only a phantasm.

The above presented analysis is the core of which Kelly's argumentation made it obvious that the 4th article of the Creed contains elements which became perpetual parts of the Christian kerygma at the latest in the first half of the 2nd century. Accordingly, it is highly possible to set the date of the formulation of this article of R in the time of Justin Martyr, i.e., in the first half of the 2nd century.

THE DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R ON THE REDEMPTIVE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JESUS CHRIST

In the following section, I shall present the manner of formulation of the 4th article in the different daughter-creeds of R. A very distinctive presentation of these regional creeds can be found in the book entitled *The Apostles' Creed*³¹⁹ By Liuwe Westra. He presents 38 credal reconstructions or credal fragments on more than 100 pages which he considers to be witnesses of regional variants of R. If we count also the witnesses that he omits due to several reasons, the number of the daughter-creeds of R is somewhat higher. If someone compares the credal reconstructions published by Westra, they can see that not every credal fragment contains the 4th article. I mention it merely as a "curiosity" that for example the reconstruction of the creed of Ildefonsus of Toledo from the 7th century as well as the reconstruction of the creed of Nicetas of Remesiana contains nearly the whole text of R, but only the 4th article is missing. Due to practical reasons, I will omit the credal fragments which do not contain the article concerning the passion and death of the Lord Jesus Christ, and at the same time, I will try to find the ones containing relevant information concerning our topic among the text-variants omitted by Westra.

³¹⁷ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 150–51.

³¹⁸ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 151.

³¹⁹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 107–221.

Furthermore, we can see that most of the credal reconstructions which contain the 4th article as well date from the post-chalcedonic period; only 25–30% of them could be placed in the period between 381–451. These statistical data however are not evidence for a later emergence of the creeds. That could rather mean that after the time of the Ecumenical Councils, the number of regional creeds got an accession. It is also interesting that the earliest daughter-creeds of R arose from Africa and North-Italia. Therefore, we will begin our presentation with these creeds.

THE DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R FROM NORTH-ITALIA

The earliest evidence for the daughter-creeds of R among the North-Italian credal reconstructions presented by Westra is the creed of the Church of Milan, from the end of the 4th century. The *Explanatio symboli* of Ambrose of Milan reveals that – but it can be reconstructed only in fractions and from two sermons of Augustine, who was a catechumen of Ambrose. From nearly the same era, from the commentary on the apostles' creed of Rufin, we know the creed of the Church of Aquileia. From the *Sermons 57–62 de symbolo* of Petrus Chrysologus (died ca. 450) we may get to know the creed of the Church of Ravenna.

<i>Church</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Formulation</i>
Milan	Ambrose:	sub ... et sepultus ³²⁰
	Augustine:	sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³²¹
Aquileia	Rufin:	Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus ³²²
Ravenna	Petrus Chrysologus	qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus ³²³

Westra omits the creed formerly attributed to the early 5th century bishop Maximus of Turin because nowadays it is no longer considered genuine. The text of the 4th article in the creed³²⁴ which was considered to be of the Church of Turin precisely agrees with the formulation of the Creed of Ravenna.

Westra omits also the creed which can be found in the 6th century writer Venantius Fortunatus's *Expositio symboli*, for the reason that it seems to be an adaptation of the creed of Aquileia, and it is

³²⁰ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 188.

³²¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002.195.

³²² Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 198.; Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 30–32.

³²³ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 206.; Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 12.

³²⁴ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 11.

impossible to decide whether the creedal quotations stem from Rufinus's original or flow from Venantius's pen, and if the latter is the case, whether he is quoting the creedal variant of his native town in Northern Italy or that of his bishopric Poitiers.³²⁵

In spite of this uncertainty concerning its origin, I consider it a relevant variant for our topic, due to its formulation of the 4th article: it mentions only the passion of Jesus Christ "crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato".³²⁶ Thereafter, it shifts to the harrowing in Hell, omitting the passage about the burial of Jesus.

Among the other creeds omitted by Westra we need to mention two other texts: the creed of Auxentius of Milan and the *Symbolum fidei* in the appendix to Gregory the Great's *registrum epistularum*. The former seems to be a doctrinal creed which was submitted by its writer in order to demonstrate his orthodoxy, and Rufin's variant echoes in the formulation of the 4th article: "... et crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, sepultum, ...".³²⁷ The latter which was omitted because of the lack of a critical edition shows a close relationship with the creed of Ravenna "et sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus".³²⁸

As we see from the above-mentioned examples, the common characteristic of the word-usage of the 4th article in these creeds is that each of them follows R. Thus, the elements of this article are: the name of Pontius Pilatus with the preposition "sub", the crucifixion and the burial of Jesus. There are differences between them only in style or grammatical construction, but they do not affect the content or the theological message. Furthermore, we can suppose that the theological significance of the word-usage is the same as in the case of R.

THE AFRICAN DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R

Now, we will turn our attention to the creeds of the so-called "Latin Africa", or by its official name, Africa Proconsularis. With a rich Christian tradition and a flourishing theological activity, many famous early Christian bishops operated here on a wide range of actions: Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Augustine of Hippo etc. A strong relationship with the Churches of Italia is undeniable, however, due to its geographical location, other theological influences appeared as well (for example, from the School of Alexandria). The earliest creedal passages from the region can be found in the works of Tertullian, but those are *regula fidei* formulations rather than creeds. But if we ac-

³²⁵ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 183.

³²⁶ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 23.

³²⁷ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 181–82.

³²⁸ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 182.

cept Kelly's position³²⁹, who argues that the *regula fidei* is like a forerunner of the baptismal creeds, we could take into account their formulations too.

The most important creedal reconstructions from Africa Proconsularis presented in the book of Westra are: the creed of Cyprian of Carthage from his *epistula 69–70*,³³⁰ the creed of Augustine of Hippo from his *sermo 215 de symbolo*; the creed of Quodvultdeus of Carthage from his three *sermons de symbolo* and *adverus Iudaeos paganos et Arrianos*; and the creed of Fulgentius of Ruspe from his *contra Fabianum*. In the three utilizable creeds we find the following formulations of the 4th article:

<i>Author</i>	<i>Formulation</i>
Augustine of Hippo	crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato et sepultum ³³¹
Quodvultdeus of Carthage	crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato et sepultum ³³²
Fulgentius of Ruspe	crucifixum quoque dicimus et sepultum ³³³

The core-elements of the above-mentioned creeds are, just like in R and its North Italian daughter-creed, the crucifixion and the burial of Jesus, and with the exception of the creed of Fulgentius, the expression "Pontio Pilato".

Other creedal texts omitted by Westra show different formulations. The *regula fidei* of Tertullian³³⁴ mentions only the crucifixion under Pontius Pilatus, and by omitting the scene of burial, it shifts to the resurrection. The creed of the 6th century bishop Facundus of Hermianae³³⁵ is omitted by Westra because he considers it rather a mixture of R and the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which uses the same formulation of the 4th article as the creed of Petrus Chrysologus of Ravenna: *qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus*.³³⁶

³²⁹ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 94–99. It is not a word-by-word statement of Kelly, but rather a consequence of the logic of his argumentation specified by Westra: Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 39.

³³⁰ This creed is unfortunately so fragmentary that we can not use it for the analysis of the 4th article.

³³¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 168.

³³² Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 178.

³³³ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 181.; Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 61.

³³⁴ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 69.

³³⁵ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 63.

³³⁶ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 157.

From the *sermones de traditione symboli CCXII–CCXIV* of Augustine³³⁷, it seems likely that the famous bishop of Hippo Regius knew a version of the creed which witnessed the redemptive passion of Jesus Christ as “passus sub Pontio Pilato” too. Hahn hypothesizes that this was the original creed of the Church of Hippo, but according to my hypothesis, it seems to be rather an influence of other regional or personal creed, or simply another individual formulation of the summary of the Christian kerygma.

THE DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R FROM GALLIA

Now, we shall turn our attention to the daughter-creeds of R from Gallia. In the tradition of these Churches, we can find more versions of formulation of the 4th article. We find the following formulations in the reconstruction of Gallic creeds presented by Westra:³³⁸

Author

Phoebadius of Agen (4th century)

Caesarius of Arles (bishop 503–542):
(the introductory part of his) *sermo 9*

Caesarius of Arles: (the expository part
of his) *sermo 9*

Pseudo-Augustinian *liber testimonium
fidei* (6th century)

Collectio Eusebiana: *homilia 10*

Scarpus of Pirminius (ca. 700–725)

Formulation

passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum et
mortuum et sepultum³³⁹

passus est sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus
mortuus et sepultus³⁴⁰

passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et
sepultus³⁴¹

passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et
sepultus³⁴²

Crucifixus et sepultus³⁴³

passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et
sepultus³⁴⁴

³³⁷ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 63. For the text of the mentioned sermons see: <http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Augustinus&rumpfid=Augustinus,%20Sermones,%2020,%20%20212&nf=1>; <http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Augustinus&rumpfid=Augustinus,%20Sermones,%2020,%20%20213&nf=1>; <http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Augustinus&rumpfid=Augustinus,%20Sermones,%2020,%20%20214&nf=1> (all three sermons accessed 05–11–2014.)

³³⁸ Unfortunately the earliest Gallic witnesses enumerated by Westra (Salvian of Marseilles, Faustus of Riez, Faustinus) do not contain the 4th article.

³³⁹ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 70.

³⁴⁰ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 123.

³⁴¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 126.

³⁴² Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 130.

³⁴³ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 136.

³⁴⁴ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 137.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Formulation</i>
Missale Gallicanum Vetus (ca. 700)	passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus ³⁴⁵
Bobbio Missal (8 th century)	Passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum mortuum et sepultum ³⁴⁶

We can see in the table presented above that almost all creeds have an expansion of the 4th article in the Gallic churches. As an exception, we can specify the creed from the *homilia 10* of the *Collectio Eusebiana* (where we read only *crucifixus et sepultus*), and a creed found in Paris dating from either the sixth or the seventh century, which formulates as “*crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato*”.³⁴⁷

We have to mention that the creed of Gregory of Tours, which – according to Westra – offers a summary of the Christian faith but does not refer to R or T,³⁴⁸ does not refer to the passion at all: “Credo in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, dominum deum nostrum. Credo eum die tertia resurrexisse...”³⁴⁹ The Creed of Victricius of Rotomagus³⁵⁰, omitted by Westra for the same reason, enumerates the events of Jesus’s life without dating – “*passus est, crucifixus, sepultus*”. In this case, like in all the other creeds in this group, the expression *passus est* or *passus* could denote both the passion of Jesus Christ from his birth to his death, and his passion endured concerning the crucifixion.

THE DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R FROM HISPANIA

In the creeds from the Iberian-peninsula, we find the following formulation of the 4th article:

<i>Author</i>	<i>Formulation</i>
Priscillian of Avila (shortly after 381)	passum sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum et sepultum ³⁵¹
Martinus of Braga: de correctione rusticorum (573/74)	passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³⁵²

³⁴⁵ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 138.

³⁴⁶ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 139; 141; 142.

³⁴⁷ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 73–74.

³⁴⁸ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 108.

³⁴⁹ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 73.

³⁵⁰ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 70.

³⁵¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 146. The reconstructed text of this creed (inclusive the 4th article) seems to be slightly uncertain.

³⁵² Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 147.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Formulation</i>
Mozarabic Missale Mixtum	passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³⁵³
Mozarabic <i>Liber ordinum episcopalis</i>	passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³⁵⁴
Ildefonsus of Toledo (657–667)	sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³⁵⁵
An inscription from Toledo (650–700)	... sub Pontio Pilato cru(cifixus) ³⁵⁶
Etherius of Osma and Beatus of Liébana: <i>aduersus Elipandum</i> (after 785)	passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus ³⁵⁷

These examples prove that the formulation of the 4th article in the Churches of Hispania show a theoretical relationship with the Gallic creeds, but they expand R only with the expression “passus sub”, omitting the addition of “mortuus”.

OTHER DAUGHTER-CREEDS OF R

In the last section we turn our attention to the daughter-creeds of R which could not be set in the groups presented above. It is unspeakably unfortunate that even the 4th article is missing from the creed of Nicetas of Remesiana, from the Latin Balkan.³⁵⁸ From this region – among the variants presented by Westra – we have only a very fragmentary inscription from the Croatian island Kres (Cherso), where there remained the following fragment from the 4th article: “passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus”.³⁵⁹

Another credal variant can be found in an Irish liturgical manuscript from the end of the 7th century, the so-called Antiphonary of Bangor. It contains a variant of the Apostles Creed, with the following formulation of the 4th article: “passum sub Pontio Pilato qui crucifixus et sepultus”.³⁶⁰

Furthermore, we have to mention the creed from the Greek-Latin Psalter of Pope Gregory, which formulates the 4th article the following way: “παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα θανόντα καὶ ταφέντα – passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus.”³⁶¹

³⁵³ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 148.

³⁵⁴ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 149.

³⁵⁵ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 151. Westra mentions that the text of this article is not quoted by Ildefonsus, but only expounded. Its reconstruction is the suggestion of Kattenbusch.

³⁵⁶ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 154. The text of this inscription is extremely fragmentary.

³⁵⁷ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 153.

³⁵⁸ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 212–16.

³⁵⁹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 218.

³⁶⁰ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 220.

³⁶¹ Hahn: *Bibliothek der Symbole*. 30.

EXCURSUS: A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ORIENTAL LANDSCAPE

All the creeds of the Oriental Churches use the expression σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου or its synonyms in order to express the passion of the Lord. Here we can enumerate the creed of Eusebius of Caesarea,³⁶² Cyril of Jerusalem,³⁶³ Epiphanius of Salamis,³⁶⁴ the creeds of the Syrian Churches (Laodicea, Antioch),³⁶⁵ the creeds of the Churches from Asia Minor,³⁶⁶ the creed of the Nestorians³⁶⁷ and the Armenian³⁶⁸ and Coptic³⁶⁹ creeds. In these creeds, Pilate's name does not occur with the verb πάσχω but always with σταυρώω. In the Nestorian creed, the verbs πάσχω and σταυρώω occur side by side, and the verb σταυρώω may refer to the events which happened under the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, and the word πάσχω could denote all sufferings, which the Lord has endured during his life. The *Bibliothek der Symbole* under §138 published an Armenian Creed probably from the second half of the 5th century in which we read: "hernach kam er willig zur Marter, gekreuzigt... – thereafter he was anguished of his own accord, and [he was] crucified." In this creed the expression "zur Marter kam" alludes to the events of Good Friday.

In the West, however, beginning with an occurrence in Augustine's work, in Spain and France we find the consistent addition of 'passus est' before mentioning the crucifixion of Christ. The words 'sub Pilato' are now found between 'passus' and 'crucifixus'. The textual history suggests that it originally qualified the 'crucifixus' rather than the 'passus'.

Finally, let us proceed with the analysis of the passages concerning the passion of the Lord in the Creeds of the Ecumenical Councils. In the Nicene Creed, the word παθόντα probably does not refer only to the events of Good Friday but it expresses his passions in a rather general sense. The text of the so-called Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum, however, is more problematic, as it reads: 'σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα – He was crucified for us in the time of Pontius Pilate, He suffered and was buried...' The Latin translation omits the verb παθόντα, and we read the following text: 'crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus est – He was crucified for us in the time of Pontius Pilate, and He was buried...' The Hungarian Ecumenical translation of this Creed renders the meaning of the text with the construction of a 'hidden object': 'He was crucified for us in the time of

³⁶² Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 131–132.

³⁶³ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 132.

³⁶⁴ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 135.

³⁶⁵ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 141–144.

³⁶⁶ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 146–151.

³⁶⁷ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 144.

³⁶⁸ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 153.

³⁶⁹ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 157.

Pontius Pilate, He suffered [death] and was buried...’ The fact that the verb πάσχω is used after the verb σταυρώ suggests that in this situation, ‘πάσχω’ has a different meaning: it refers neither to the events from Jesus’ birth to his death, nor to the events of Good Friday but rather to the precise moment of His death. The *Formula of Reunion* accepted after the Council of Ephesus (in 433) does not specify the passion of Jesus Christ, since the main question under debate between the bishops was entirely different.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

From the above presented creedal versions it is obvious – as Liuwe Westra also points it out³⁷⁰ – that the intercalation “passus” or “passus est” before “sub Pontio Pilato” is a characteristic of the Gallic and Hispanic Churches. In Gallia – perhaps for the sake of completeness³⁷¹ – the insertion “mortuus” also has been added to the creed. The so-called Apostolic Creed has developed from these Gallic and perhaps Hispanic creeds, which later became accepted (Textus receptus) in the western Christian world as a result of the Carolingian influence³⁷². Kelly argues that the adoption of T by the Roman Church at the critical epoch of the 8th–10th centuries on the one hand saved “the Roman liturgy for Rome and the Western World”, and on the other hand it “was merely handing back to her, enriched and improved, that same venerable rule of faith which she herself had compiled in the second century as a epitome of the everlasting gospel.”³⁷³ In the seventh and eighth centuries, this version of the creed became most common in the German Churches and in the ninth and tenth centuries, as a result of the mission of the Franko-German church, on the British Isles as well.

We saw in the introductory presentation that the idea of Jesus’s passion as a reference to His whole life was not alien in the Apostolic kerygma. The earliest creedal formulation referred mainly to His crucifixion, death and burial under (i.e., in the time of) Pontius Pilatus. Later –most likely in the last phase of the patristic golden age –there began the apparition of the expansion of the 4th article with the words “passus” and “mortuus”. This enlarged article – due to the missing punctuation marks – could be interpreted in a twofold way: on the one hand, as a reference to Jesus’s Calvary under Pontius Pilatus, which then was detailed with the words “crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus”, while on the other hand, the word passus could denote Jesus’s suffering endured during His whole life, the climax of which being his crucifixion, death and burial under Pontius Pilatus.

³⁷⁰ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 235.

³⁷¹ Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles’ Creed*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002. 235.

³⁷² Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 411–34.

³⁷³ Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Continuum, London – New York 2008. 434.

The punctuation of the accepted form of the Creed follows the first way of interpretation. But based on the evidence presented in the introductory part, one might say that the creedal formula accepted in the bigger part of Europe ('passus sub Pontio Pilato') is theologically inexact. We saw that the passion of the Lord did not begin with the events of Good Friday, but with His birth. Nevertheless – possibly due to Roman influence after the 10th century –, the Apostolic Creed was accepted in the European area in this form. The other version, which is more accurate in a theological sense, did not become so well-known or accepted in Europe. Yet, if the Creed is (or rather should be) like a map of the Holy Scripture, the more accurate wording is an indispensable necessity.

According to the historical and theological evidence presented above, I recommend the modification of the punctuation in the 4th article of from the Christological passage of the Apostle's Creed in order to follow the other way of interpretation and to recite the Creed in our churches the following way:

"I believe in Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary; He suffered; He was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died, and was buried ..."

I deem this correction necessary, since the Apostle's Creed can thus remain in the line of the theologically accurate creeds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Geréb Pál, *Barth Károly Dogmatikája*, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2006.
- Hahn, August (ed.): *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*. Verlag von E. Morgenstern, Breslau 1897.
- Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edition 1972). Continuum, London – New York (reprint) 2008.
- Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/lake/fathers2.html> (opened at 20. February 2007.).
- Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Papp György: *The Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ in Early Christian Confessions*, in: Református Szemle (Reformed Review), Cluj-Napoca 2008/6. 700–708.
- Ravasz László, *Kis dogmatika*, Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 1996.
- Robinson, J. A. T.: *Redating the New Testament*, London, SCM Press LTD, 1976.
- Thiede, Carsten Peter Thiede, *Aki látta Jézust*, Debrecen, Goldbook, s.a.
- Thiede, Carsten Peter, *Eyewitness to Jesus*, Doubleday, 1996.
- Westra, Liuwe: *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002.

