Argument was a major Christian activity in the second century. The shape of the argument was dictated in part by the complex challenge of pagan, philosopher, Jew and heretic. What kind of a God was the nebulous being whom Christians worshipped? How could he have a son, or why did he only have one son? Why do Christians have to suffer in the world which their God created? Both challenge and response are complex; but one factor is universal. The business of apologetic is argument and its terms cannot be understood apart from the framework of argument. People are urged to use words like ‘god’, ‘logos’ and ‘Israel’ in new ways. Comparative philology cannot fail to mislead if its findings are not subordinate to the logical context of each term. There are ten main things about which Christians argued: the God above, the word made flesh, the God within, the world and its maker, the devil and his angels, the love of the truth, the truth of the scriptures, the continuity and climax of God’s saving work, the true Israel and the last things. We shall look at the things about which Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement and Origen argued and we shall regard them all as apologists because they were all concerned to defend the faith they held. While never forgetting the highly individual quality of each thinker, we shall observe that, in the most important part of their work, their argument, they showed a similarity of structure.

1. **The God Above**

1.1. Each writer is concerned to maintain that God is best described in terms of negation. ‘God alone is \( \alpha \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \tau \theta \sigma \varsigma \) and \( \alpha \phi \theta \alpha \rho \tau \sigma \varsigma \) and because of this he is God; but all other things after him are \( \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \tau \theta \varsigma \) and \( \phi \theta \alpha \rho \tau \theta \varsigma \).’ The first point of our faith, writes Irenaeus, is ‘God the father, not made, not material, invisible; one God, the creator of all things’\(^2\). God is the God above, the great and most high God, who exists forever, without beginning and without end.\(^3\) Clement says that men are like snails or hedgehogs who roll into a ball and think that God is like themselves. God has given us thousands of things in which he does not share.\(^4\) We come by the way of analysis to that which is above place and time and thought, ‘knowing not what he is but what he is not’.\(^5\) The names which we give to God are not
proper names. Good names are props and preventive measures. None of the possible predicates can be applied to God. Origen develops a via eminentiae. What we think of God, is always inferior to the truth. If our eyes could just stand a spark or a lamp, and we wanted to talk about the sun, we could merely say that it was far more glorious than the spark or lamp. But there are not sparks or lamps which we can compare with God because no human understanding comes so high. So the via eminentiae returns to a via negativa.  

1.2. God cannot be described because he is one. If he had a name he would be more than one. ‘Nor are any parts to be ascribed to him. For the one is indivisible’. The one is infinite in that it cannot be completely described and in that it cannot be broken up into nameable parts. God is μονάς and ἐν. Tertullian argues against Marcion ‘God is not, if he is not one’. If there were more than one God neither or none of them could be God. God must be the God above, the great and most high God, who exists forever. This God must be unique or else he could not be the great most high God. The whole contention, says Tertullian, is a question of number. Irenaeus also uses the argument from infinite regress. Either there is one being who created all things or else there are many creators and gods who begin from one another and end in one another. But none of these latter beings could be God. There is either one God or no God.

1.3 Justin dwells on the goodness of God and like Irenaeus, looks to the Timaeus of Plato for confirmation of the goodness of the creator. Justice and goodness cannot be separated. All evil is foreign to this perfectly good God, says Tertullian. He is in no way to blame for the evil of the world.

1.4 In his goodness God made and fashioned all things. As creator he does not need the offerings of blood and incense which idols receive, but is worshipped by simple prayer. Having called all things into being, he guided and ruled the world which he made. He is the God of all just men, of Adam, Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and the prophets. In the last days he has sent his son Jesus Christ to call Israel and the Gentiles to himself. He has given law, prophets and gospels.