THE DOCTRINE ON BAPTISM IN THE *HAERETICARUM FABULARUM COMPENDIUM* OF THEODORET OF CYRUS

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021.3

The focus of this paper is on how Theodoret of Cyrus approaches the doctrine concerning the sacrament of baptism in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*³⁷⁴. We chose this work of Theodoret, as we deem it to be one of his most important writings in which – in the last stage of his life³⁷⁵ – he summarizes the teachings and history of the earlier and contemporaneous heresies and the orthodox doctrine of the Church.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE AND WORK OF THEODORET OF CYRUS

Theodoret of Cyrus is one of the most important – but in many aspects neglected – theologians of the 5th century. Quasten calls him “the last great theologian of Antioch”³⁷⁶. The characterization made by István Pásztori-Kupán is also very expressive:

Theodoret of Cyrus lived during the stormy decades of the third and fourth ecumenical councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), when many important doctrinal questions (including the mode of interpreting Christ as God and man) were in dispute. Being the champion of the so-called Antiochene tradition and an opponent of Cyril, the mighty patriarch of Alexandria, Theodoret left behind a fascinating legacy. His biography shows that he was immersed in the highly tense dogmatic and ecclesiastical-political battles of the fifth century, whilst remaining a truly pious churchman, who had distributed his inheritance to the poor and lived a very modest life even as bishop. The larger part of his extant writings still remains untranslated, which provides a fragmented representation of his thought and has led to his misrepresentation by ancient, medieval and some modern scholars.³⁷⁷

He was born in Antioch around the year 393 as a child of a prosperous Antiochene couple who had been childless for many years. There are some details in his *Historia Religiosa* about the circumstances of his birth. Theodoret received an extensive religious and secular education, and at an early age, he became a *lector* in the clergy of Antioch. He mentions Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia as his teachers. Later he

³⁷⁴ In the text of our paper we will use for it the abbreviation HFC.

³⁷⁵ According to Quasten it was composed about 453. Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983. 552. (In the followings: Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III*.)

³⁷⁶ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III*. 536.

³⁷⁷ Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006. Flap text.

resided in a monastery, most likely near Apamea, where he lived for about seven years. He left in 423, as he had been appointed Bishop of Cyrus, over a diocese about forty square miles and embracing 800 parishes, but with an insignificant town as its seat. As a bishop, he had many philanthropic and economic activities beside his theological activity:

- he converted more than 1,000 Marcionites in his diocese, also many Arians and Macedonians;
- he withdrew more than 200 copies of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, in order to introduce the four Gospels in their place;
- he erected churches and supplied them with relics;
- he endeavoured to help people oppressed by taxation;
- he divided his inheritance among the poor;
- he erected baths, bridges, halls, and aqueducts from his episcopal revenues;
- he brought rhetoricians and physicians;
- he sent encouraging letters to the persecuted Christians of Persian Armenia;
- he gave refuge to the Carthaginian Celestiacus who had fled the rule of the Vandals.

The seven years he spent in the monastery before his ordination and the following seven years until the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy were arguably the most peaceful times of his life. The conflict between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople brought unfortunate changes in the life of Theodoret. His direct involvement in the debate started in 430 when John of Antioch received the letters of Pope Celestine and Cyril concerning the condemnation of Nestorius by the West and by Cyril's party. The very first and the most famous act written in the defence of Nestorius before the Council of Ephesus was his *Refutation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas*, for which he is still criticised. At the Council of Ephesus in 431, Theodoret – alongside 68 bishops (including Alexander of Hierapolis) and the imperial representatives – protested against the opening of the sessions in vain before the arrival of John of Antioch and of the papal legates³⁷⁸. After John's arrival, Theodoret joined the Antiochene 'conciliabulum' and adhered to the deposition of Cyril and Memnon. Without going into details that we can otherwise find in the extensive relevant scholarly research, it can be concluded that the ecclesiastical gathering later known as the 'Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus' never actually took place.³⁷⁹ There were two separate priestly meetings, the decisions of which were at first simultaneously validated by the emperor. Later, one of the two was politically supported, the church being compelled to regard it as the only legitimate one.

³⁷⁸ Hefele, Charles Joseph: *A History of the Councils of the Church*. tr. by William R. Clark, 5 vol. 3. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1894–96. 46.

³⁷⁹ Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006. 12.

After the ‘Council of Ephesus’, Theodoret assumed the role of the mediator between Antioch and Alexandria. He is a potential author of the famous Formula of Reunion which was already finished in 431, but accepted by the bishops of the two parties only in 433. But the fact that he passed over his hostility towards the bishops of Alexandria and corresponded with them (especially with Cyril) in order to establish the union of the Church did not have the expected results: he was condemned by the *Latrocinium* in 449 – without a trial and without any chance of defending himself. The last and ultimate humiliation happened at the eighth session of the Council of Chalcedon: the cost of his acceptance as an orthodox teacher was the personal anathema against Nestorius.

We hardly know anything about Theodoret’s life after Chalcedon. Even the year of his death is still a matter of dispute. We only know that he died sometime between 453 and 466. At the council held under Emperor Justinian in Constantinople 553, he personally and his works “written against true faith and against St. Cyril” (see *Canon 13*) were condemned.

The time of his baptism could be an interesting fact related to our topic, but based on the accessible sources, we cannot determine it:

We are unaware of the details or the time of Theodoret’s baptism. His correspondence does not reveal anything concerning its circumstances. On the one hand, the sequence by which he presents the events in Letter 143 is perhaps too weak a ground to conclude that he was not baptised in infancy, but only after ‘having believed’: ‘For thus I have been made a disciple from the beginning; thus I have believed; thus I was baptised; thus I have preached, thus I have baptised, thus I continue to teach.’ On the other hand, the fact that Theodoret was a child offered to God before his conception did not automatically involve his infant baptism.³⁸⁰

* * * * *

Quasten appraises Theodoret as “one of the most successful writers of the Eastern Church” whose “literary bequest has greater variety than that of the other theologians of Antioch”.³⁸¹ He composed works in almost all fields of theology. He wrote exegetical explanations to many biblical books, apologetic, dogmatic and controversial works, and his historical works are also renowned. His letters are also precious sources for discovering the characteristics of his theology. However, he did not pretend to be original, his works are of an excellent eloquence and elegant style, written in a perfect, clear and simple Attic Greek.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006. 4.

³⁸¹ Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III*. 538.

³⁸² Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III*. 538–39.

His teaching concerning baptism has only a few presentations. In the monograph written by István Pásztori-Kupán, there is no separate chapter concerning the doctrine on Baptism in Theodoret's interpretation but he frequently quotes passages from Theodoret's writings which deal with some aspects of baptism. There are 4 pages related to the baptismal doctrine by Theodoret in the precious and particularly ample work of Everett Ferguson *Baptism in the Early Church*, but we think that the teaching of Theodoret concerning baptism deserves more than a few pages long presentation. A quick search through TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae) shows that Theodoret used words originated from the Greek root βαπτ at least 339 times, which means that baptism was an important topic in his writings. It is also true that out of these 339 occurrences of the root βαπτ, many refer to John the Baptist, others are related to the baptism of Jesus, but it is important to show what remains: teaching clearly and truthfully about baptism was an important goal of Theodoret. The most important writings in which he discusses baptism are as follows: *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, *Eranistes*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Historia religiosa*, *Epistulae*, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, *De sancta Trinitate*, *De incarnatione Domini*, *Questiones in Octateuchum*, *Questiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, *Interpretatio in Danielelem*, *Interpretatio in XII prophetas minores*, *Interpretatio in XIV epistulas sancti Pauli*, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, *De providentia orationes decem*, *Ad eos, qui in Euphratesia et Oshroena regione, Syria...*, *Quod unicus filius sit dominus noster Jesus Christus...*

However, in his other works, Theodoret used more expressions to denote baptism, in his HFC he used only words derived from the root βαπτ. Of the 46 occurrences of the root, 2 denote John the Baptist (Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής), 20 are different forms of the verb βαπτίζω, and 24 are forms of the noun βάπτισμα. The root occurs in books 1–4 and in book 5 as well.

There is a very detailed analysis of the Greek baptismal terminology in the book of J. Ysebaert: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. However, in part one, which contains the terminology related to washing and immersion, there is no reference to Theodoret,³⁸³ but it might be useful to have a look at his study because we get an insight into the evolution of baptismal terms through it. The verb βαπτίζω is an intensive form of βάπτω, which primarily means 'to dip', 'to dye', in middle voice 'to dye oneself, or in the Hellenistic Greek 'to draw (water)'.³⁸⁴ The basic meaning of 'βαπτίζω' is 'to dip' or 'plunge', but it also has the nuance of 'to cause to perish'.³⁸⁵ We can see in the texts of Plato or Ebulus that it occasionally occurs in the classical period

³⁸³ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. Dekker & van de Vegt, Nijmegen 1962. 12–83. (In the following: Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*.)

³⁸⁴ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 12–13.

³⁸⁵ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 13.

and it is always used metaphorically, “in order to impart a comic accent to the sentence”.³⁸⁶ The word ‘βαπτίζω’ occurs more frequently in the Hellenistic Greek, and was used in both the literal and figurative sense.³⁸⁷ In Judaism the verb ‘βαπτίζω’ and the noun ‘βάπτισμα’ became the terminus technicus of the ritual bath that went down by immersion (submersion).³⁸⁸ This time, the semantic nuance of ‘to cause to perish’ disappeared.³⁸⁹ The noun ‘βάπτισμα’ distinguishes the baptism of John and Christian baptism from the Jewish ritual ablutions, referred to as ‘βαπτισμοί’.³⁹⁰ In the New Testament the words derived from the root βαπτ became the terminus technicus

for the baptism of John, for the baptism of Jesus during His public life, and for Christian baptism, although it concurs with the Jewish usage by the absence of the connotation of perishing, is again sharply distinguished by a regular use of the active and passive.³⁹¹

The words ‘βαπτίζω’ and ‘βάπτισμα’ are termini technici of the baptism of John and Christian baptism in the early Christian literature of the second and third centuries as well.³⁹² Ysebaert mentions also that these terms progressively became more and more technical, which made the Christians less conscious of the meaning ‘to immerse’.³⁹³

However, Ysebaert’s analysis does not deal with the use of the root ‘βαπτ’ in the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus, we can see the theological heritage of Theodoret in this research. He inherited a terminology wherein the accent was not on the act of immersion but it rather denoted the whole sacramental chain of events.

THE DOCTRINE ON BAPTISM IN THE 5TH BOOK OF THE HFC

There are three chapters in book 5 of the HFC which contain important passages concerning baptism: chapter 3, concerning the Holy Spirit, chapter 18, concerning baptism, and chapter 28, concerning repentance. We will begin our study with chapter 18, which presents a summary of the author’s approach to the theology and practice of baptism. First, let us see the whole text of this chapter:³⁹⁴

³⁸⁶ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 13.

³⁸⁷ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 13.

³⁸⁸ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 38.

³⁸⁹ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 39.

³⁹⁰ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 51.

³⁹¹ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 47.

³⁹² Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 64.

³⁹³ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 66.

³⁹⁴ Greek text from: Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,512.; English translation from: Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 715.

ΙΗ. Περὶ βαπτίσματος.

Ἄντὶ δὲ τῶν περιβραντηρίων ἐκείνων ἀπόχρη τοῖς πιστεῦουσιν ἢ τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος δωρεά. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνοῦς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται, καὶ υἱοὺς ἀποφαίνει Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον υἱοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κληρονόμους Θεοῦ, καὶ συγκληρονόμους Χριστοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς Μεσσαλιανοὶ νομίζουσι, ξυρδὸν μόνον μμεῖται τὸ βάπτισμα, τὰς προγεγενημένας ἀφαιρούμενον ἀμαρτίας. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ περιουσίας χαρίζεται. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον ἦν τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ βρέφη βαπτίζομεν οὐδέπω τῆς ἀμαρτίας γευσάμενα; Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεται τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τούτων μεῖζω καὶ τελεώτερα ἄρραβῶν γάρ ἐστι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσο μένης ἀναστάσεως τύπος, καὶ κοινωνία τῶν Δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ μετουσία τῆς Δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτῶν εὐφροσύνης, καὶ στολὴ φωτοειδῆς, μάλλον δὲ αὐτὸ φῶς. Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Καὶ Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν· ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. Εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιωματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα.

Ταῦτα φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος ἐδίδαξεν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, ὅτι συνθαπτόμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως κοινωνήσωμεν.

18. Concerning baptism

Instead of the Jews' vessels for sprinkling, there suffices for believers the gift of most holy baptism. It not only gives forgiveness of old sins, but it also inspires the hope of good things promised. It establishes participants of the Lord's death and resurrection; it grants a share of the gift of the Holy Spirit; it declares the sons of God, and not only sons, but also heirs of God and fellow heirs of Christ.

For it is not as the mindless Messalians think that baptism is only a razor removing previous sins. It grants this out of its abundance. For if this was the only work of baptism, why do we baptize infants, who never tasted of sin? The mystery [sacrament] promises not only this but also greater and more perfect things. For it is the down payment of good things to come – a type of the future resurrection, fellowship of the Lord's passion, a sharing of the Lord's resurrection, a garment of salvation, a clothing of joy, a luminous cloak, or rather light itself.

For who was baptized into Christ have put on Christ. And: who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? So as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life. For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his.

The divine apostle taught us to think this way about most holy baptism, because having been buries with Christ we shall share in his resurrection.

After reading this text, we could discern the following elements:

- The all-holy baptism is a gift from God, an expression of his philanthropy;
- It replaces the Jewish cleansing rites. The author summarizes here what he writes about in much more detail in other works. For example, Theodoret writes in his commentary on Psalm 106:

<p>Οὐ μὲν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ προσμεῖναι δεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς μῦθους τῶν ἀνοήτων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ νόμον λατρείαν, καὶ τὰς ἀλόγους θυσίας, καὶ περιτομὴν, καὶ σάββατον, σκιώδη περιόραντήρια μετὰ τὸ πανάγιον βάπτισμα· ταῦτα γὰρ γραϊδίων μεθυόντων παραληρήματα· ἀλλὰ κλήσιν καὶ ἐπ γνωσιν ἀληθεῶς, καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν, καὶ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὴν πολιτείαν.³⁹⁵</p>	<p>It is, of course, necessary to look forward, not to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, in foolish people's fancies, or to worship by the Law, irrational sacrifices, circumcision, the Sabbath, and shadowy sprinkling after all-holy baptism (these are tipsy old wives' tales), but to vocation and knowledge of truth, faith in Christ the Lord and the way of life of the New Covenant.³⁹⁶</p>
---	--

- Infants also receive it;
- It transmits the remission of former sins;
- It is also the assurance of all gracious future gifts of God (the guarantee of the resurrection; communion with Him, through participation in His passion and resurrection);
- It puts humans in possession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit;
- It turns believers into God's children; this way, they become His heirs and co-heirs of Christ.

Before taking a look at the interpretation of modern scholars of Theodoret's text, let us idle upon the expression *παναγίον βάπτισμα*. In the Early Church was commonly accepted the use of different epithets expressing increased reverence toward holy persons or things. A search in the TLG for the three most important epithets related to baptism in the early Christian Greek literature (of the first 5 centuries) gives the following result:

³⁹⁵ Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. In: Migne PG 80,1733 (43–51).

³⁹⁶ Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 73–150* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2001. 187.

Author	τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα	τὸ θεῖον βάπτισμα	τὸ παναγίον βάπτισμα
Clemens Romanus	7	–	–
Melito of Sardis	1	–	–
Origenes	3	2	–
Athanasius of Alexandria	22	–	–
Didymus the Blind	3	1	–
Eusebius of Caesarea	1	–	–
Socrates Scholasticus	–	1	–
Gregory of Nyssa	6	–	–
Gregory of Nazianz	1	1	–
Basil of Caesarea	3	–	–
Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicarum	18	2	–
John Chrysostom	10	3	3
Theodoret of Cyrus	8	12	38

I think the authors want to underline the divine origin of baptism through these three epithets, and to summarize its effect in the life of baptized believers. This statistic shows that Theodoret surpasses all the other writers in using panegyric epithets in denoting baptism. We can see that while expressions like ‘τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα’ and ‘τὸ θεῖον βάπτισμα’ are used by several authors, ‘τὸ παναγίον βάπτισμα’ is characteristic only to the works of Theodoret who might have inherited it from Chrysostom. But in comparison with Chrysostom, we can see that Theodoret used it much more frequently. The use of these panegyric epithets suggests the outstanding importance of baptism in Theodoret’s approach.

Everett Ferguson states that Theodoret expresses the same line of thinking as Chrysostom in this chapter which reflects a quite different perspective from that of Theodoret’s contemporary, Augustine in North Africa.³⁹⁷ Based on this text, researchers argue that Theodoret separates infant baptism from the forgiveness of sins.³⁹⁸ In Meyendorff’s book we read that according to Theodoret, the remission of sins is only a side effect of baptism, it becomes completely real only in cases of adult baptism. Mark Heim asserts directly that Theodoret denied “that remission of sin was applicable to infant baptism”.³⁹⁹ But there is a wider and more positive primary meaning to baptism: it is a promise of greater and more perfect gifts than “remission of sins”.⁴⁰⁰ In this context

³⁹⁷ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 715.

³⁹⁸ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 715.; Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. Fordham University Press, 1979. 145.

³⁹⁹ Heim, Mark: *The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2001. 68.

⁴⁰⁰ Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, 1979. 145–46.

the Church baptizes children, not to “remit” their yet nonexistent sins, but in order to give them a new and immortal life which their mortal parents are unable to communicate to them. The opposition between the two Adams is seen in terms not of guilt and forgiveness but of death and life. [...] Baptism is the paschal mystery, the “passage”. All its ancient forms, and especially the Byzantine, include a renunciation of Satan, a triple immersion as type of death and resurrection, and the positive gift of new life through anointing and Eucharistic communion.

In this perspective, death and mortality are viewed, not so much as retribution for sin (although they are also a just retribution for personal sins), as means through which the fundamentally unjust “tyranny” of the devil is exercised over mankind after Adam’s sin. From this, baptism is a liberation, because it gives access to the new immortal life brought into the world by Christ’s Resurrection. The Resurrection delivers men from the fear of death, and, therefore, also from the necessity of struggling for existence. Only in the light of the risen Lord does the Sermon on the Mount acquire its full realism: “Do not be anxious about your life, what you shall eat or what you shall drink, nor about your body, what you shall put on. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing?” (Mt 6:25).⁴⁰¹

Elsewhere, quoting the passage from chapter 18 from the 5th book of the *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, concerning the importance and the blessings of baptism, after the quotation, Meyendorff gives the following interpretation of Theodoret’s approach:

As a “beginning” and a promise of new life, baptism implies free self-determination and growth. It does not suppress human freedom, but restores it to its original and “natural” form. In the case of infant baptism, this restoration is, of course, only potential, but the sacrament always implies a call to freedom. [...] After baptism, the way toward God is a “synergy” of God’s power and free human effort. It is also a liberation from the bonds of Satan – the tyrant and the usurper – signified by the exorcisms which precede the sacrament of baptism itself.⁴⁰²

I think that all the above presented interpretations have the seeds of truth, but I find them exaggerating on some occasions. I agree that Theodoret and the Eastern theologians generally present a different approach to baptism from the Western theologians, but I think that the question about separating the forgiveness of sins and baptism is actually more nuanced. First of all, it is important to see that Theodoret wrote his book in an apologetic context. The apologetic approach to the doctrines appears not only in books 1–4 but determines also the tone of book 5. The author wanted to refute the approach of Messalians in chapter 18 – and therefore he underlined that baptism is not merely like a razor which deletes the sins committed in the past. On the contrary, Theodoret expresses with the Messalian approach that forgiveness of (former) sins is only one benefit of baptism. About the weight of the two aspects of baptism, I think it is inconsiderate to assert that the promise of future grace and blessing is more valuable than that of the forgiveness of sins. It is to be concluded from the text of Theodoret that the author speaks about the double benefit of baptism without superimpos-

⁴⁰¹ Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, 1979. 146.

⁴⁰² Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology*. Fordham University Press, 1979. 194.

ing them. I think that the expression “τὰ τοῦτων μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα (greater and more perfect things)” does not compare the remission of sins and the future gifts of grace by itself but rather expresses that the forgiveness of sins does not stand by itself: it forms τὰ τοῦτων μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα together with the “promised good things” (participation in the Lord’s resurrection, the sonship, the gifts of the Spirit, etc.). In his commentary on Psalm 51, Theodoret underlines the importance of baptism in the remission of sins: explaining the prayer of the psalmist “*Purify me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow*”, he asserts: “only the gift of baptism can achieve this cleansing”.⁴⁰³

In the context of the doctrine on baptism, Theodoret and all the Eastern theologians generally show, differently from his Western contemporaries, no concept of an inherited Adamic sin.⁴⁰⁴ It is important to see at this point that the absence of a term does not mean compulsorily unbelief concerning the inherited Adamic sin. To be more specific: the absence of the concept of the inherited sin in the Eastern theology is a result of the theological context. In East – due to particular spirituality – such questions did not rise like in Africa Consularis and Rome. The theologians – due to their theological perception of the world and their approach to God and to humans – had other experiences from e.g. Augustine of Hippo. As a result of their experiences, they wrote in another manner. The Eastern (Greek, Scythian, Syrian) theological anthropology could not think about the human world outside of its relation (and its community) to (with) God, while the Western world (see the life-story of Augustine) could imagine humans having a life without God. I think that the Western anthropology was deeply determined by the decadent Roman moral customs, while in the East the Scythian moral⁴⁰⁵ and the Christian monasticism had a stronger influence.

In the first lines of chapter 19, concerning resurrection, there is yet another reference to baptism. It is clear that the main goal of this introduction is to represent a transition between the two chapters, however, it is not only a rhetorical instrument but it also signifies a logical link between the two chapters. There we read the following words:

Οὕτω τελούντες τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ βαπτίσματος, τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίδα δεχόμεθα, ἀνάστασιν δὲ σωμάτων περιμένομεν. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἡ προσηγορία δηλοῖ.

This way, ending the mystery of baptism, we received the hope of resurrection, and we are waiting for the resurrection of the body. This is declared (made clear) by the appellation (names) as well.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 1–72* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2000. 299.

⁴⁰⁴ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 715.

⁴⁰⁵ Here I refer to the Scythian customs praised in the works of the ancient historians.

⁴⁰⁶ Translations with blue letters are my own translations. In other cases I will mention the source of the translations.

Based on this statement of Theodoret I find the opinion of Meyendorff right who says that baptism is strongly related to the idea of immortality. I would like to mention merely that it is more adequate to speak of the eternal life instead of immortality – which is not a ‘sui generis’ characteristic of the human nature but it is gained through resurrection. In other words, in Eastern theology “baptism brings children into a relationship with Christ, extending to them the promise of eternal life”,⁴⁰⁷ without speaking of the annihilation of any kind of inherited sin.

In chapter 3, speaking of dignity and the divine nature of the Holy Spirit, the bishop of Cyrus argues that the Trinitarian baptizing formula is an obvious proof of the divinity of the Holy Spirit:⁴⁰⁸

Ἐναργέστερον δὲ ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος. Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος διδάσκων μυστήριον, οὕτως ἔφη τοῖς μαθηταῖς· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Εἰ δὲ κτιστὴν εἶχε φύσιν ὁ Υἱὸς ἢ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἂν συνηριθμήθησαν τῷ κεκτικῷ Θεῷ· κατηγοροῦσι γὰρ οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι τῶν λελατρευκῶν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.

The Lord however shows us the dignity of the Spirit more clearly. Teaching about the mystery of baptism, he told the disciples: “go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit”. If the Son or the all-holy Spirit had created nature, they could not have been mentioned together with God the Creator. Scilicet the divine words would accuse those who besides the Creator dare to serve creatures as well.

The closer context of this short passage shows the interrelation between baptism and Pneumatology. In the theological framework of Theodoret, baptism is the sign of the reception of the grace of the Holy Spirit. In this context, baptism is the “first step” on the way of becoming the temple of the Holy Spirit (and accordingly, that of God).

A few lines further in the same chapter, there is a passage in which baptism is linked to the Trinitarian approach of creation, and it is called the new creation:⁴⁰⁹

Δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς ἄκτιστον ἔχει φύσιν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα. Διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο διδασκόμεθα πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ βαπτίζομεθα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον ἄν-

Ergo, it is clear that both the Son and the all-holy Spirit have an uncreated nature. Therefore, we teach that man should believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and [therefore] we baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. The first man was cre-

⁴⁰⁷ Hartnup, Karen: *‘On the Beliefs of the Greeks’: Leo Allatius and Popular Orthodoxy*. BRILL, Leiden 2004. 114–115.

⁴⁰⁸ Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,457 (22–31).

⁴⁰⁹ Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,457 (38–50).

θρωπον οὐ μόνος διέπλασεν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἔφη γάρ· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ τῆς ἀναπλάσεως γιγνομένης, καὶ τῆς καινῆς ἐπιτελουμένης δημιουργίας, κοινωνεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ ἡ τῆς Τριάδος ἐπίκλησις τῶν βαπτιζομένων ἕκαστον νεουργεῖ.

ated not by the Father only but also by the Son and the Holy Spirit. Because he speaks: “*Let us make mankind in our image and in our likeness*”. Therefore, both in the creation which happened and in finishing the new creation the Father reasonably shared with the Son and the all-holy Spirit. And the invocation of the Trinity renews all the baptized.

Because both the Son and the Holy Spirit have uncreated nature, similarly to the Father – it obviously concludes that the creation was the work of the whole Trinity. Theodoret believes that God’s saying from Gen 1,26 is the most obvious proof for it: “*let us create mankind in our image and in our likeness*”. If the creation of mankind is the work of the whole Trinity, it is also a matter of necessity that the whole Trinity be active in completing the new creation. It is not the eschatological new creation that is understood by the expression “ἡ καινὴ ἐπιτελουμένη δημιουργία” but the renewal through the Holy Spirit – which is to be gained according to the power of Christ’s passion, death and resurrection, and of which baptism is a pledge. The firmest ground of this interpretation is that the expressions “κοινωνία τῶν Δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ μετουσία τῆς Δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως” and “κοινωνοὶ τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσεως” play a key-role in chapter 18. This interpretation is also an indirect manner in the Heidelberg Catechism when it speaks of the benefits of Christ’s resurrection. The power of Christ’s resurrection “*we too are raised up to a new life*” (HC 45.) is mentioned as the second benefit which is an obvious reference to the putting on the new man through the Holy Spirit and to the partaking (sharing) in the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There is a longer passage related to baptism concerning repentance in chapter 28, dealing with the forgiveness of sins after receiving the grace of the sacrament. In the introduction of this passage, we read that the author wants to refute the doctrinal error of the Novatians:⁴¹⁰

Ἄλλ οἱ τὸν Ναυάτου διαδεξάμενοι τύφον, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμά φασι μὴ χρῆναι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι θεραπείαν προσφέρειν.

But they who follow the vanity of Novatus say that after baptism it is not necessary to proffer the therapy to those who sin.

Then, after a longer passage which proves that the central message of the Bible is the forgiveness of sins, there begins the explanation of the relationship between baptism and forgiveness of sins happening after being baptized:⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,549 (10–12).

⁴¹¹ Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,552–553 (552,7–553,8).

Οὕτως Γαλάτας παρατραπέντας τῆς πίστεως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν κλήσιν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἀπόλαυσιν, τὴν περιτομὴν δεξαμένους, καὶ τῶν νομικῶν παρατηρήσεων ἀσπασαμένους τὴν φυλακὴν, ἐπανάγει πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὰ τῆς μετανοίας αὐτοῦς ἐπιτίθησι φάρμακα, καὶ ἀφίησι μητρὸς φιλοστόργου φωνήν· *Τεκνία μου, οὗς πάλιν ᾠδίνω, ἄχρισ οὐ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.*

Ταύτην δὲ ἡμῖν τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς διὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν παραβολῶν προσενήνοχε. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον, καὶ ἡ ἐκπεσοῦσα δραχμὴ, τῶν ἡμαρτηκῶτων ἐπιμέλεσθαι διδάσκουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ ἄσωτος υἱὸς ἄντικρυς τὴν μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα γεγενημένην παράβασιν διηλοῖ. Τῆς γὰρ πατρῶας οὐσίας τὴν προσήκουσαν μοῖραν λαβῶν, καὶ ταύτην ἄσώτως κατεδηδοκῶς, ἐπανάηθεν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τῆς πρώτης ἠξιώθη στολῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦ δακτυλίου τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν θεῖαν ἀπέλαβε, καὶ τοῦ σιτευτοῦ ἀπήλαυσε μόσχου, καὶ ἐορτὴν μεγίστην ἐσχεδίασε τῷ πατρί.

Καὶ πάσα δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλία καὶ πράξις, τὴν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἰατρειάν διδάσκουσι, καὶ οἱ κληθέντες τελῶναι, καὶ ἡ προσελθοῦσα πόρνη, καὶ ὁ πιστεύσας ληστής, καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας οἱ λόγοι· *Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν. Οὐ γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν· οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ, ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.*

Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος λέγουσι γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν πρῶτον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιον καταμάθωσι κλονούμενον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος βεβαιούμενον. Τρὶς γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἀρνησάμενος Πέτρος ἔμεινε πρῶτος, τοῖς δάκρυσι τοῖς οἰκειοῖς θεραπευθεῖς. Ταύτην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· προφέρει τὴν

That [happened] to the Galatians who previously accepted the circumcision and who greeted the watch of the observation learned by law when they turned away from faith. But [the apostle], after the call of the grace and the enjoyment of the divine mysteries, led them back to the salvation, proffered them the medicine of conversion, and pardoned them with the words of a loving mother: *“My dear children, for whom I am again in the pains of childbirth until Christ is formed in you”*.

The Lord [Jesus] Christ also presented us this teaching in his own parables.

The parable of the lost sheep and the lost drachma teaches us how men should take care of sinners.

The parable of the prodigal son makes clear what to do in case of transgression after baptism. After having taken his portion of inheritance from the fatherly essence, and after having dissipated it, he came back [to the fatherly house]. But there he received clothes similar to those of his previous dignity, through the finger-ring he put on the divine image, he enjoyed the meat of the fattened calf, and shared the greatest celebration with his father.

Every teaching and deed of the Lord teaches us the healing of sinners. That is [exemplified] through the called tax-collectors, the meretricious woman who came to the Lord, the repenting robber and the words of the philanthropy: *“For I have not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance”* and *“It is not the healthy who need a doctor but the sick”*.

If they [the Novatians] say that all these happened before baptism, they have to understand that the foundation of the Church felt to the temptation as well, and became firm under the divine grace. The great Peter, after having denied thrice, remained first to be healed with his own tears. This was ordered by the Lord himself,

θεραπειάν ὁ Δεσπότης ἐκέλευσε· Καὶ σὺ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐπιστρέψας στήρι ξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.

Καὶ προσευχῆς δὲ τύπον τοῖς μαθηταῖς δεδωκώς, προσέταξε λέγειν· Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. Ταῦτην δὲ τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοὺς ἀμυήτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγούμενους διδάσκομεν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀμυήτων λέγειν τολμᾷ· Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, μήπω δεξάμενος τῆς υἰοθεσίας τὸ χάρισμα. Ὁ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος τετυχηκώς δωρεάς, Πατέρα καλεῖ τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς τελέσας τῆς χάριτος. Οὗτοι τοίνυν προσετάχθησαν λέγειν· Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν.

Ἰάσιμα τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα γενόμενα τραύματα· ἰάσιμα δὲ, οὐχ ὡς πάλαι διὰ πίστεως μόνης τῆς ἀφέσεως διδομένης· ἀλλὰ διὰ δακρύων πολλῶν, διὰ τε ὀδυρμῶν, καὶ κλαυθμῶν, καὶ νηστείας, καὶ προσευχῆς, καὶ πόνου· τῇ ποσότητι τῆς γεγονυίας ἀμαρτίας συμμετρούμενου. Οὔτε γὰρ ἀπαγορεύειν ἐδιδάχθημεν τοὺς μὲν οὕτω διακειμένους, οὔτε προχείρως [83.553] μεταδιδόναι τῶν θείων. *Μὴ βάλλετε γὰρ, φησὶ, ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ ῥίψετε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων.*

Τοῦτους ἢ Ἐκκλησία καὶ περὶ μετανοίας ἔχει τοὺς νόμους.

offering healing to him and to his brethren. Scilicet he said: “and when you have turned back, strengthen your brothers”.

Giving the model of the prayer to the apostle, the Lord ordained them to say: “And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors”. We do not teach this prayer the outsiders but only the insiders. No outsider should dare to say “our Father, who are in heaven”, only the ones who received the gift of the ‘sonship’. Everybody who received the gift of baptism could call God as Father, as [result] of the perfect grace toward God’s children. To them the Lord commended to say: “forgive us our debts”.

Therefore, curable are the wounds that happened after the baptism, too. But the curability is not given only through the former faith in forgiveness but also through many tears; through lamentations, weeping, fasting, prayer and hard work – measured accordingly to the quantity of the committed sins. We did not learn on the one hand to forbid people in such situation, but on the other hand we should not give easily up the divine [things]. It is said: “Do not give dogs what is sacred; do not throw your pearls to pigs”.

The Church has these laws concerning repentance.

The main idea of this passage is that “Ἰάσιμα τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα γενόμενα τραύματα”. In a very detailed argumentation, Theodoret wants to show on the one hand that there is a possibility for the remission of sins after baptism as well, but on the other hand, it is not too easy to acquire it. This approach can be deemed evidently as the following step in the evolution of the relation between the remission of sins and baptism. Let us take the Shepherd of Hermas as an example which seems to proclaim the possibility of a once-only post-baptismal forgiveness of sins. Drobner mentions in his introduction to the Church Fathers that according to some researchers (Windisch, Dibelius, and others) prior to Hermas, there was no possibility of a second

repentance after baptism.⁴¹² But, because of the daily experience of sinfulness (in the life of baptized Christians as well), the Shepherd of Hermas and many other writers open a new opportunity to repent.⁴¹³ We find the following statement in the aforementioned book of Drobner:

The subsequent history of repentance in the early church demonstrates that in the case of grave sins it was indeed practice, until the fifth century, to allow only one postbaptismal opportunity to repent in public. The imposed works of repentance became so severe, such as the lifelong renunciation of sexual intimacy in marriage, that repentance was increasingly deferred until the end of life; indeed the Gallic synods barred younger individuals from repentance. Only beginning with the fifth century did the Irish-Scottish mission introduce the development of unlimited private and repeated repentance in the Latin church on the continent.⁴¹⁴

It is not clear whether Drobner refers to the universal Church or only to the churches of the West. But its analysis – because of the complexity of the question – could be the subject of another research. Here I quoted a passage from Drobner’s book only to illustrate the steps of evolution of the approach to the post-baptismal opportunity of repentance. Based on the text of Theodoret, I think that there existed the possibility of the post-baptismal repentance in the Eastern Churches of the 5th century, which must have been shown through the imposed works. Some heretic communities (like the Novatians) denied this possibility from the members of their communities.

In the chapter concerning repentance, the question of the post-baptismal remission of sins is linked to the 5th demand of the Lord’s Prayer. Theodoret underlines that the Lord’s Prayer was the material either of the post-baptismal catechesis or of the catechesis immediately prior to baptism (ταύτην δὲ τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοὺς ἀμυήτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγούμενους διδάσκομεν). Only the baptized ones could call God their Father because they received the gift of the Holy Spirit and that of the sonship (adoption) through baptism and they could enjoy a perfect grace in this new relationship.

This passage is a bright evidence of Theodoret taking the human weakness and the fallibility of the human nature into account. It is not possible to detect the causes of the human weakness from this text of Theodoret, but based on the imposed works of the repentance, we can conclude that similarly to Chrysostom, he saw the main cause of actual sins in the indifference towards God. In the case of our topic, it is important to see that according to Theodoret, there exists the possibility of healing from indifference – not simply through faith and remission but through all the works of the repentance as: many tears, lamentations, weeping, fasting, prayer and hard work, measured

⁴¹² Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody MA 2007. 41.

⁴¹³ Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. 41.

⁴¹⁴ Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. 42.

accordingly to the quantity of the committed sins. According to the position of the theological school of Antioch, the role of these works is first of all not to “buy the divine favor” but to strengthen the enthusiasm and the willingness, eagerness, or zeal (with the adequate Greek word, which has 868 occurrences in Chrysostom’s writings and 152 in those of Theodoret: the προθυμία) towards God.

THE PRACTICE OF BAPTISM IN THE CHAPTERS RELATED TO THE DESCRIPTION OF HERESIES

In his HFC, Theodoret presents not only the orthodox theology and practice of baptism but in several chapters of books 1–4 of the HFC, speaking about different heretics, he presents also how they distort the doctrine and practice of the all-holy baptism. First, let us see the overview of these passages:

Passage in the HFC:	Passage in Migne PG:	Title of the chapter:
HFC 1,2	83:345,36–43	Περὶ Μενάνδρου
HFC 1,9	83:360,12–19	Περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ γόητος
HFC 1,10	83:360,29–36	Περὶ τῶν Ἀσκοδρουτῶν ἢ Ἀσκοδρουπιτῶν καλουμένων.
HFC 2,7	83:393,19–27	Περὶ Ἐλκεσαίων
HFC 3,5	83:408,23–31	Περὶ Ναάτου
HFC 4,1	83:413,18–41	Περὶ Ἀρείου
HFC 4,3	83:420,23–48	Περὶ Εὐνομίου καὶ Ἀετίου
HFC 4,11	83:429,28–432,3	Περὶ Μεσσαλιανῶν, ἤγουν Εὐχιτῶν καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστῶν

Ferguson writes in his monograph that “Theodoret describes these practices because they departed from the church’s usual manner of administering baptism”.⁴¹⁵ Although Ferguson asserts it after quoting Theodoret’s presentation concerning the aberration of the Eunomians, I think this statement is true in all cases of the heretic misuses of the holy baptism presented by Theodoret. Ferguson mentions furthermore that “the accuracy of the reports” and “the frequency of what is described” may be questioned.⁴¹⁶

Menander (Μενάνδρος) is the first heretic whose distorted teaching is presented in relation to baptism. Theodoret describes his ideas on baptism as follows:

Τὴν μὲν ἐκείνου διεδέξατο γοητείαν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐ τὴν πρώτην ὠνόμασε δύναμιν· ἄγνωστον γὰρ ἔφησε ταύτην·

He followed the cheaterly of that [i.e., of Simon], but he did not call himself the first power, because he taught it to be unknown.

⁴¹⁵ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 716.

⁴¹⁶ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 716.

ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἀπεστάλθαι βρενθόμενος Σωτήρα ἐαυτὸν προσηγόρευσε, [...] σώζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν βαπτιζομένους, καὶ κρείττους ἀποτελεῖσθαι κὰν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν δύνάμιν εἰς τὸ ῥάστα τῶν κοσμοποιῶν δυνάμεων περιγίνεσθαι.

But he saw himself haughtily to be the Saviour sent by that. [...] [According to him] only those will be saved who are baptized into his name. Furthermore, they will become more excellent in this life and they will receive power to become the most easily of the world-creating powers.

Other sources report that he considered the water of baptism the source of perpetual youth.⁴¹⁷ I think this conclusion of scholars can be explained through Theodoret's text as well, through the expression “καὶ κρείττους ἀποτελεῖσθαι κὰν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ”.

In the chapter about *Mark the sorcerer*, we read the following information concerning the practice of baptism:

Βαπτίζοντες δὲ τοὺς ἐξαπατωμένους ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθασιν· εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἔνωσην, καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. Ἀναμιγνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα, δεδιτόμενοι τοὺς τελούμενους, ὧν ἐπιμνησθῆναι περιττὸν ἡγήσάμην.

They baptize the deceived ones, using to say upon them: in the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into the Truth, the mother of all, into the one who came down, into Jesus, and the unity, and salvation and the communion of the powers. They mix the Hebrew names also, frightening the accomplished [initiated] ones, for whom it is beyond normal to remember all these.