2. The Word made Flesh

2.1 The word of God, his son, our Lord, became man visibly and
tangibly to destroy death and unite man with God.\textsuperscript{18} He was truly man and truly God. Had he not been man, he could not have destroyed man’s enemy. Had he not been God, he could not have securely saved man nor himself shared in the immortality which he imparts to men.\textsuperscript{19} As he was born true God and true man, so in his resurrection, he was both God and man. All the members of his body will rise as they are joined to him as head.\textsuperscript{20} The motive of the incarnation was a simple one. Through his great love he became what we are so that he might bring us to be what he is.\textsuperscript{21} By the incarnation God has made himself known. God is not known, says Clement; but the son is wisdom and knowledge and truth.\textsuperscript{22} He is the stamp of the glory of the Father, the image, thought and face of God. Origen insists on the unity of God and man, ‘He became incarnate since he was God and having become a man he remained what he was, namely God.\textsuperscript{23} But what is proper to the substance of each is distinguished.

2.2. The son of God existed not only before he appeared on earth but also before the world was made.\textsuperscript{24} He was the reason of God, present in God before the creation of the universe and stirred up by God within himself. The unity which he has with the Father makes all questions about his existence especially important.\textsuperscript{25} The son is begotten of the Father as fire from fire, says Justin,\textsuperscript{26} or as light from light, says Origen.\textsuperscript{27} There was never a time when the son did not exist.\textsuperscript{28} Yet he is begotten and comes into being from the will of the Father. Justin identified the word with the theophanies of the old testament. God himself did not appear, for that would be impossible; but the son appeared.\textsuperscript{29} The subordination of son to father recurs throughout the apologists to find its culmination in Origen\textsuperscript{30} for whom the son is a creature, a second God, the image of the father’s goodness but not goodness itself. The son cannot impart divinity to others but receives divinity from God. We pray to the father but not to the son. The word was the instrument of the father in creation.\textsuperscript{31} Did not, says Justin and all the others after him, God say, ‘Let US make man in our own image.’ The precise point, says Tertullian, when the perfect nativity of the word occurred, was when God said, ‘Let there be light’.\textsuperscript{32}

2.3. The purpose of the incarnation is shown in the fullness of the person of Jesus Christ. He comes to complete and gather all things, to produce a communion of union between God and Man.\textsuperscript{33} His unity is just as important as the unity of the Father but is of a
different kind. He gathers all things together in himself, so that the incomprehensible becomes comprehensible and the impassible becomes possible. The many divine beings of whom the heretics rave could not in their plurality be the means of uniting God and man. The summing up of all things in Christ is seen historically and metaphysically by Justin. The historical aspect is expounded most variously and vigorously by Irenaeus. The metaphysical aspect is seen most clearly in Clement. Justin had spoken of the word as τὸ λογικῶν τὸ ὀλοῦν. Clement writes, 'All the powers of the spirit become collectively one thing, and come together in the same point — the Son; but one cannot describe him with a list of his individual powers. The son is not simply one thing as one thing, nor many things as parts, but one thing as all things'.

3. **The God Within**

3.1. Justin's doctrine of λόγος σπερματικός is a neue Schöpfung in Christian thought. Christ is the Logos of whom the whole race of men partook. All who have lived μετὰ λόγου are Christians. There is a seed of logos implanted in everyone and Christ is the whole logos. Socrates knew Christ in a partial way, 'For the logos both was and is he who is in every man ὁ ἐν πάντι ὄν, who foretold through the prophets the things which were to happen and taught through himself these things when he had taken our nature upon him'. And as a result, not only philosophers and men of letters but also unlettered workmen have dared to die for Christ. Justin has drawn on at least three sources — the Stoic use of the term, the parable of the Sower and the imagery of the seed and plant. The notion of participation or imitation is not a logical notion but is drawn by Plato from the terminology of mystery religion. Clement begins his *Protreptikos* from the insistence on the power of the Logos and on an original communion between man and God. Man was made in God's image and is the object of God's love. More precisely, he says later, the Logos is the image of God and the true man or mind of man is an image of the image. This is especially true of the true Gnostic. The soul of a just man is an image made like God. In him the eternal Word, the Saviour is present, 'being the one Saviour individually to each and in common to all'. The same argument is found in Irenaeus and Tertullian. Man has special affinity with the son of God for he was made in God's image and God's image is his son. Man is able to know God because reason has
been planted in his mind. Reason reveals to man that there is one God who is lord of all. Man remains infinitely less than God, a creature before his Creator dependent on the great goodness of God. God gave man reason and in this respect man was made like God. God is like a king who has painted a likeness of his son, the likeness being the name of Jesus Christ which is spread throughout the world. Turtullian sees the matter more vividly and simply. Brutal games which disfigure the human face disfigure the image of God himself. The greatest testimony to the god of the Christians comes from the soul in its simple and untaught state. The soul is not of itself Christian for one must become a Christian and one cannot be born that way. Such statements as 'Which may God grant' or 'Good God' point to a witness which is simple, universal and divine.