We can recognize some gnosticizing elements in this description and according to Theodoret, they developed a cultic language which seemed to contain a mixture of the Hebrew (divine) names (Ἀναμιγνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα) – probably to create the impression of a magical effect through them.

In the chapter about the heresy of the *Ascodrutes* we read that they did not practice baptism because of their philosophical teaching. As they deemed salvation to be spiritual, they rejected the practice of baptism as corporeal, replacing it with the true and spiritual knowledge of the existence (and/or of the Universe): “τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπίγνωσιν” and “τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίγνωσιν”.

Εἶναι δὲ τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπίγνωσιν. Τὰ γὰρ ὀρώμενα πάντα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ πάθους συστάντα, διὰ γνώσεως καταλύεται. Πνευματικὴν οὖν δεῖ καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν

They say the perfect salvation to be the true knowledge of the existence. Every visible thing, subjected to ignorance and suffering, will be liberated through knowledge. In this way the salvation also

⁴¹⁷ Grant, Robert M: *Augustus to Constantine: The Rise and Triumph of Christianity in the Roman World*. Westminster John Knox Press, London 2004. 123.

ὑπάρχειν. Διὰ τοῦτο, οὔτε βαπτίζουσι τοὺς προσιόντας, οὐδὲ ἐπιτελεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ μυστήριον. Λύτρωσιν γὰρ καλοῦσι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίγνωσιν.

must be spiritual. Therefore they either do not baptize those who join to them, nor in their communities do not accomplish the mystery of baptism. They say namely, that salvation is the knowledge of the universe.

The following presentation of their baptismal practices is to be found in the chapter concerning the heresy of the *Elkesaites*:

Ἐπῳδαῖς δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεσι καὶ οὗτοι κέχρηται, καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ. Ἀστρολογίαν δὲ, καὶ μαγικὴν, καὶ μαθηματικὴν ἠσπάζοντο πλάνην, καὶ Προγνωστικούς ἐαυτοὺς προσηγόρευον. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόστολον παντελῶς ἠρνήθησαν· καὶ βιβλίον δέ τινα συντεθείκασιν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔφασαν πεπτωκέναι. Ταύτης τὸν ἀκηκοῦτα ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαμβάνειν παρ' ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδωρήσατο.

They use incantations and the invocation of demons, and they baptize upon the confession of the elements. They prefer the aberration of the astrology, magic and mathematics, and they call themselves prognostics. They deny totally the Apostle and they composed a book which they say to be fallen from the heaven. Who obey to this [book], will gain the remission of sins, beside that which is given as present by Christ.

In the writings of Hippolyt of Rome, there is a much more detailed description of Elkesaites's baptismal practice which can explain what Theodoret briefly summarizes. According to Hippolyt, baptism is administrated among these heretics using the following words:

If, therefore, (my) children, one shall have intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, or a male, or a sister, or a daughter, or has committed adultery, or been guilty of fornication, and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he hearkens to this book let him be baptized a second time in *the* name of the Great and Most High God, and in *the* name of His Son, the Mighty King. And *by baptism* let him be purified and cleansed, and let him adjure for himself those seven witnesses that have been described in this book — the heaven, and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth.⁴¹⁸

This passage reveals what precisely the ἡ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογία means and what these elements are. Theodoret briefly mentions what is more detailed in Hippolyt's text: only those will be baptized and will receive the remission of sins who obey the Book of Elkesai/Elchesai/Elchasai. From what Theodoret writes about the affection for

⁴¹⁸ Hippolyt of Rome: *Refutation of all heresies* (Book 9, chapter 10).
see: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050109.htm> (opened: 2015-05-03)

magic of the Elkesaites, it can be concluded from the text of Hippolyt that they attributed a magic-therapeutic effect to the baptismal bath.⁴¹⁹

But since we have stated that these resort to incantations for those bitten by dogs and for other *mishaps*, we shall explain these. Now *Elchasai* uses the following formulary: If a dog rabid and furious, in which inheres a spirit of destruction, bite any man, or woman, or youth, or girl, or may worry or touch *them*, in the same hour let such a one run with all their wearing apparel, and go down to a river or to a fountain wherever there is a deep spot. Let (him or her) be dipped with all their wearing apparel, and offer supplication to the Great and Most High God in faith of heart, and then let him *thus* adjure the seven witnesses described in this book: ‘Behold, I call to witness the heaven and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth. I testify by these seven witnesses that no more shall I sin, nor commit adultery, nor steal, nor be guilty of injustice, nor be covetous, nor be actuated by hatred, nor be scornful, nor shall I take pleasure in any wicked *deeds*.’ Having uttered, therefore, these words, let such a one be baptized with the entire of his wearing apparel in *the* name of the Mighty and Most High God.⁴²⁰

We find information about the post-baptismal liturgical actions in the chapter about the heresy of the *Novatians*:

Οἱ δὲ τούτου διάδοχοι καὶ ἕτερα τῷ δόγματι προστεθεικασιν· τοὺς γὰρ δευτέροις γάμοις ὠμιληκότας τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξελαύνουσι μυστηρίων· καὶ παντελῶς τὸν τῆς μετανοίας τῶν οἰκειῶν συλλόγων ἐξορίζουσι λόγον· καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σφῶν βαπτισόμενοις τὸ πανάγιον οὐ προσφέρουσι χρίσμα. Διὰ τοιούτου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς αἱρέσεως τῷ σώματι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας συναπτομένους χρίειν οἱ πανεύφημοι Πατέρες προσέταξαν.

His followers added many things to the dogma: they denied the holy mysteries from those who are involved in the second marriage; they have totally expelled the term of the repentance from their word-usage; they do not bring the all-holy anointing to the baptised among them. Therefore the most reputable Fathers have ordained that everybody from this heresy who want to join the body of the Church must be anointed.

This is the only passage in the whole HFC where we find technical terms related to the liturgical actions around baptism other than the words originating from the root βαπτ. Here the author writes about the πανάγιον χρίσμα. If Theodore’s perception of postbaptismal anointing matches that of the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions – as J. Ysebaert states it⁴²¹ – then it seems to be “a confirmation of the confession” and “a

⁴¹⁹ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 81.

⁴²⁰ Hippolyt of Rome: *Refutation of all heresies* (Book 9, chapter 10).
see: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050109.htm> (opened: 2015-05-03)

⁴²¹ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 363.

seal of the contracts”. Theodoret compares the pre- and the post-baptismal anointing in his *Eranistes*: this way, the pre-baptismal anointing is administered in order to become Christians, while in the Syrian Church, the post-baptismal anointing is considered the rite which confers the Holy Spirit.⁴²² In the *Eranistes* – Ysebaert says – Theodoret was not able to indicate clearly the meaning of the post-baptismal anointing “as the rite by which the Spirit is conferred”. He states only that it is a reminder of Christ’s sepulture.⁴²³ In Theodoret’s theological system, the gift of the Spirit is connected to the baptismal imposition of hands,⁴²⁴ but there is a passage in his commentary to the Song of Songs where anointing with “μύρον” confers the grace of the Spirit.⁴²⁵

Theodoret criticize the Novatians on the one hand that they deny people who – according to them – have graver sins of the sacrament of baptism, and on the other hand that they suppress the post-baptismal rites and do not practice the post-baptismal anointing. Ysebaert quotes Eusebius of Caesarea, according to whom “they may have done so since Novatian himself did not receive this rite”.⁴²⁶ Ysebaert – in accordance with the Ferguson’s opinion that Theodoret’s information concerning the heretica are not always accurate – asserts that Theodoret

may quite simply have drawn the wrong conclusion from the existing practice of anointing the Novatian converts and from the explanation as it was put forward by Didymus the Blind for the anointing of all heretics.⁴²⁷

Furthermore, Ysebaert underlines that the imposition of the hands and the anointing do not repeat the rites already received but they are intended to restore them, and are thus reconciliation rites.⁴²⁸

In the chapter concerning *Arius* we read the following presentation of his approach to baptism:

Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος γινομένην ἐπικλησιν ἐναλλάξαι διὰ τὸ τῆς παραβάσεως προφανὲς οὐκ ἐθάρῃσεν·	He did not dare to modify the invocation [epiklesis] included in divine baptism because of the obviousness of the transgres-
---	--

⁴²² Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 318. Ysebaert remarks that the terminology of the pre- and the post-baptismal anointing is different. The pre-baptismal anointing is denoted with the words χρίειν and ἔλαιον, while the post-baptismal with χρίειν and μύρον.

⁴²³ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 364.

⁴²⁴ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 383.

⁴²⁵ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 364.

⁴²⁶ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. Dekker & van de Vegt, Nijmegen 1962. 338.

⁴²⁷ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 338.

⁴²⁸ Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. 338.

ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν Δεσποτικὴν ἐντολὴν, βαπτίζουσιν μὲν παρέδωκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· δοξάζουσιν δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος διεκώλυσε νόμον, καίτοι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς βαπτίσειν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μαθητεύσαι προσεταχότος. Πορευθέντες γὰρ, ἔφη, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν νόμον καὶ οἱ θεῖοι ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλοι, μαθητεύουσι τοὺς προσιόντας πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ τοὺς μαθητευθέντας βαπτίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Οὐ δὲ χάριν, οἱ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἀπολαύσαντες, ὡς ἐμαθητεύθησαν καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν, δοξάζουσι τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Σχέλιον γὰρ, τοὺς παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κομισαμένους τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος δωρεάν, μόνῳ τῇ δοξολογίᾳ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἀγέραςτον καταλιπεῖν τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα.

sion, but according to the Ruler's commandment he handed over [i.e. taught] baptism into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Yet he banned the doxology according to the law of baptism, although our God and Saviour prescribed not simply baptism, but making disciples first. For he says, 'Go, make disciples of all nations, baptising them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (Matt. 28:19). According to this law, both the divine apostles and the teachers of the church after them, instructed those who came forward to believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and they baptised those who were made disciples into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. This is why indeed those who benefited from the gift in the sense that they were made disciples and baptised, glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. It is abominable for those who were granted the gift of baptism from the Holy Trinity to offer doxology only to the Father and to leave the Son and the All-holy Spirit unhonoured.⁴²⁹

Here Theodoret objects to Arius that “he banned the doxology according to the law of baptism”, offering doxology “only to the Father” and leaving “the Son and the All-holy Spirit unhonoured”. After reading the passage concerning Arius's approach to baptism, we will have the impression that Theodoret accuses him not only of corrupting the baptismal doxology but of hypocrisy as well. The motif of Arius' hypocrisy comes forth in many ancient Christian writings, in the most emphatical way probably in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Socrates Scholasticus (e.g., HE 1,26; 1,38).

About the misuse of baptism through *Eunomius* and his followers we read:

Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνέτρεψε τὸν ἀνεκάθεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμόν, καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἀντενομοθέτησε, μὴ χρῆναι λέγων

He overthrew even the ordinance of holy baptism, which had been handed down of old by the Lord and the apostles, and openly made contrary laws, saying that it

⁴²⁹ Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006. 214.

τρὶς καταδύειν τὸν βαπτίζομενον, μηδὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἐπίκλησιν· ἀλλ’ ἀπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ βαπτίζοντες δὲ μέχρι τῶν στέρνων τῷ ὕδατι δεύουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μορίοις τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐναγέσι προσφέρειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν. Οὐ δὲ χάριν, ἢ νίκα μὲν εἰς πύελον ἐβάπτισον, ἔξω τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης στήσαντες, τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν μέχρι τοῦ στήθους ἀπαξ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ κατήγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινα συνέβη τραυματίαν γενέσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς τῇ πύελω προσὰρραχθεῖ σης, ἕτερον εἶδος βαπτίσματος ἐπενόησαν. Ἐπὶ βάρου γάρ τινος πρηγῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον διατείνοντες, ἔξω δὲ τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν αἰωροῦντες, καταχέουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μορίου προσπαῦον. Τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕτερον τρόπον ἐξεύρον βαπτίσματος. Ταίναν γὰρ μακροτάτην κατασκευάσαντες, καὶ ταύτην καθιερώσαντες, ἐλίττουσι ταύτη τὸν ἄνθρωπον μέχρι τῶν ὀνύχων, ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους ἀρξάμενοι, εἰθ’ οὕτως προσφέρουσι τὸ ὕδατος τὴν κατάχυσιν.

was necessary neither to immerse the baptised three times, nor to perform the invocation of the Trinity, but rather to baptise once into the death of Christ. When baptising they drench with water as far as the chest, yet they forbid applying water to the other members of the body, [considering these] as accursed. This is why they baptise in a tub with the man standing outside of it, and lower his head down once as far as his chest into the water. Yet since it happened that someone was injured on the head as it struck the tub, they contrived another form of baptism: they stretch a person out head- rst on a bench, raise his head from this, and pour water on it while not touching any other member [of the body]. Some of them, however, invented yet another mode of baptism. They prepare and consecrate a very long band [of cloth] and wind it around the man as far as his finger-tips, beginning from the chest, then they perform the pouring of water in this manner.⁴³⁰

In this description, we can find both elements of the orthodox baptismal practice (the three immersions, the invocation of the Trinity) and the distorted practice through the heretics. Theodoret characterizes the distortion of baptism through Eunomius as ἀνάτρεψις: Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνέτρεψε [...] θεσμὸν. Because of their Arian background, they avoid the invocation of the Trinity (τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἐπίκλησιν), and they baptize once into the death of Christ (ἀπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ). What Theodoret says about the ‘another form’ of administering of the sacrament appears – according to Ferguson – as a parody of orthodox baptism.⁴³¹ The submersion happens with the head forward and only the upper body will be soaked. He deemed that the other body parts are not worthy to be baptized. According to Ferguson, the expression ‘οἱ ἄλλοι μορίοι τοῦ σώματος’ denotes the genitalia.

There is a similar passage about the Eunomian baptismal practice in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius which provides us with some auxiliary information:

⁴³⁰ Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006. 217.

⁴³¹ Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 716.

ὁ τούτων διάδοχος, Εὐνόμιός τις ψευδωνύμως καλούμενος, ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο περιῶν τῷ βίῳ μέγα κακόν, τόλμημα· ἀναβαπτίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἤδη βαπτισθέντας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους καὶ αἱρέσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν. ἀναβαπτίζει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα θεοῦ ἀκτίστου καὶ εἰς ὄνομα πνεύματος ἀγιαστικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κεκτισμένου υἱοῦ κτισθέντος. ἴνα δὲ τὸ πᾶν κυβείας καὶ θυμέλης καὶ σκινηῆς [τὸ] ἐργαστήριον αὐτῶν ὀφθῆι, ὅτι οὐκέτι πίστις ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καταγγελομένη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν μίμων ἐργαστήριον, διεβειώσαντο τινες ὅτι κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοὺς ἀναβαπτιζομένους βαπτίζει, τοὺς πόδας ἄνω καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω. καὶ οὕτως ἐνωμότως βιάζεται αὐτοὺς ὁμόσαι μὴ ἀποπηδήσαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεμηχανημένης τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως.⁴³²

(32) [...] a person miscalled Eunomius (i.e., “law-abiding”), who is still alive to be a great evil, and introduces another piece of impudence. For he rebaptizes persons already baptized—not only people who come to him from the orthodox and the sects, but even from the Arians. (33) He, however, rebaptizes them in the name of God the Uncreated, and in the name of the Created Son, and in the name of the Sanctifying Spirit created by the Created Son. (34) And to make it clear that it is no longer faith which their whole workshop of jugglery, theater and farce proclaims, but practically clowns’ work, some maintain that he baptizes his candidates for rebaptism upside down, with their feet on top and their heads below. (35) And while they are in this position he obliges them to swear an oath that they will not abandon the sect he has cooked up.⁴³³

The last chapter where we can read about the misuse of baptism is about the heresy of the *Messalians*.

Μεσσαλιανοὶ δὲ τοῦνομα δὲ τοῦτο μεταβαλλόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν, τοὺς Εὐχίτας σημαίνει, τὸ μὲν βάπτισμά φασι μηδὲν ὄνειν τοὺς προσιόντας· ξυροῦ γὰρ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ πρότερα, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἀμαρτίας· ἢ δὲ ἐνδελεχῆς προσευχῆ, καὶ τὴν ρίζαν τῆς ἀμαρτίας πρόρριζον ἀνασπᾶ, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγκληρωθέντα πονηρὸν δαίμονα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελαύνει. Ἐκάστῳ γὰρ φασιν ἀνθρώπῳ τικτομένῳ παραυτίκα συνέπεσθαι δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὰς ἀτόπους

The name of the messalians means in Greek translation Euchithes. They assert on the one hand that baptism uses for nothing in the life of those who receive it, because like the razor of the justice it clears away the sins of the past, but it does not cut out the root of sin. On the other hand they say that the continuous prayer is which cuts off the root of the sin and drives out the evil demon of the soul, which was inherited from the beginning. They say that this demon attacks every human directly in the moment of birth, and compelles them to incongruous

⁴³² Epiphanius von Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3. Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933. 413–14.

⁴³³ Epiphanius of Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De fide*. BRILL, Leiden 2013. 579–80.

πράξεις παρακινεῖν. Τοῦτον δὲ οὔτε τὸ βάπτισμα, οὔτε ἄλλο τι δύναται τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελάσαι, ἀλλὰ μόνη τῆς προσευχῆς ἢ ἐνέργεια. Ἐξιέναι δὲ φασὶ τὸν ἔνοικον δαίμονα διὰ κορυζῆς καὶ τῶν περιτωμάτων τοῦ πτύσματος.

Οὕτως ἐξαπατηθέντες οἱ τρισάθλιοι ἔργον μὲν οὐδὲν μετῴσι πνευματικοῦς γὰρ ἑαυτοῦς ὀνομάζουσι, τῇ δὲ εὐχῇ δῆθεν ἐσχολακότες, τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον καθεύδουσιν.

Εἶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ σφᾶς ἐκβακχέυσαντος δαίμονος ἐξαπατηθέντες, ἀποκαλύψεις ἑωρακέναι φασὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προλέγειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ἐλέγχονται δὲ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ψευδόμενοι.

Βρενθύνονται δὲ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τῆς γινομένης τοῦ 83.432 Πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσεως τὴν αἴσθησιν δέχεσθαι.

Πρόχειροι δὲ εἰσὶν εἰς ἄρνησιν, κἂν βιασθῶσιν, ἀναθεματίζουσιν εὐπετῶς τοὺς τούτων τι λέγοντας.

deeds. This demon could not be driven out from the soul either through baptism or anything else, but only through the power of the prayer. They say that the demon goes out from the through the run of the nose and through sputum.

In this way these thrice miserable deceived ones on the one hand do not do anything, because they call themselves spiritual people. On the other hand they really having leisure in prayer, they slumber away the golden hours.

Further, deluded by this fool demon, they say they see revelations, and they try to forecast the future – but the events contradict to these liars.

They brazen that they have seen with their corporeal eyes the Father, the Son and the All-holy Spirit and that they have received the ability to detect the future coming of the Spirit.

They are ready to betrayal and browbeating, and they anathematize easily those who reveal anything of these.

After quoting passages from this chapter, Otmar Hesse summarizes the teaching of Messalians with the following words:

Die Taufe gewährt keinen Nutzen, sie entfernt wie ein Rasiermesser die früheren Sünden, der Dämon begleitet seit Geburt jeden Menschen, nur das eifrige Gebet kann ihn aus der Seele vertreiben.⁴³⁴

Hubertus Drobner, presenting the work of Simeon of Mesopotamia (Macarius), summarizes the Messalians' approach to baptism and their thoughts concerning its role and effect with the following words:

In agreement with the theology of the church at large, he assumes that all human sin is predicated upon original sin. Unlike the common theology of the church, however, he does not acknowledge that this inherited debt is cleansed in baptism, but merely recognizes the latter as the beginning of the spiritual battle against evil, in which the grace of the Spirit

⁴³⁴ Hesse, Otmar: Der Streit über die Wirkung der Taufe im frühen Mönchtum. In: Hellholm, David – Vegge, Tor – Norderval, Øyvind – Hellholm, Christer (eds.): *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism. Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. De Gruyter, Berlin 2011. 1334.

has to be gained more and more, for the latter renews the image of God in the human person. Hence, for him, the virtue surpassing all others and on which all others depend is prayer; in the ideal case, this becomes constant prayer. This means, however, that redemption does not primarily result from Christ's sacrifice and from participating in it in the sacrament of baptism, but from success in the battle of prayer and from gaining through it the grace of the Spirit on the basis of an individual's effort.⁴³⁵

Theodoret mentions the teaching concerning baptism of the Messalians in his *Historia ecclesiastica* as well, but we find there supplementary information on how the Holy Spirit comes to take the place of the outdriven demon:⁴³⁶

τούτοις ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκεῖνος τοῖς λόγοις καταθελθεὶς ἐξήμεσεν ἅπαντα τὸν κεκρυμμένον ἰόν, καὶ ἔφη μηδεμίαν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀξιοῦμένοις ἐγγίνεσθαι, μόνην δὲ τὴν σπουδαίαν εὐχὴν τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἔνοικον ἐξελαύνειν. ἔλκειν γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν τικτομένων ἔλεγεν ἐκ τοῦ προπάτορος, ὡσπερ τὴν φύσιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων δουλείαν· τούτων δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδαίας ἐλαυνομένου εὐχῆς, ἐπιφοιτᾶν λοιπὸν τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα, αἰσθητῶς καὶ ὀρατῶς τὴν οἰκείαν παρουσίαν σημαῖνον, καὶ τὸ τε σῶμα τῆς τῶν παθῶν κινήσεως ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ῥοπῆς παντελῶς ἀπαλλάττειν, ὡς μηκέτι δεῖσθαι λοιπὸν μήτε νηστείας πιεζούσης τὸ σῶμα μήτε διδασκαλίας χαλινοῦσης καὶ βαίνειν εὐτακτα παιδεύουσης. οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁ τούτου τετυχηῶς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάττεται σκιρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς τὰ μέλλοντα προορᾷ καὶ τὴν τριάδα τὴν θεῖαν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρεῖ.

The old man was won over by these words and gave vent to all his secret venom, for he said that no benefit accrues to the recipients of Holy Baptism, and that it is only by earnest prayer that the in-dwelling demon is driven out, for that every one born into the world derives from his first father slavery to the demons just as he does his nature; but that when these are driven away, then come the Holy Ghost giving sensible and visible signs of His presence, at once freeing the body from the impulse of the passions and wholly ridding the soul of its inclination to the worse; with the result that there is no more need for fasting that restrains the body, nor of teaching or training that bridles it and instructs it how to walk aright. And not only is the recipient of this gift liberated from the wanton motions of the body, but also clearly foresees things to come, and with the eyes beholds the Holy Trinity. (HE 4,10)⁴³⁷

* * * * *

⁴³⁵ Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. 371.

⁴³⁶ Theodoret von Kyros: *Kirchengeschichte*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1954. 231.

⁴³⁷ Theodoret of Cyrus: *The ecclesiastical history*. In: Schaff, Philip – Wace, Henry (eds.): *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 3: Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius and Rufinus: Historical writings*. Cosimo, New York 2007 (The republication of the 1892 edition). 115.

In the above presented chapters of the HFC, we got to know a great variety of baptismal practices and of approaches to baptism. These descriptions show us not only the opinions of orthodox theologians of the ‘misuse’ of the sacrament through heretics but in some cases, we get indirect references to the orthodox baptismal practice as well.

CONCLUSION

From the presentation above we learn that the HFC presents a multi-contextual image of the “all-holy” baptism. We saw that the divine origin of the sacrament determined Theodoret to offer it a special place within his theological system. This special place is expressed through the setting of the chapter concerning baptism as well: it is put between the soteriological Christology and the chapters concerning Theodoret’s eschatology, the latter being an introduction to the ethical chapters. The chapter on baptism follows the chapter in which the author argues that both the Old and the New Testament are given by the same God, and it is followed by the chapter on the resurrection. This setting reveals Theodoret’s ideas concerning its role (which was typical to the great teachers of the theological school of Antioch), which makes the main difference between the Western and the Eastern approach. Namely, while the Western approach emphasizes the remission of sins, the Eastern approach puts the main emphasis on the promise of eternal life. We can see in Theodoret’s approach how both the remission of sins and the promise of eternal life are the two sides of the same coin: both of them are important, and they cannot be placed one above the other.

Furthermore, we can see that speaking about baptism appears not only as an independent topic but also embedded in the context of other topics. This way, the reader gains information on the soteriological, pneumatological, eschatological, ethical implications of the doctrine on baptism.

Beside theological grounding, we discover some information about the practice of baptism in West-Syria as well. We find information about the practice of infant baptism, about the manner of administering the sacrament (triple immersion), about the chain of sacramental actions (invocation of the Trinity, doxology, pre- and post-baptismal anointing), and questions of ecclesiastical diplomacy (in which condition the baptism of the heretics can be accepted – through the administration of the reconciling post-baptismal anointing).

This analysis opens the way to new researches. As the HFC is the last representative work of Theodoret, it would be interesting to analyse his approach to baptism within his opera omnia – but with special emphasis on the HFC. This way, the development of Theodoret’s theological thinking concerning baptism could be monitored, and compared with the life-experience of the author, the factors which determined the development of Theodoret’s thinking can be revealed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody MA 2007.
- Epiphanius of Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De fide*. BRILL, Leiden 2013.
- Epiphanius von Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3. Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933.
- Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Grant, Robert M: *Augustus to Constantine: The Rise and Triumph of Christianity in the Roman World*. Westminster John Knox Press, London 2004.
- Hartnup, Karen: *‘On the Beliefs of the Greeks’: Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*. BRILL, Leiden 2004.
- Hefele, Charles Joseph: *A History of the Councils of the Church*. tr. by William R. Clark, vol. 3. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1894–96.
- Heim, Mark: *The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2001.
- Hesse, Otmar: Der Streit über die Wirkung der Taufe im frühen Mönchtum. In: Hellholm, David – Vegge, Tor – Norderval, Øyvind – Hellholm, Christer (eds.): *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism. Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. De Gruyter, Berlin 2011.
- Hippolyt of Rome: *Refutation of all heresies* (Book 9, chapter 10).
see: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050109.htm> (opened: 2015–05–03)
- Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. Fordham University Press, 1979.
- Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Routledge, London 2006.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 1–72* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2000.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 73–150* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2001.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *The ecclesiastical history*. In: Schaff, Philip – Wace, Henry (eds.): *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 3: Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius and Rufinus: Historical writings*. Cosimo, New York 2007 (The republication of the 1892 edition).
- Theodoret von Kyros: *Kirchengeschichte*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1954.
- Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,336–556.
- Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. In: Migne PG 80,1733
- Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. Dekker & van de Vegt, Nijmegen 1962.

“VERA IUSTITIA ET SANCTITATE PRAEDITUM...”
– THE CONTENT OF IMAGO DEI ACCORDING TO THE 6TH ARTICLE
OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM –

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021.4

GENERAL REMARKS

As stated in the Biblical narrative in the Book of Genesis, God created man according to his own image and similitude. If we browse through the dogmatic and ethical works written from the earliest period of Christianity until most recent times, we can find a large variety of answers concerning the content of the image of God. All of these attempt to explain what the writer of the Genesis meant by the expression *na^ašēḥ ’ādām b^ešalmenu kid^emutenu*. Before we examine what the Catechism teaches concerning this topic, we consider it necessary to present a brief analysis of the biblical text. The most important biblical passage in the writer’s view is Genesis 1:26–28, as it asserts that humankind was created in God’s image and similitude. Besides, there are two other passages in the whole Bible which point out the fact that God created the first humans in his own image: Genesis 5:3 and Genesis 9:6. The last one sets the problem of imago Dei in an ethical context, namely the prohibition of homicide. Nevertheless, none of these passages talk about the inner content of imago Dei. The two Hebrew words used by the biblical narrative to describe the imago Dei are *šēlem* (18 times in the OT, but only 4 times in the context of imago Dei) and *d^emut* (25 times in the OT, but only 3 times in the context of imago Dei: Genesis 1:26–28; 5:1; 5:3). These terms in the LXX are translated as **εἰκόν** and **ὁμοίωσις**. In the relevant biblical scholarly research, there is no consensus as to whether these terms should be considered as having a semantic difference or merely as synonyms. By looking at the context of these expressions, we might observe that both of them are suitable to express both specific and abstract things. As a conclusion of the biblical introduction, we could state that the biblical text, although abstaining to discuss the “how” of creation or the inner content of the imago Dei, still suggests that a human being is a separate, distinct and unique creation of God’s hand,⁴³⁸ and sets humankind apart from everything else that God made, thus giving dignity and worth to all people.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963. 28.

⁴³⁹ See: Curtis, Edward: *Image of God*. in: Freedman, David Noel (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Doubleday, New York 1992. CD-Rom Edition.

The New Testament sets the problem of *imago Dei* into a different context. Only James 3:9 – like Genesis 9:6 – refers to the question of *imago Dei* in an ethical context: we praise our Lord and Father with the same tongue we curse human beings with, who have been made in God's image. Other passages of the New Testament speak about the question in a Christological context: Christ is the true image of the invisible God (Colossians 1:15; but see: 2Corinthians 4:4; Hebrews 1:3) and Christians put on the new self which is being renewed in knowledge in the image of its Creator (Colossians 3:10). Furthermore, in Ephesians 4:24 Paul suggests that this new self is created to be in true righteousness and holiness like God – *κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας*.

We would suggest that the laconism of the biblical narrative concerning the content of *imago Dei* resulted in this manifold character of theological interpretation – which sometimes turn into speculation. Now, only as a general survey, we turn to the list of the main definitions which influenced the approach of Christianity to the question of *imago Dei*:⁴⁴⁰

- Those who think that *imago Dei* describes people's similarity to God belong in the first group. Some proponents of this view focus on physical similarities people have with God, while others expand the definition to incorporating non-physical components.
- Another view suggests that the *imago Dei* describes people as God's counterpart in the universe and focuses on humans as creatures in relationship with God.
- The third definition of the *imago Dei* asserts that it describes people's dominion over the Earth. In this view, the focus is on the application of the *imago Dei*. Ruling over creation is the essence of the *imago Dei* to some who agree with this definition.
- The fourth definition of the *imago Dei* proposes that the term describes people as God's representatives on earth.

We hold that these very different approaches do not contradict one another but rather add to or amplify previous ones.

The Heidelberg Catechism turns to this topic in the 6th answer where the authors attest that God did not create the first human being godless and malicious. After stating that in fact God created man according to his own image and likeness, the Catechism explains the term of *imago Dei* in a twofold way: first, it seeks to define the inner con-

⁴⁴⁰ The undermentioned summary of the four most important views on the content of *imago Dei* is almost a word for word quotation from an article entitled “*Imago Dei*”, which can be found on the following website: <http://www.religionfacts.com/christianity/beliefs/imago-dei> (accessed on: 15. 05. 2013). A very useful summarizing on this topic can be found in the following books: Hoekema, Anthony: *Created in God's Image*. Paternoster Press, Grand Rapids 1986. 33–101.; Erickson, Millard: *Christian Theology*. Baker Books, Grand Rapids 1998. 520–31.

tent of the image and similitude of God, and secondly, it expounds upon the goal of man given to him by God as the image of his creator within the creation. In the following survey we shall develop the meaning of this definition of *imago Dei*.

According to the laconic definition of the Heidelberg Catechism, the term *imago Dei* denotes first of all God's creation of the first man in true righteousness and holiness – as we could read it in the commonly accepted translations. As a first step of our survey, we shall compare the original Latin and German texts of the catechetical answer, then we shall try to point out the difference in theological ways of thinking between these two languages. On the one hand, the German text (*in wahrhaftiger Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit*) suggests that the *imago Dei* is an inner human characteristic which humans acquired during the act of creation. So, the *imago Dei* could be understood as an inseparable (but not *sui generis*) element of human life, which – paraphrasing the words of Jeremiah – was written in the heart of the first humans. On the other hand, the Latin text emphasizes the external origin of the *imago Dei*. It says: *vera sanctitate et iustitia praeditum* – [man] had been crowned with real and genuine justice (or righteousness) and holiness. So, *imago Dei* could be interpreted as an external factor which gives dignity to humans and makes them able to be an authentic representative of God's values on Earth. But the different meanings of the German and Latin texts do not suggest any contradiction, they rather point out two different aspects (perspectives) of the question.

SOURCES OF THE APPROACH OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM

If we search for the roots of this approach, we have to read first the 1536 edition of Calvin's *Institutes* which states as follows, right at the beginning of the first chapter:

Parentem omnium nostrum Adam esse creatum ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei (*Gen. 1*), hoc est, sapientia, iustitia, sanctitate praeditum, atque his gratiae donis Deo ita haerentem, ut perpetuo in eo victurus fuerit, si in hac integritate naturae, quam a Deo acceperat, stetisset.⁴⁴¹

Adam, parent of us all, was created in the image and likeness of God [*Gen. 1:26–27*]. That is, he was endowed with wisdom, righteousness, holiness, and was so clinging by these gifts of grace to God that he could have lived forever in Him, if he stood fast in the uprightness God had given him.⁴⁴²

In the latest Latin edition (1559) of the *Institutes*, he develops this view even further, stating that if we want to define the inner content of the *imago Dei* we have to approach the question from the renewal of the distorted human nature (the remedy pro-

⁴⁴¹ Calvinus, Joannes: *Christianae religionis institutio*. Basileae 1536. In: Calvini Opera Database 1.0. Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, Apeldoorn 2005.

⁴⁴² Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (translated and edited by Ford Lewis Battles). Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1995. 15.

vided for the corruption of nature – *Inst I 15,4*). So, the goal of the renewal that Christ provided us with is to form us anew in the image of God. Thus, Calvin concludes that the main elements of the *imago Dei* are those described in Ephesians 4:24.

The direct source of Calvin’s approach can be found in the Augustinian interpretation of the *imago Dei*. From the statistics of Anthony Lane, we learn that Calvin used Augustine’s book *On the Holy Trinity*, he quotes it in about 10 instances⁴⁴³ and in his *Institutes*. Although there are more passages in the Augustinian life-work which approach the question of *imago Dei* in that manner, we shall point out only the most obvious one. This is a latent reference that is not kept on among the word-for-word quotations or the references where the bishop of Hippo Regius is explicitly named but one that undoubtedly shows his influence:

Qui vero commemorati convertuntur ad Dominum ab ea deformitate, qua per cupiditates saeculares conformabantur huic saeculo, reformantur ex illo, audientes Apostolum dicentem: *Nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitati mentis vestrae*: ut incipiat illa imago ab illo reformari, a quo formata est. Non enim reformare se ipsam potest, sicut potuit deformare. Dicit etiam alibi: *Renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, eum qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis*. Quod ait, *secundum Deum* creatum; hoc alio loco dicitur, *ad imaginem Dei*. Sed peccando, iustitiam et sanctitatem veritatis amisit; propter quod haec imago deformis et decolor facta est: hanc recipit, cum reformatur et renovatur.⁴⁴⁴

But those who, by being reminded, are turned to the Lord from that deformity whereby they were through worldly lusts conformed to this world, are formed anew from the world, when they hearken to the apostle, saying, “Be not conformed to this world, but be ye formed again in the renewing of your mind;” that that image may begin to be formed again by Him by whom it had been formed at first. For that image cannot form itself again, as it could deform itself. He says again elsewhere: “Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put ye on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.” That which is meant by “created after God,” is expressed in another place by “after the image of God.” But it lost righteousness and true holiness by sinning, through which that image became defaced and, tarnished; and this it recovers when it is formed again and renewed.⁴⁴⁵

RIGHTEOUSNESS AND HOLINESS – THE IMAGO DEI IN THE TEACHING OF URSINUS

If we want to identify the exact meaning of these two words, we should allow Ursinus himself to speak. Our primary sources for the interpretation of these terms are the col-

⁴⁴³ Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999. 56.

⁴⁴⁴ Augustine: *De Trinitate* 14, 16.22.

See: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/trinita/trinita_14_libro.htm (accessed: 18. 05. 2013.);

⁴⁴⁵ Augustine: *On the Holy Trinity* 14, 16.22. In: Schaff, Philip (ed.): *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Volume 3*. Books for the Ages – The Ages Software, Albany, OR, USA 1997. 375.

lections of his own catechetical explanations, published by David Pareus several times with the following titles: *Corpus doctrinae orthodoxae* (1612; 1616); *Corpus doctrinae christianae* (1602; 1621; 1634); *Explicationum catechetiarum* (1591; 1593; 1598; 1600; 1603; 1607) and *Doctrinae christianae compendium* (1584; 1585).⁴⁴⁶

First of all, Ursinus states that the righteousness and true holiness constitute the main parts of the imago Dei, presupposing the other components of God’s image in man.⁴⁴⁷ According to his interpretation, righteousness and true holiness could be understood in a twofold way: they may either be taken simply as synonyms or distinguished from each other.⁴⁴⁸ Thus righteousness could denote those “inward and outward actions and motions” which are in harmony with God’s Law, and “a mind judging correctly”, whilst true holiness would refer to the quality of these actions and motions. Simultaneously, this means that where “righteousness and true holiness are found, there is an absence of all evil, whether of guilt and punishment”.⁴⁴⁹

In the same place he defines imago Dei the following way:

Imago Dei in homine est mens recte agnoscens Dei naturam, voluntatem & opera; & voluntas libere obtemperans Deo, omniumque inclinationum, appetitionum & actionum cum voluntate Dei congruentia: ac denique spiritualis et immortalis animae natura, totiusque hominis puritas & integritas, perfecta beatitudo, & laetitia acquiescens in Deo, & dignitas hominis ac majestatis qua caeteris naturis antecellit ac dominatur.⁴⁵⁰

The image of God in man, is a mind rightly knowing the nature, will and works of God; a will freely obeying God; and a correspondence of all the inclinations, desires and actions with the divine will; in a word it is the spiritual and immortal nature of the soul, and the purity and integrity of the whole man; a perfect blessedness and joy, together with the dignity and majesty of man, in which he excels and rules over all creatures.⁴⁵¹

From this definition, it is clear that the image of God does not refer to any likeness or equality of essence but merely that of “certain properties which have a resemblance to the Godhead, not in degree or essence, but in kind and imitation” – as Ur-

⁴⁴⁶ For more editions and for more details about this work see the website of Post-Reformation Digital Library: http://www.prdl.org/author_view.php?s=20&limit=20&a_id=54&sort= (accessed: 27. May 2013). Preparing this paper we used beside the 1593 Latin edition an English translation from 1852, also accessible online: Ursinus, Zacharias (author) – Williard, G. W. (translator): *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. Scott & Bascom Printers, Columbus 1852. (In the followings: Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*.) <http://archive.org/stream/commdrza00ursi#page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed: 27. May 2013).

⁴⁴⁷ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 30.

⁴⁴⁸ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 30.

⁴⁴⁹ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 30.

⁴⁵⁰ Ursinus, Zacharias: *Explicationum catechetiarum*. Volumen I. Neostadii Palatinorum 1593. 83.

⁴⁵¹ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 30.

sinus himself states.⁴⁵² For further clarity, he enumerates the properties in his explanation which could be understood as the manifestation of *imago Dei*:

Complectitur ergo:

1. Ipsam animae substantiam incorpoream & immortalem cum potentiis intelligendi & volendi.
2. Omnes notitias naturales de Deo & eius voluntate atque operibus, hoc est perfectam sapientiam in mente.
3. Justas & sanctas actiones, inclinationes & motus partis volentis, hoc est perfectam iustitiam & sanctitatem in voluntate & corde & externis actionibus omnibus.
4. Ipsam felicitatem, beatitudinem & gloriam, cum summa laetitia acquiescente in Deo, & copia omnium bonorum conjunctam, sine miseria & corruptione.
5. Dominium hominis in reliquis creaturas.

His omnibus creatura rationalis creatorem tanquam *imago archetypum* aliquo modo referebat, etsi non aequabat.⁴⁵³

The image of God therefore, comprehends:

1. The spiritual and immortal substance of the soul, together with the power of knowing and willing.
2. All our natural notions and conceptions of God and of his will and works,
3. Just and holy actions, inclinations, and volitions, which is the same as perfect righteousness and holiness in the will, heart, and external actions.
4. Felicity, happiness, and glory, with the greatest delight in God, connected, at the same time, with an abundance of all good things, without any misery or corruption.
5. The dominion of man over all creatures, fish, fowls, and other living things.

In all these respects, our rational nature resembles, in some degree, the Creator; just as the image resembles the archetype; yet we can never be equal with God.⁴⁵⁴

The Fall of Adam caused tragic consequences in the nature of human beings. Some components of God’s image remained in them, while other components got lost, and they were transformed into the “hateful image of Satan”⁴⁵⁵ through their absence. In this very strong phrasing, we could see one formulation of the doctrine of total depravity which played a very important role in the Arminian debate in the early 17th century. We would assert that the Reformers and the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism use this dark anthropological image in order to clarify the renewing work of the Holy Spirit and the only way of salvation: *sola gratia per fidem in Christo*. Ursinus gives a list of the components of *imago Dei* which, in spite of the Fall, remained in humans and of those which were lost.

⁴⁵² Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 31.

⁴⁵³ Ursinus, Zacharias: *Explicationum catechetiarum*. Volumen I. Neostadii Palatinorum 1593. 83–84.

⁴⁵⁴ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 30.

⁴⁵⁵ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 31.

Which components of the *imago Dei* remained in humans after the Fall – in spite of being greatly obscured and marred by sin?⁴⁵⁶

1. The incorporeal, rational and immortal substance of the soul together with its powers, of which we would merely mention the liberty of the will, meaning that whatever man wills, he wills freely.
2. In the understanding, there are many notions and conceptions of God, of nature and of the distinction which exists between things proper and improper, which constitute the principles of arts and sciences.
3. There are some traces and remainders of moral virtues, and some ability to regulate the external deportment of life.
4. The delight in many temporal blessings.
5. A certain dominion over other creatures. Man did not lose completely his dominion over the various creatures which were put in subjection to him; many of them are still subject to him, so that he has the power to govern and use them to his own advantage.

In opposition, the most important components and benefits of the *imago Dei* were lost are:⁴⁵⁷

1. The true, perfect, and saving knowledge of God and of the divine will.
2. Correct views of the works of God, together with light and knowledge in perception; in the place of which we now have ignorance, blindness, and darkness.
3. The regulation and governance of all the inclinations, desires, and actions; and a conformity with the law of God in the will, heart, and external parts; in place of which there is now a dreadful disorder and depravity of the inclinations and motions of the heart and will, from which all actual sin proceeds.
4. True and perfect dominion over the various creatures of God; for those beasts which at first feared man now oppose, injure, and wait for him; whilst the ground which was cursed for his sake brings forth thorns and briers.
5. The right of using the things that God granted not to his enemies but to his children.
6. The happiness of this and of a future life; in the place of which we now have temporal and eternal death, with every conceivable calamity.

This corrupted image is to be restored in Christ (see question and answer 86 of Heidelberg Catechism), who on the one hand is the perfect image of God (see Colossians 1:15), and on the other hand, God *has made him unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctifi-*

⁴⁵⁶ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 31–32.

⁴⁵⁷ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 32.

tion, and redemption⁴⁵⁸ (1 Corinthians 1:30) (see question and answer 17–18, 21, etc. in the Heidelberg Catechism). Lyle Biema summarizes that

Ursinus makes very clear that the misery from which humanity is delivered consists, first, in the loss of righteousness and in inbred corruption, or sin; and secondly, in the punishment of sin. His deliverance, therefore, from this misery requires, first, the pardon and abolishing of sin, and a restoration of the righteousness lost; and secondly, a release from all punishment and misery.⁴⁵⁹

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE APPROACH OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM

The presentation above makes it clear that on the one hand, the two words used in the Catechism cover a large spectrum of human capacities which are theological components of the *imago Dei*, and on the other hand, they point out the patristic heritage of the interpretation of *imago Dei*, amplified with the special tone of the Reformation. While the main question focused on the structural content and the seat of *imago Dei* in the Early Church, the Reformation kept this interpretation, but the main stress was moved into an ethical direction. If we wish to paraphrase the Christological question, we could say that the Early Church explored the nature of the *imago Dei* (*natura imaginis Dei*) and the Reformation explored its benefits or consequences (*beneficia imaginis Dei*).⁴⁶⁰

By setting forth this interpretation in connection with the way of human nature's restoration, the Catechism states and echoes the original integrity and rectitude⁴⁶¹ of human nature, and strives with all its strength to point out that God is not the cause of sin with an emphatic denial⁴⁶² (*nequaquam – nein – by no means*). For this reason, the Catechism summarizes the content of *imago Dei* with these two terms, and in the 9th question and answer it speaks about the voluntary character of the Fall, calling it a wilful disobedience. In other words – as Hoeksema says –, the hatred of God and of our neighbours to which we are inclined is not only a matter of a sinful deed, nor does it arise from a sinful habit we have formed but what arises from the perversity and wickedness of our nature.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁸ Ursinus, Zacharias: *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 32–33.

⁴⁵⁹ Bierma, Lyle D.: *The Theology of the Heidelberg Catechism. A Reformation Synthesis*. Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky 2013. 39.

⁴⁶⁰ In the Early Church the basic Christological thesis was: *Christum cognoscere natura ejus cognoscere est*, and in the Reformation this thesis was changed into *Christum cognoscere beneficia ejus cognoscere est*.

⁴⁶¹ De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963. 28.

⁴⁶² Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. Reformed Free Publishing Association, Grand Rapids 1990 (3rd edition). 81. (In the followings: Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I.)

⁴⁶³ Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. 80–81.

Wishing to unfold the original rectitude and integrity of human nature, we could agree with Hoeksema's interpretation⁴⁶⁴ who emphasizes that not any acquired purity is meant by holiness but that original rectitude of human nature, according to which they were consecrated to God in love with all their mind, heart, soul and strength. The same way, true righteousness was not an imputed righteousness, nor was it acquired but it was that virtue of their whole nature, according to which they were in perfect harmony with the will of God, being completely able of doing the will of God with delight and pleasure. In this place Hoeksema speaks about the knowledge of God as about a third spiritual virtue (besides holiness and righteousness) which was not some mere intellectual or natural knowledge concerning the person, nature and essence of God, nor was it a "readily made system of theology or dogmatics with which Adam was endowed from the beginning", but it was the original rectitude of his mind by virtue of which immediately and spontaneously knew God, and through which he had a living contact with his Creator.⁴⁶⁵ We judge it unnecessary to speak about the integrity of the knowledge of God as a third spiritual virtue which amplifies the holiness and righteousness within the content of *imago Dei*, because the Catechism places this straight knowledge among the consequences or purposes of the *imago Dei*. God scilicet endowed humans with holiness in order that they – among others – are able know (or recognise) him rightly.

Speaking of the concept of *imago Dei* in the Heidelberg Catechism, we have to consider that the Catechism itself does not offer a detailed unfolding of the true or genuine righteousness and holiness but rather stresses its consequences. According to the 6th answer of the Heidelberg Catechism, God created man good and in (or according to) his own image so that they are able to

- truly get to know their creator God,
- love him with all their heart,
- live with God in eternal happiness,
- and to praise and glorify him.

Eberhard Busch interprets these consequences of being created into God's image and similitude on the one hand as "a destiny" of human race that "is blocked by the Fall" and needs to be renewed by Christ through His Holy Spirit,⁴⁶⁶ and on the other hand as a divine act of protection for man to "have no occasion to sin".⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁴ Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. 98. We have chosen to highlight Hoeksema's interpretation of *imago Dei* from all the scholarly interpretations, because in his commentary on Heidelberg Catechism comes explicitly forth that the original integrity of man was not one acquired, but one which has had its origin in God.

⁴⁶⁵ Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. 98.

⁴⁶⁶ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2010. 23. (In the followings: Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*.)

⁴⁶⁷ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 24.

Another aspect of the Catechetical approach to the question of *imago Dei* is its strong emphasis on fellowship or community. We can state without fear of exaggeration that, apart from their theological and ethical meaning, righteousness and holiness have a social and psychological semantic field as well. This is because

the image of God includes the whole man⁴⁶⁸ as he stands in a relationship of loving total dependence upon his Creator. Man is truly man only as he stands in the whole of his being related to his Creator.⁴⁶⁹

Human beings, in their holiness and true righteousness, were thus able to enter an “I-You” relationship with God, and the Catechism points out this relationship as the inevitable result and purpose of the *imago Dei*:⁴⁷⁰ *that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love him and live with him in eternal happiness to glorify and praise him.* According to the opinion of Allen Verhey, God’s praise and glory would be enhanced if people were able to know him, love him and live with him. This is the reason God created man in his own image.⁴⁷¹ As a result of this approach to the question of *imago Dei*, we could state that redemption is the restoration of this interpersonal relationship or community with God. Of course, this re-established community – in which, of course, God is the initiator – is not perfect, but on account of God’s community-creating grace, all believers can enter upon a road which leads to God’s eternal and perfect Kingdom, and at whose end there are the gifts of seeing face to face and of knowing fully (1 Corinthians 13:12). With the words of Lyle Bierma, the restored community with God “is a new quality or state of existence, a renewal in holiness and fellowship with God through the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit”.⁴⁷² This renewal – based on the 86th article of Heidelberg Catechism – could be seen as the prerequisite for our thankful doing of “good works”.⁴⁷³

The community between God and the man created in His image is thus a relationship full of responsibilities. Eberhard Busch emphasises that being created into God’s image means that we belong to God as God’s children. But as God’s children “we are brought into solidarity with one another. For there are children of God always only in

⁴⁶⁸ As we saw in the definition of Ursinus [note by Papp György].

⁴⁶⁹ De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963. 29.

⁴⁷⁰ De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963. 30.

⁴⁷¹ Verhey, Allen: *Living the Heidelberg*. CRC Publications, Grand Rapids 1986. 36.

⁴⁷² Bierma, Lyle D.: *The Theology of the Heidelberg Catechism. A Reformation Synthesis*. Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky 2013. 125.

⁴⁷³ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 292.

the plural”.⁴⁷⁴ Projecting this responsibility unto the created world as well, Verhey argues that

God created us with the ability to respond in love and faith to him and to exercise that response-ability in and for his world. Neither the corruption of Adam’s first sin, nor the enmity of Cain’s murder of Abel, nor the apathy of his response can change that fundamental fact about us. We are responsible.⁴⁷⁵

This way, the teaching of the *Heidelberg Catechism* concerning the *imago Dei* also leads to the idea of stewardship. The man created in God’s image and endowed⁴⁷⁶ with holiness and true righteousness was apt or competent to rule over all other creatures, to work in his environment and to take care of it (see Genesis 2:15).

CONCLUSION – THE APPLICATION OF THE QUESTION

So, is it nowadays still important to speak of the image of God in man? Can this 450-year-old shaping of the biblical doctrine in any way be applied? This writer believes that we have some basis to rediscover the teaching of the Heidelberg Catechism on this topic, and to re-evaluate our concept and application of the doctrine of *imago Dei*.

First, the approach of *imago Dei* in the *Heidelberg Catechism* confirms the requirement for the holiness (or consecration) of life. By pointing out that the *imago Dei* consists of righteousness and holiness, the authors of the *Catechism* – based on the teachings concerning conversion and renewing of Pauline epistles – suggest that this is the goal of human life: a Christian must achieve holiness and righteousness as a goal given to him/her in Creation. Here we have to note that in the 16th century, the meaning of holiness was mainly qualitative and included the idea of being chosen for God, which later became the primary meaning of holiness in the context of man. The authors of the *Catechism* realised that no one is able to achieve perfect holiness and righteousness in this life as they state it in the 114th answer:

In this life even the holiest have only a small beginning of this obedience. Nevertheless, with all seriousness of purpose, they do begin to live according to all, not only some, of God’s commandments.

Thereafter, the 115th answer points out that in spite of our weakness and incapability to achieve this goal, we must

⁴⁷⁴ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 215–216.

⁴⁷⁵ Verhey, Allen: *Living the Heidelberg*. CRC Publications, Grand Rapids 1986. 37.

⁴⁷⁶ This is the translation of *praeditum* from the Latin text of the Catechism used by the older English translations of the Heidelberg Catechism.

never stop striving, and never stop praying to God for the grace of the Holy Spirit, to be renewed more and more after God’s image, until after this life we reach our goal: perfection.

Secondly, this interpretation of *imago Dei* underlines the human responsibility and the idea of stewardship, helping Christians to organise their life in a way that they are able to realize that each human being is responsible not only for the created World but also for all their manifestations of the *imago Dei*. Could their behaviour and attitude be characterised by righteousness and holiness? Was man able – with the grace of the Holy Spirit – to become God’s representative in the World? The righteousness and holiness with which Adam was endowed at the beginning and which is to be restored in Christ implies not only a privileged status but also a responsibility and a well-defined duty.

Thirdly, it seems important to speak of the doctrine of *imago Dei* in the *Heidelberg Catechism* on account of its converting character. When the *Catechism* speaks about the gratitude of man, it points out that this process involves killing the old man and the assumption of the new one, which is created according to God in holiness and true righteousness (see Ephesians 4:24). Putting on the new man (by which faith becomes visible) results in a grateful life which includes both prayer and the accomplishment of good works (deeds). The 86th question is about the necessity/imperativeness of good works, and in its manifold answer it points out that good works are necessary, because:

- thus, we show gratitude with our whole life towards God for His blessings;
- and He will be glorified by us;
- thus, we may be assured of our faith by the fruits thereof ourselves;
- and also win others to Christ by our godly walk (conduct).

For our topic, the most important reason for good works is the last one: by our godly walk, we have to win also others to Christ.⁴⁷⁷ We therefore conclude that the purpose of the authors of the *Catechism* with this interpretation of the *imago Dei* was to help believers become genuine Christians, who by their consecrated and righteous way of life would be able to contribute to the growth and welfare of God’s Church – all for the glory of God alone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Augustine: *On the Holy Trinity* 14, 16.22. In: Schaff, Philip (ed.): *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Volume 3*. Books for the Ages – The Ages Software, Albany, OR, USA 1997.
- Augustinus: De Trinitate 14, 16.22. See: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/trinita/trinita_14_libro.htm (last time accessed: 18. 01. 2021.)
- Bierma, Lyle D.: *The Theology of the Heidelberg Catechism. A Reformation Synthesis*. Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky 2013.

⁴⁷⁷ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 26.

- Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2010.
- Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (translated and edited by Ford Lewis Battles). Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1995.
- Calvinus, Joannes: *Christianae religionis institutio*. Basileae 1536. In: Calvini Opera Database 1.0. Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, Apeldoorn 2005.
- Curtis, Edward: *Image of God*. in: Freedman, David Noel (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Doubleday, New York 1992. CD-Rom Edition.
- De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963.
- Erickson, Millard: *Christian Theology*. Baker Books, Grand Rapids 1998.
- Hoekema, Anthony: *Created in God's Image*. Paternoster Press, Grand Rapids 1986.
- Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. Reformed Free Publishing Association, Grand Rapids 1990 (3rd edition).
- Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999.
- Ursinus, Zacharias (author) – Williard, G. W. (translator): *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. Scott & Bascom Printers, Columbus 1852.
- Ursinus, Zacharias: *Explicationum catecheticarum*. Volumen I. Neostadii Palatinorum 1593.
- Verhey, Allen: *Living the Heidelberg*. CRC Publications, Grand Rapids 1986.

IN THE DIRECTION OF FINDING THE WAY OF A RESPONSIBLE THEOLOGY FOR THE HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH (OF TRANSYLVANIA)

DOI: 10.14232/jp.pgy.2021.5

INTRODUCTION –REASONS FOR WRITING THIS PAPER

There are several reasons which lead me to write about this – sometimes troublesome – topic. It is uncomfortable because it deals with enormously sensible questions, and it is very difficult to find a really useful solution without hurting anyone.

The first reason which urged me to write is that I see that the number of the members of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania is decreasing. In the past 25 years, it has decreased by more than 100.000 people. The reasons of this decreasing tendency are of course manifold, but behind the decrement of births, the “conversion” to other neo-protestant or non-Christian religious denominations (Jehovah’s Witnesses, New Age, Hit Gyülekezete⁴⁷⁸, Buddhism, and other oriental religions, etc) there is not only the freedom of human rights or some existential-empirical reasoning but a theological background as well.

Secondly, I see that especially after 1920, the new theological movements have arrived some years or decades later to Transylvania than to other European countries. Beside the fact that as a result of a range of betrayals, the European Transylvania was attached to a Balkan state, the Reformed Church was for half a century long period under communist oppression (between 1948–1989), which delayed its catching-up with contemporary theological movements even more. For example, the *Systematic Theology* by Paul Tillich was translated into Hungarian only in 1996, or the *Systematic Theology* by Wolfhart Pannenberg in 2005.

The third reason is somewhat more general. In the past 25 years, some significant works of modern theology have been translated into Hungarian, but there has been no authentic Hungarian theology written. The few attempts which have been made in this direction did not have an echo among Hungarian theologians. With this assertion I would like to accentuate that translations of significant theological works are important, but having and reading only translations could cause a non-desired dependence on the Western theology. Instead of this dependence, it is highly necessary to elaborate a contextualized theology of the Hungarian Reformed Church (of Transylvania).

⁴⁷⁸ In English translation it is “the Faith Church of Hungary”. It is a religious movement (according to the official point of view: church) with Roman Catholic and Pentecostal background, and it has about 160000 believers. It is a strong advocate of Christian Zionism, and well known for its commitment to support the State of Israel.

Furthermore, only a few Hungarian theologians are present in the international theological science. This could lead to an isolation of the Hungarian theological science. Instead of isolation, the Hungarian reformed theology needs to find its own voice and thus be integrated in the international scientific life of theology. This statement, however, has large implications. It requires first of all a more agile scientific activity from the part of Hungarian theologians and on the other hand, a constructive critical openness from the part of the Western theological elite.

By mentioning these, I am not saying that there are no theological works in the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania or to underestimate the theological activity which is already done but I only highlighted some aspects which – at least in my opinion – could be an obstacle in the way of doing theology.

The following considerations are like an attempt to draw the contours of a methodology of doing theology which would help the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania to become an organic member of the international theological life.

WHAT IS THEOLOGY? – THE PATH FROM “DOCTRINA DE DEO” TO “DOCTRINA DEO VIVENDI”

I think one of the most important duties in the renewal and improvement of doing theology is to (re)define what theology exactly is. I find this definition rather important because the way of thinking about the essence and object of the field of research (which is theology in this case) determines the methodology and the way of research, and could have a serious influence on the results as well.

Almost all definitions of theology start with the etymological analysis of the Greek word *θεολογία*. The first part of this compound word is *θεός*, which means God, while the second part (*λογία*) has several meanings. First of all, it means “word”, but it can denote “opinion”, “surmise” or “reasoning” as well. In the early Christian context, it denoted the Word of God, the eternal *Logos*, i.e., Jesus Christ. It is important to see that the term “theology” did not emerge in an originally Christian context: it came in the Christian word-usage from the ancient pagan writers. According to Aristotle, “doing theology” (*θεολογίαν ποιῶν* or *θεολογεῖν*) refers to somebody speaking about gods or about things related to gods, while in the works of Plutarch, it denotes the research of the “divine topics”.⁴⁷⁹ The Swiss Reformed theologian Benedict Pictet (1655–1724) remarks that in the works of ancient pagan savants the term of theology was used in a threefold context:⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ Györkösy – Kapitánffy – Tegyei: *Ógörög–magyar nagyszótár (Ancient Greek – Hungarian Dictionary)*. Akadémiai Kiadó (Academic Publisher House), Budapest 1993. 496.

⁴⁸⁰ Pictetus, Benedictus: *Medulla Theologiae Christianae Didacticae et Elencticae*. Geneva 1711. 2.

- “*theologia fabulosa*” or “*mythica*” denoted the theology of poets;
- “*theologia naturalis*” denoted the theology of philosophers; and
- “*theologia politica et civilis*” denoted the theology of priests.

Taking a look at how ancient Christian writers interpreted the word *theology* might have an awakening effect. Alister McGrath offers a very clear overview, and as to an ancient witness he refers to Tertullian, according to whom theology is reflection upon the God whom Christians worship and adore.⁴⁸¹ Augustine states that theology is the reasoning or speaking concerning Deity (de divinitate rationem sive sermonem).⁴⁸² According to these, the earliest Christian writers used the word “theology” as a term to describe a systematic analysis of God’s nature, intentions and deeds.⁴⁸³

The later definitions of theology were based on the definition of the Church Fathers, but its content is permanently growing: under the influence of Peter Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers, the Latinized word *theologia* means “the discipline of sacred learning, embracing the totality of Christian doctrine, and not merely the doctrine of God”.⁴⁸⁴ The next important change in the interpretation of theology came more recently, during the time of Enlightenment. Then “attention has shifted toward the study of the human phenomenon of religion; “Religious studies” or “the study of religions” concerns investigating religious matters”.⁴⁸⁵

The 20th century brought afresh an important change in the meaning of theology. The neo-orthodox theologians began to define again the essence of theology using the classical definition. Now we will present some definitions of theology from this period. According to Karl Barth, theology as a science is a measure taken by the Church whose goal is self-examination.⁴⁸⁶ István Török, one of the Hungarian disciples of Barth defines theology as a science which somehow apprehends, cognizes, understands and re-sounds God.⁴⁸⁷ Sándor Tavasz (1888–1951), a Transylvanian theologian who was influenced by Barth, but who tried to apply Barth’s recognitions to the Transylvanian context after the 1st World-War, defines theology as a science which was created within and by the Christian Church. Its goal is to arrange God’s Revelation within conceptual-reflective forms and to propound it with scientific systematism.⁴⁸⁸ The definition

⁴⁸¹ McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 158.

⁴⁸² Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*. VIII, 1.

⁴⁸³ McGrath, Alister: *Bevezetés a keresztény teológiába (Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 1st edition). Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 1995, 121.

⁴⁸⁴ McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 158–59.

⁴⁸⁵ McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 159.

⁴⁸⁶ Barth, Karl: *Church Dogmatics. I/1*. (eds.: G. W. Bromiley – T. F. Torrance) T&T. Clarck, Edinburgh 1975. 4.

⁴⁸⁷ Török István: *Dogmatika*. Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár 2006. 15.

⁴⁸⁸ Tavasz Sándor: *Református keresztény dogmatika*. Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár, 2006, 15.

by the Roman-Catholic theologian Karl Rahner is affined with the last one, according to whom theology as a “science of faith” is “the conscious and methodical explanation and explication of the divine revelation received and grasped in faith”.⁴⁸⁹

We pointed out the above-mentioned definitions of theology because these theologians had a serious influence on doing theology in the Hungarian Reformed Churches of Hungary and Transylvania. Adapting the neo-orthodox approach of doing theology instead of the liberalism of the 19th century was also a positive aspiration. I think this heritage, due to its revelation-centrism, could be an effective help of the Hungarian Reformed theology in finding its own voice in the 21st century. In this context we could agree with the definition of theology as it is formulated by Paul Tillich. According to him, theology is a function of the Christian Church which came into being in order to fulfil two essential needs of the Church: on the one hand, it has to establish the truth of the Christian message, and on the other hand, it has to interpret it for every coming generation.⁴⁹⁰

While we try to define theology in the context of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania, we should see the implications of the historical background of the last decades (especially between the years 1948–1990). In this period the state wanted to subordinate Church to its own goals, especially to the propagation of the communist ideologies. This “Sitz im Leben” has its effects nowadays as well and therefore, theological science in the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania must be on the alert in order to defend and to preserve its independency. The most important factors which threaten the independency of the Reformed theological science are on the one hand the Balkan mentality of the Romanian state and the influence of Eastern Orthodox Church which is tacitly recognized as state-religion; while on the other hand, the church-politics could also hold some dangers of the kind.

The discriminatory approach of the Romanian state becomes obvious especially when almost all scientific grants for doing theology are given to Eastern Orthodox theologians. In this situation Reformed theologians have to work within very limited scientific and financial possibilities. The most important danger which comes from the Eastern Orthodox church and which is to be prevented by Reformed theologians is its methodology of shaping dogmata. In the Eastern Orthodox practice of shaping dogmata tradition has a determinant role. For example, a widely practiced form of “piety” accepted by the “Holy Synod” could become a dogma. The canonization of many of their (often political) saints (Bishop Andrei Saguna) happened in this way.

In this context, it is especially important to see very clearly that theological science has two aspects: an immanent and a transcendent aspect. If one’s attention is limited only to the immanent aspect of theology, they could easily fall for the above-presented

⁴⁸⁹ McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 159.

⁴⁹⁰ Tillich, Paul: *Rendszeres teológia*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 1996, 23.

dangers, and become the deservers of immanent (political, personal, etc.) interests. But ignoring the transcendent aspect of the theological science has other consequences as well. Focusing only on the immanent aspect of theology could lead us back into the period of liberal theology of Enlightenment when theological science was rather a study of religions than genuine theology.

Reckoning with the transcendent aspect of theology, it becomes obvious that theological science could process that information which God has revealed about Himself. In such a way God is not only the object of the theological science but He is its subject as well. He is the one who creates the opportunity of research through which theologians have to find the perpetual but at the same time, also actual (relevant) answer for the existential questions of humanity. In order to emphasize the transcendent aspect of the theological science, I deem it necessary to read again the definition of theology given by the 17th century scholar, Amesius: „*Theologia est doctrina Deo vivendi... Doctrina vocatur, quia haec disciplina non est ex natura et indagine humana, sed ex revelatione et institutione divina.*”⁴⁹¹ The roots of this approach can be found in the Early Christian Literature as well. For example, according to Clemens of Alexandria, theology is not only the doctrine (teaching) concerning the Logos but the teaching about God revealed by the eternal Logos.⁴⁹² This approach found its way into the Hungarian theological life through the translation (or paraphrases) of the *Medulla theologica* by Amesius, by one of his Hungarian students Martonfalvi Tóth György.⁴⁹³

<p><i>Mi a Theologia?</i> <i>Olly tudomány melly az Istennek tanít élni.</i> <i>Mire tanít a Theologia?</i> <i>Istennek élni.</i> <i>Mi az Istennek élni?</i> <i>Az Istenben hinni, és az ő parancsolatit megtartani.</i></p>	<p>What is Theology? Theology is a science which teaches us to live for God. What does theology teach us? Living for God. What does living for God mean? It means believing in God and obeying His commandments.</p>
--	---

This practical (or piety-oriented) definition of theology is still obvious in the Institutes of Calvin as well. When he writes that the true wisdom consists almost entirely of the knowledge of God and of ours (Inst I 1, 1), by unfolding his statement he latently suggests that believers through this double knowledge have to learn to act right (i.e., conform to the requirements of God’s Law). I think that this is the final goal of each branch of theological science. With a high scientific accuracy and undiminished fidelity

⁴⁹¹ Amesius, Guilelmus: *Medulla Theologica illustrata*. Franequerae 1670. 5.

⁴⁹² See: Pannenberg, Wolfhart: *Rendszeres teológia, 1. Kötet (Systematic Theology. Volume I)*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 2005, 11.

⁴⁹³ Martonfalvi Tóth György: *Tanétó és Czáfóló theológiája*. Debrecen, 1679, 1–2.

to God's Revelation, theological science has to give instruments into the hands of ministers and pastoral workers which could help them to "win also others to Christ".⁴⁹⁴

This approach of theological science fits almost perfectly in the "five-act drama model" of N. T. Wright in which Jesus is the central character.⁴⁹⁵ According to this approach, the history of salvation (and within it the history of humanity and of the Church) is like a Shakespeare-play which lost its fifth act. About the description of the acts of the play, Wright writes as follows:

When we read Genesis 1–2, we read it as the first act in a play of which we live in the fifth. When we read Genesis 3–11, we read it as the second act in a play of which we live in the fifth. When we read the entire story of Israel from Abraham to the Messiah (as Paul sketches it in Galatians 3 or Romans 4), we read it as the third act. When we read the story of Jesus, we are confronted with the decisive and climactic fourth act, which is not where we ourselves live, [...] but which, of course, remains the foundation upon which our present (fifth) act is based.⁴⁹⁶

Wright states that the climax of this play is the story of the Messiah, and he calls the fifth act "the Spirit-driven Church".⁴⁹⁷ I am aware that according to Kevin Vanhoozer, the order of the acts should be modified. In his opinion, the Fall is not an independent phenomenon, but it is rather the conflict in the first act. Therefore, he recommends the following order: creation, election of Israel, Christ, Pentecost and the church, consummation.⁴⁹⁸ I however do not find this modification necessary because in my opinion, the consummation fits perfectly into the fifth act of Wright's partition as the glorious future of the "Spirit-driven Church".

According to Wright, living in the fifth act has many implications.⁴⁹⁹

- First, we have to be conscious of living as people through whom the narrative in question is now moving towards its final destination.
- Secondly, we have to be aware that our relationship to the New Testament is not the same as our relationship to the Old one, and that we can state this

⁴⁹⁴ See: *Heidelberg Catechism*, Art. 86.

⁴⁹⁵ More details about this model can be found in: Wright, N. T.: *How Can the Bible Be Authoritative*. Source: http://ntwrightpage.com/Wright_Bible_Authoritative.htm (accessed: 30. 10. 2014.); Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin's ebooks. Chapter 8.

Wright, N. T.: *The New Testament and the People of God*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1992. 131–44.

⁴⁹⁶ Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin's ebooks. Chapter 8.

⁴⁹⁷ In his lecture about "Biblical authority" held on 30–10–2014 at the Theological University of Kampen.

⁴⁹⁸ Vanhoozer, Kevin: *A Drama-of-Redemption Model*. In: Meadors Gary (ed): *Four Views on Moving Beyond the Bible to Theology*. Zondervan, Grand Rapids 2009. 174.

⁴⁹⁹ Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin's ebooks. Chapter 8.. In the following we shall quote the most important implications of Wright's model, but we will not mark them in separate footnotes.

with no diminution of our commitment to the Old Testament as a crucial and non-negotiable part of “holy scripture”.

- Then, we have to see very clearly that the New Testament is the base chapter of the fifth act. No change of act in God’s drama with the world (despite manifold changes in human culture) has occurred between the time of the apostles and evangelists and our own; there is nothing that would correspond to the great double change of act (from Act 3 to Act 4, and from Act 4 to Act 5) which occurred between their time and that of Torah, Prophets and Writings.
- We who call ourselves Christians must be totally committed to telling the story of Jesus both as the climax of Israel’s story and as the foundation of our own. We recognize ourselves as the direct successors of the churches of Corinth, Ephesus, and the rest, and we need to pay attention to what was said to them as though it was said to us.
- The New Testament offers us a glimpse of where the story is to end: not with us “going to heaven” as in many hymns and prayers but with new creation.

In conformity with these characteristics of God’s great narrative,

our task is to discover, through the Spirit and prayer, the appropriate ways of improvising the script between the foundation events and charter, on the one hand, and the complete coming of the Kingdom on the other. Once we grasp this framework, other things begin to fall into place.⁵⁰⁰

Here Wright remarks that “improvising” presupposes – like in music –

a disciplined and careful listening to all the other voices around us, and a constant attention to the themes, rhythms, and harmonies of the complete performance so far, the performance which we are now called to continue.”⁵⁰¹

Accordingly, “all Christians, all churches, are free to improvise their own variations designed to take the music forward. No Christian, no church, is free to play out of tune”.⁵⁰²

According to the terms of this model, (each department of) theological science gives instruments in the hands of ministers and pastoral workers through which they would be able to

⁵⁰⁰ Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin’s ebooks. Chapter 8.

⁵⁰¹ Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin’s ebooks. Chapter 8.

⁵⁰² Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. HarperCollin’s ebooks. Chapter 8.

- show believers and other inquiring persons that the story of Christ and of the Scripture is the framework of our stories;
- help them see how the Great Narrative of God sheds light on the present situation;
- help them interpret their own stories in the light of the Great Narrative of God;
- help them (re)find their own stories as part of God's drama.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE IN ITS RELATION-SYSTEM: GOSPEL – CHURCH – BELIEVER

After we presented the definition of theological science concerning its piety-oriented purpose, we have to shift to the summarizing of some other essential characteristics of the Reformed Christian theology.

Here we need to turn our attention to the famous German theologian Eberhard Busch, who deals with the characteristics of the Christian reformed theology in the introduction of his explanation on the Heidelberg Catechism. Writing about the task of the theology, he states that the first question of the Heidelberg Catechism, i.e., “What is your only comfort?” could be taken as the basic question of doing theology. Busch interprets the word “comfort” as “a kind of summary of what is involved in the Christian confession of faith, which theology reflects on”.⁵⁰³ He argues that the most fruitful way of answering this question is to see that “the one who puts this question to us is first and last God”.⁵⁰⁴ This way, doing theology can be explained as trying to find an answer to a divine question:

Theology in this context is a special human undertaking to listen to this question posed by God, and to try to answer it.⁵⁰⁵

But it is very important – according to the author – to recognize that God has already made a beginning with us by preparing such a comfort for us.⁵⁰⁶ Furthermore, it must be seen clearly that theology does not have to invent the answer but instead, it has “to discern the answer already given along with the question God puts to us, to express this answer in its own words, and to reflect on the answer”.⁵⁰⁷ Thus, the duty of theology is a response to God's initiative. This is the only way it can on the one hand prevail to

⁵⁰³ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism.* (transl. Rader, William), Eerdmans, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2010. 1. (In the followings: Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom.*)

⁵⁰⁴ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom.* 2–3.

⁵⁰⁵ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom.* 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom.* 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom.* 3.

find itself without object and on the other hand, it can be a meaningful and promising activity.⁵⁰⁸

When he states that “we cannot seek without [...] having been found by God”,⁵⁰⁹ it means – at least according to my interpretation – that faith in God, who sets the question and also prepares the answer, is a prerequisite of doing theology. This track, however, has serious implications which must be observed in order to remain within this frame which could guarantee the safety of the theological science:

- First of all, no one should forget that the object of Christian theology is the Gospel.⁵¹⁰ Here Busch defines Gospel as a message which “is spoken to me, and which I cannot tell myself”. The internal nature of this message is that “once spoken to us, we become dependent on: we need to have it spoken to us again and again”. This way, Christian theology “is about the relation between God and humanity”.
- Secondly, “it is indispensable for Christian theology that it is oriented to Holy Scripture and that it is formed through scripture’s witness”.⁵¹¹ This way, theology is inseparable from Bible as the primary and unsurpassed witness of its story. But Christian theology should not use Holy Scripture through the filter of human wishes which function like some blinders.

At this point we have to insert the reformatory thesis: “*sola Scriptura*”. As Michael Welker quotes, the expression has its origins in Martin Luther’s works who stated that the “Scripture alone ... shall be the queen! Scripture shall be queen among the oral and written testimonies to God and God’s creative will!”⁵¹² Welker underlines that Luther’s assertion about the Scripture as “queen” means also that the Holy Scripture is “only queen” – but not King, or God. It is “God’s word in human language and in human ways of seeing”.⁵¹³ Therefore, Luther repeatedly warned against turning the Bible into a ‘paper pope’ as well as the other Reformers.

Welker mentions also that the North American Reformation historian David Steinmetz drew the attention to the fact that the Reformers generally understood *sola scriptura* as *scriptura valde prima*.⁵¹⁴ This expression could be translated as “*the Scripture is*

⁵⁰⁸ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 4.

⁵⁰⁹ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 3.

⁵¹⁰ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 4. The passages in “...” of this paragraph are quotations of the same page of this book; therefore we will not mark them in different footnotes.

⁵¹¹ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 5.

⁵¹² Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*. In: Strawn, B. A. – Bowen, N. R. (eds.): *A God So Near. Essays on the Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2003. 377. (In the following: Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*.)

⁵¹³ Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*. 377n1.

⁵¹⁴ Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*. 377n1.

the first above all” or “*the Scripture foregoes everything*”. According to Botond Gaál,⁵¹⁵ this interpretation of “*sola Scriptura*” implies delimitation on the one hand from the Roman-Catholic authority-centred approach and on the other hand, from the fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible.⁵¹⁶ It means that the reformers were aware of the immanent aspects of the Holy Scripture as well, and this awareness determined their approach to the Bible’s primacy. According to them, the Scripture is not equal with the truth but it is a witness of the Truth. In this quality, the intellectual and spiritual elaboration of God’s Revelation stands above all.

The Scripture tells us what (or more precisely who) the truth is – and we have to find or discern it through the work of the Holy Spirit.⁵¹⁷ In Botond Gaál’s assertion we could hear an implicit allusion to Jesus’s words, “ἔραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ·” (John 5,39). Through this work of the Holy Spirit (which among others has as instruments the methods of the text-analysis, the studying of the history, the works of the Church Fathers)⁵¹⁸ could happen that from the Bible, in spite of its immanent characteristics, one could listen to it “as having sprung from heaven, as if there the living words of God were heard”.⁵¹⁹ Rethinking Calvin’s argumentation concerning the authority of the Holy Scripture, we can state that according to this logic, it is not the believer who has the freedom of the interpretation of the Bible but the believers have the possibility to experience the infinite freedom of God’s Word – through the power of the Holy Spirit. This way – says Botond Gaál in his quoted paper – the principle of *sola Scriptura* becomes a “norm” of doing theology in a disciplined manner.⁵²⁰

- Furthermore, Christian theology is connected to the Christian Church.⁵²¹ It means that Christian theologians cannot ignore the fact that they are members of the Christian church, and therefore “do not do theology as neutral observers”. Busch underlines that he does not say “should not ignore it” but “cannot ignore it”. In this context, theology as theory is “neither the mother nor the ruler but the servant of Christian faith and life in the Church”.

⁵¹⁵ Botond Gaál (born 1946), PhD, DSc, is the former ordinary professor of Dogmatics at the Reformed Theological University of Debrecen (Hungary). – see: https://silverprince99.wixsite.com/bgaal-eng/about_us (accessed 07. 05. 2021.)

⁵¹⁶ Gaál Botond: *Scriptura valde prima*.

Source: <https://silverprince99.wixsite.com/bgaal/tanulmány-41> (accessed: 07. 05. 2021.)

⁵¹⁷ Gaál Botond: *Scriptura valde prima*.

⁵¹⁸ We have enumerated only a few “instruments”, which Calvin also has used in order to understand better the message of the Holy Scripture.

⁵¹⁹ Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* I 7,1. (tr. Battles, F. L.), Westminster Press 1960. 74.

⁵²⁰ Gaál Botond: *Scriptura valde prima*.

⁵²¹ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 6.

- Theology is an activity in which “I myself am always called to accountability”.⁵²² Theologians cannot do theology without realizing: “*tua res agitur*” –, and that we are ultimately liable to God.
- Finally – according to Busch – theology is an incomplete activity.⁵²³ That means on the one hand that its activity takes place within a certain limit on the earth, while on the other hand, unavoidably under the proviso that we may be taught better through Holy Scripture. But in spite of its limits, it is a joyful activity because the promise of the kingdom of God is “what gives us strength not to let our hand sink from the plow for at least the next step”. This way, “*Ora et labora!*” could not be separated in theology. So “theology is necessarily also this: a praying discipline, praying for what it cannot give itself”.

On behalf of its primary connection to the Bible and to the Christian Church, the main task of theology has to tell the Drama of Redemption as clearly and as precisely as possible, in order to find the answer to four elementary questions which could help believers achieve a better knowledge about God and themselves. These four questions and answers – according to N. T. Wright – are:⁵²⁴

- Who are we? – Humans, made in the image of the Creator.
- Where are we? – In a good and beautiful, though transient world, made by our Creator.
- What is wrong? – The rebellion of humans against their Creator.
- What is the solution? – The creator acted, acts and will act to bring the world to the end for which he created it. This action is focused on Jesus Christ and the Spirit of the Creator.

Although these answers are formulated in a general language, they are able to show the direction which Christian theology has to follow in order to fulfil its primary task: to “win also others to Christ” and to become an instrument of the Holy Spirit in growing the community of “Kingdom-people”.⁵²⁵

CONCLUSION

In this paper I tried to present some aspects of the theological science which I considered important for the permanent renewal of doing theology in the Hungarian Re-

⁵²² Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 7.

⁵²³ Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom*. 8.

⁵²⁴ Wright, N. T.: *The New Testament and the People of God*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1992. 132–33.

⁵²⁵ “Kingdom-people” is an expression used by Tom Wright, through which he characterizes Christians who are aware that Jesus is the only genuine King of the world and confess His exclusive Lordship.

formed Church of Transylvania. I am aware that this presentation is only a small part of the complex process of the renewal. I think that the multi-faceted minority (religious, ethnical and cultural), in spite of its negative effects which affect the financial situation and the human dignity as well could have a great benefit for doing theology. On the one hand, it urges us to a Bible- and piety-centred approach, echoing the “motto” of the classical antiquity: “*ad fontes!*”. On the other hand, it gives us the advice to rediscover the values both of the early Christian theology and of European (including Hungarian) Reformation as of two periods of Church history of a special importance, in order to acquire a “toolbox” which could be an effective help in discerning the message of the Gospel, i.e., the testimony of the “only comfort”.

We hope we made it clear that doing theology means also the shaping of a new life (both of the one doing theology and their readers), which is conceived and developing in the safety of the living-space of the New Covenant through Jesus, i.e., the Kingdom of God, which came close to us. This new life, i.e., the “Kingdom-membership” implies also a new understanding: one not only of the whole life but of the interpretation or definition of the essence of theological science as well. I dare to hope that such an interpretation of theology could strengthen the permanent renewal (=semper reformari) of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Transylvania and could help it become a more genuine witness of God’s eternal, one and unique Kingdom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amesius, Guilelmus: *Medulla Theologica illustrata*. Franequerae 1670.
- Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*. VIII,1.
- Barth, Karl: *Church Dogmatics. I/1*. (eds.: G. W. Bromiley – T. F. Torrance) T&T. Clarck, Edinburgh 1975.
- Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism*. (transl. Rader, William), Eerdmans, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2010.
- Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* I 7,1. (tr. Battles, F. L.), Westminster Press 1960.
- Gaal Botond: *Scriptura valde prima*. Source: <https://silverprince99.wixsite.com/bgaal/tanulmány-41> (accessed: 07. 05. 2021.)
- Györkösy Alajos – Kapitánffy István – Tegye Imre: *Ógörög–magyar nagyszótár (Ancient Greek – Hungarian Dictionary)*. Akadémiai Kiadó (Academic Publisher House), Budapest 1993.
- Martonfalvi Tóth György: *Tanétó és Czáfoló teológiája*. Debrecen, 1679.
- McGrath, Alistér: *Bevezetés a keresztyén teológiába (Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 1st edition). Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 1995.
- McGrath, Alistér: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 158.
- McGrath, Alistér: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart: *Rendszeres teológia, I. Kötet (Systematic Theology. Volume I)*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 2005.
- Pictetus, Benedictus: *Medulla Theologiae Christianae Didacticae et Elencticae*. Geneva 1711.
- Tavaszy Sándor: *Református keresztyén dogmatika*. Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár, 2006.

- Tillich, Paul: *Rendszerezés teológia*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 1996.
- Török István: *Dogmatika*. Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár 2006.
- Vanhoozer, Kevin: *A Drama-of-Redemption Model*. In: Meadors Gary (ed): *Four Views on Moving Beyond the Bible to Theology*. Zondervan, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*. In: Strawn, B. A. – Bowen, N. R. (eds.): *A God So Near. Essays on the Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2003.
- Wright, N. T.: *How Can the Bible Be Authoritative*. Source: http://ntwrightpage.com/Wright_Bible_Authoritative.htm (accessed: 30. 10. 2014.)
- Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. Harper Collin's ebooks. Chapter 8.
- Wright, N. T.: *The New Testament and the People of God*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1992.

COLLECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amesius, Guilelmus: *Medulla Theologica illustrata*. Franequerae 1670.
- Augustine: *Against Faustus the Manichee*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/140616.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)
- Augustine: *Answer to Petilian the Donatist (Book 1.)* – Chapter 5,6 – 6,7.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14091.htm> (Accessed: 13th May 2015).
- Augustine: *Exposition on Psalm 78*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801078.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015.)
- Augustine: *Letter 217*. In: Augustine (auth.) – Teske, Roland, S.J. (tr.): *Letters 211–270*. Augustinian Heritage Institute – New City Press, New York 2005.
- Augustine: *Letter 89,5*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102089.htm> (accessed 15th May 2015)
- Augustine: *On baptism, against the Donatists*. Book 5, chapter 10,12.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/14085.htm> (accessed: 15th May 2015).
- Augustine: *On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Baptism of Infants*.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/15011.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015)
- Augustine: *On the Holy Trinity* 14, 16.22. In: Schaff, Philip (ed.): *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Volume 3*. Books for the Ages – The Ages Software, Albany, OR, USA 1997.
- Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 6*.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701006.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)
- Augustine: *Tractates on the Gospel of John. Tractate 80*.
See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701080.htm> (accessed: 12th May 2015.)
- Augustinus: *Contra epistulam Parmeniani libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 27B.
- Augustinus: *Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri triginta tres*. In: *Sextus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.
- Augustinus: *Contra litteras Petiliani donatistae libri tres*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.
- Augustinus: *De baptismo contra Donatistas*. Liber 5, caput 10,12. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528. 295A-B.
- Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*. See: <https://www.augustinus.it/latino/cdd/index2.htm> (accessed: 18. 01. 2021.)
- Augustinus: *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*. In: *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.
- Augustinus: *De Trinitate* 14, 16.22. See: http://www.augustinus.it/latino/trinita/trinita_14_libro.htm (last time accessed: 18. 01. 2021.)
- Augustinus: *Enarratio in Psalmum 77*. In: *Octavus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.

- Augustinus: *Epistola 107 ad Vitali Carthaginensi*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.
- Augustinus: *Epistola 167*. In: 491B–492C
- Augustinus: *Epistola 89 ad Hilario*. In: *Secundus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1528.
- Augustinus: *In Evangelium Ioannis expositio*. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.
- Augustinus: *Sermo 174,7*. See: <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/index2.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).
- Augustinus: *Tractatus 6. in Evangelium Ioannis*. In: *Nonus tomus D. Aurelii Aug. Hipponens. Episcopi*. Officina Frobeniana, Basel 1529.
- Backus, Irena: *Theological Relations – Calvin and the Church Fathers*. in: Selderhuis, Herman J. (ed.): *The Calvin Handbook*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009. 136.
- Barth, Karl: *Church Dogmatics. I/1*. (eds.: G. W. Bromiley – T. F. Torrance) T&T. Clarck, Edinburgh 1975.
- Bierma, Lyle D.: *The Theology of the Heidelberg Catechism. A Reformation Synthesis*. Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky 2013.
- Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VI. De Sacramentis. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557.
- Bullinger, Heinrich: *Sermonum decades quinque de potissimis christianae religionis capitibus in tres tomos digestae*. Tomus I. Decad. V. sermo VIII. De baptismo. Tiguri, In officina Christoph Froschoveri 1557.
- Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2010.
- Busch, Eberhard: *Drawn to Freedom. Christian Faith Today in Conversation with the Heidelberg Catechism*. (transl. Rader, William), Eerdmans, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2010.
- Calvin, John (auth.) – Lane, Anthony (ed.) – Davies, Graham (translator): *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will: A Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine of Human Choice Against Pighius*. Paternoster 1996.
- Calvin, John (auth.) – McNeill, John (ed.) – Battles, Ford Lewis (transl.): *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume II. Westminster Press, Louisville 1960 (reissued 2006).
- Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (translated and edited by Ford Lewis Battles). Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1995.
- Calvin, John: *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 17,1. (tr. Battles, F. L.), Westminster Press 1960.
- Calvin, John: Psychopannychia. In: Bonnet, Jules – Beveridge, Henry (eds.): *Selected Works of John Calvin*. Volume 3. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids 1983.
- Calvinus, Joannes: *Christianae religionis institutio*. Basileae 1536. In: *Calvini Opera Database 1.0*. Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, Apeldoorn 2005.
- Calvinus, Joannes: *Institutio christianae religionis 1559*. In: Barth, Petrus – Niesel, Guilelmus (eds.): *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Volumen 5. Chr. Kaiser, München 1936.
- Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Apud Robertum Stephanum, Geneva 1559.
- Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribelium, Strasbourg 1539.
- Calvinus, Johannes: *Institutio christianae religionis*. Per Vuendelinum Ribelium, Strasbourg 1543.

- Calvinus, Johannes: Psychopannychia. In: Baum, Guilielmus – Cunitz, Eduardus – Reuss, Eduardus (eds.): *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*. Volumen V. *Tractatus Theologici minores*. Tomus 1. C.A. Schwetschke, Brunsvigae 1866.
- Cameron, Michael: “Enarrationes in Psalmos” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999.
- Chrysostomus: In Matthaicum homiliae. In: *Tomus secundus operum divi Ioannis Chrysostomi*. Apud Claudium Chevallonium, Parisiis 1536.
- Curtis, Edward: *Image of God*. in: Freedman, David Noel (ed.): *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Doubleday, New York 1992. CD-Rom Edition.
- Cyprian: *On the lapsed*. See: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050703.htm> (accessed: 30th May 2015).
- D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoaginta haereses opus, Panarium, sive Arcula, aut Capsulla Medica appellatur*. Basel 1545.
- D. Epiphanius episcopi Constantii Cypri, *contra octoginta haereses opus eximium*. Basel 1544.
- De Jong, Jerome: *The Misery of Man*. In: Bruggink, Donald (ed.): *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude. A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*. The Half Moon Press, New York 1963.
- Decretum Gratiani*. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1879.
- Drobner, Hubertus: *The Fathers of the Church. A comprehensive Introduction*. Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody MA 2007.
- Epiphanius of Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De fide*. BRILL, Leiden 2013.
- Epiphanius von Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3., Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933.
- Epiphanius von Salamis: *Panarion*. In: Holl, K. (ed.): *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion*. Band 3. Hinrichs, Leipzig 1933.
- Erickson, Millard: *Christian Theology*. Baker Books, Grand Rapids 1998.
- Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Frend, W.H.C.: “Donatism” In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Gaál Botond: *Scriptura valde prima*. Source: <https://silverprince99.wixsite.com/bgaal/tanulmny-41> (accessed: 07. 05. 2021.)
- Ganoczy, Alexandre – Müller, Klaus: *Calvins handschriftliche Annotationen zu Chrysostomus*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1991.
- Ganoczy, Alexandre: *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements*. Librairie DROZ, Genève 1969.
- Geréb Pál, *Barth Károly Dogmatikája*, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2006.
- Gilmont, Jean-François: *John Calvin and the Printed Book*. Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri 2005. 161–62.
- Grant, Robert M: *Augustus to Constantine: The Rise and Triumph of Christianity in the Roman World*. Westminster John Knox Press, London 2004.

- Györkösy Alajos – Kapitánffy István – Tegye Imre: *Ógörög–magyar nagyszótár (Ancient Greek–Hungarian Dictionary)*. Akadémiai Kiadó (Academic Publisher House), Budapest 1993.
- Hahn, August (ed.): *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*. Verlag von E. Morgenstern, Breslau 1897.
- Harding, Thomas (ed.): *The Decades of Henry Bullinger. The Fifth Decade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1852.
- Hartnup, Karen: *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks': Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*. BRILL, Leiden 2004.
- Hefele, Charles Joseph: *A History of the Councils of the Church*. tr. by William R. Clark, vol. 3. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1894–96.
- Heim, Mark: *The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2001.
- Hesse, Otmar: Der Streit über die Wirkung der Taufe im frühen Mönchtum. In: Hellholm, David – Vegge, Tor – Norderval, Øyvind – Hellholm, Christer (eds.): *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism. Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. De Gruyter, Berlin 2011.
- Hippolyt of Rome: *Refutation of all heresies* (Book 9, chapter 10).
see: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050109.htm> (opened: 2015-05-03)
- Hoekema, Anthony: *Created in God's Image*. Paternoster Press, Grand Rapids 1986.
- Hoeksema, Herman: *Triple Knowledge*. Volume I. Reformed Free Publishing Association, Grand Rapids 1990 (3rd edition).
- Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edition 1972). Continuum, London – New York (re-print) 2008.
- Kéry, Lotte: *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): a bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature*. The Catholic University of America, 1999. 7.
- Kirsopp Lake (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers*, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/lake/fathers2.html> (opened at 20. February 2007.).
- Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999.
- Lane, Anthony: *John Calvin – Student of the Church Fathers*. T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1999.
- Lane, Anthony: Tertullianus totus noster? Calvin's use of Tertullian. In: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, June 2002, Volume 4, Issue 1.
- Luther, Martin: Auslegung des Micha. In: Luther, Martin (Auth.) – Walch, Georg Johann (Hg.): *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*. Band 14. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 1898.
- Luther, Martin: *Commentarius in Micham prophetam, anno 1542*. In: *Tomus quartus et idem ultimus omnium operum Reverendi Patris, Viri Dei, Doctoris Martin Lutheri*. Tobias Steinman, Jena 1611.
- Luther, Martin: *Larger Catechism*. See: (accessed: 17th May 2015)
- Martonfalvi Tóth György: *Tanétó és Czáfólo theológiája*. Debrecen, 1679.
- McGrath, Alister: *Bevezetés a keresztény teológiába (Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 1st edition). Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 1995.
- McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 158.
- McGrath, Alister: *Christian Theology. An Introduction*. 5th edition. Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Melachton, Philip (auth.) – Manschreck, Clyde (ed. & tr.): *Melanchton on Christian Doctrine: Loci communes 1555*. Oxford University Press, New York 1965.

- Melanchthon, Philip (auth.) – Hill, Charles Leander (ed. & tr.): The Loci Communes of Philip Melanchthon: with a critical introduction by the translator. Wipf & Stock Pub, Eugene (OR) 2007.*
- Melanchthon, Philippus: Loci communes theologici recens collecti & recollecti.* Klug, Wittenberg 1535.
- Meyendorff, John: *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes.* Fordham University Press, 1979.
- Mooi, Remko Jan: *Het kerk- en dogmahistorisch element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn.* Wageningen 1965. 17–18.
- Munier, Ch.: “Statuta ecclesiae antiqua”. In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity.* Volume III. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Munier, Charles: “Canonical Collections”. In: Bernardino, Angelo di – Oden, Thomas – Elowsky, Joel – Hoover, James (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity.* Volume I. IVP Academic, Downers Grove 2014.
- Munier, Charles: *Concilia Africae.* (Serie: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 259.) Brepols, Turnhout 1974.
- Oxford Latin Dictionary,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart: *Rendszeres teológia, 1. Kötet (Systematic Theology. Volume I).* Osiris Kiadó, Budapest 2005.
- Papp György: Eretneknek minősített ógyházi teológusok az *Institutió*ban (Heretics in the *Institutes* of Calvin). In: Adorjáni Zoltán (szerk.): *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis.* Kolozsvár 2013. 167–85.
- Papp György: Gnosztikusok és az egyháztant vitató ógyházi teológusok az *Institutió*ban (Gnostics and other early Christian heretics dealing with ecclesiology in the *Institutes*). In: *Református Szemle,* 2013/6, 649–661.
- Papp György: *The Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ in Early Christian Confessions,* in: *Református Szemle (Reformed Review),* Cluj-Napoca 2008/6. 700–708.
- Pásztori-Kupán István: *Theodoret of Cyrus.* Routledge, London 2006.
- Pictetus, Benedictus: *Medulla Theologiae Christianae Didacticae et Elencticae.* Geneva 1711.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology II. The Ante-Nicene Literature After Irenaeus.* Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature.* Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Quasten, Johannes: *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature.* Christian Classics, Allen (Texas) 1983.
- Raming, Ida: Gratian’s *Decretum* as Source for Sex discrimination. In: Raming, Ida: *A History of Women and Ordination. Volume 2: the Priestly Office of Women: God’s Gift for a Renewed Church.* Scarecrow Press, Lanham (MD) 2004.
- Ravasz László, *Kis dogmatika,* Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 1996.
- Robinson, J. A. T.: *Redating the New Testament,* London, SCM Press LTD, 1976.
- Salmon, George: “Collyridians”. In: Wace, Henry – Piercy, William (eds.): *A Dictionary of Christian Biography.* Hendrickson Publishers, London 1999. 199. (reprinted from the edition originally titled *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature,* published by John Murray, London, 1911)
- Tavaszy Sándor: *Református keresztyén dogmatika.* Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár, 2006.

- Tertullian (auth.) – Evans, Ernest (ed.): *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism*. SPCK, London 1964.
- Tertullian: *On the veiling of virgins*. See: (accessed: 19th May 2015.)
- Tertullianus: *De virginibus velandis*. In: *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani*. [Froben], Basel 1528.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 1–72* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2000.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *Commentary on Psalms, 73–150* (Hill, Robert tr.). The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 2001.
- Theodoret of Cyrus: *The ecclesiastical history*. In: Schaff, Philip – Wace, Henry (eds.): *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Volume 3: Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius and Rufinus: Historical writings*. Cosimo, New York 2007 (The republication of the 1892 edition).
- Theodoret von Kyros: *Kirchengeschichte*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1954.
- Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In: Migne PG 83,336–556.
- Theodoretus Cyrensis: *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. In: Migne PG 80,1733
- Thiede, Carsten Peter Thiede, *Aki láttá Jézust*, Debrecen, Goldbook, s.a.
- Thiede, Carsten Peter, *Eyewitness to Jesus*, Doubleday, 1996.
- Tilley, Maureen: “De baptismo” (art.). In: Fitzgerald, Allan (ed.): *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1999.
- Tillich, Paul: *Rendszerez teológia*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 1996.
- Török István: *Dogmatika*. Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, Kolozsvár 2006.
- Ursinus, Zacharias (author) – Williard, G. W. (translator): *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*. Scott & Bascom Printers, Columbus 1852.
- Ursinus, Zacharias: *Explicationum catecheticarum*. Volumen I. Neostadii Palatinorum 1593.
- Vanhoozer, Kevin: *A Drama-of-Redemption Model*. In: Meadors Gary (ed): *Four Views on Moving Beyond the Bible to Theology*. Zondervan, Grand Rapids 2009.
- Vannier, Marie-Anne: “Donatism”. In: Lacoste, Jean-Yves: *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*. Volume I. Routledge, London – New York 2004.
- Verhey, Allen: *Living the Heidelberg*. CRC Publications, Grand Rapids 1986.
- Welker, Michael: *Sola Scriptura? The Authority of the Bible in Pluralistic Environments*. In: Strawn, B. A. – Bowen, N. R. (eds.): *A God So Near. Essays on the Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2003.
- Westra, Liuw: *The Apostles' Creed. Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*. Brepols, Turnhout 2002.
- Williams, Frank (tr.): *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (sects 1–46)*. Heresy 42. BRILL, Leiden 2009.
- Wright, David: ‘Development and rene in Calvin’s *Institutes*: The Case of Baptism (*Institutes* 4,15 – 4,16)’. In: Wright, David: *Infant Baptism in Historical Perspective. Collected Studies*. Paternoster, Milton Keynes 2007.
- Wright, N. T.: *How Can the Bible Be Authoritative*.
Source: http://ntwrightpage.com/Wright_Bible_Authoritative.htm (accessed: 30. 10. 2014.)
- Wright, N. T.: *Scripture and the Authority of God*. Harper Collin’s ebooks. Chapter 8.
- Wright, N. T.: *The New Testament and the People of God*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1992.
- Ysebaert, Joseph: *Greek baptismal terminology: its origins and early development*. Dekker & van de Vegt, Nijmegen 1962.