3.2. The story of man is not as happy as his origin would suggest. Man, formed like God and quickened by divine breath, was set to rule over the earth, but he disobeyed God and was driven out of Paradise. Yet the hearts of disobedient men may be transformed by the word of the Gospel and the power of the Spirit. Only God can give immortality to the mortal and eternity to the temporal. The glory of man is God who gives wisdom and power. The word of God changes man into his likeness and makes him an imitator of God. Man's end, says Clement, is assimilation to God. Man strives towards perfection by his own choice and by divine grace. He becomes a third divine image, a perfect man and friend of God, a son of God who rests in God.

3.3. Man is free. Justin argues for man's free will in various ways. God's nature implies a final judgment which implies human responsibility which implies free will. Man's ability to switch from one course of action to another implies the freedom of his will. Disbelief in free will is the greatest impiety and wickedness. Origen pins his whole explanation of the world and man on the free choice of the rational natures. They are free spiritual beings endowed with reason and the power of choice, worthy of praise or of blame. Rational natures were created and are therefore changeable. God's great gift to them was the power of free and voluntary action.

3.4. Man is, says Justin, made of body, soul and spirit. In order to live, the body needs the soul and the soul needs the spirit. God alone can impart life and he does this by the gift of spirit. Irenaeus sees the soul as ruling over the body to which it gives life and
coherence. The soul and life are separate essences and the soul needs to partake of life. Man knows that he is not just a physical body, says Tertullian, quoting with approval the story of Anaxarchus, ‘Beat on! Beat at the case of Anaxarchus; not a stroke falls on Anaxarchus himself.’ But the soul is joined to the body and must be so joined. The soul grows and develops and the health of the body is important to it. The fat man learns little while the lean man has an alert mind. The mind can be sharpened by study and science or blunted by laziness and vice. The soul can be affected by climate. It is wrong to derive the soul from frosty air for there are more people living in temperate regions and men’s minds are sharper there.


4.1. Justin, like his successors, writes of creation against Marcion and other dualists. He uses Plato to show that God made the universe out of formless matter. He does not state that matter was first created by God but makes it clear from his general propositions that there is only one unbegotten. There is one God who made the world and all that is in it. ‘There will never be any other God. Trypho, nor was there any beside him who made and set in order the universe’. The main objection of Irenaeus against the heretics is that they attributed the origin of the world to someone or something less than God. Their logic is at fault. If an inferior being created the world then he did it either (A) against the will of God or (B) in accordance with the will of God. (A) is excluded because such an inferior being is no longer inferior if he can stand against the will of God and (B) is simply a round-about way of saying that God created the world through his agent or agents. Irenaeus clearly insists on creation out of nothing. Men cannot do this sort of thing but need matter to work on; but God is able to do what for men is impossible. God brought matter into being by his own power. God spoke and all things were made. The difference between God and man is the difference between creator and creature. The power, wisdom and goodness of God are seen in his work of creation and in his work of redemption. Against Marcion, Tertullian insists that God must create in order to be God. The world is not unworthy of God. A single flower, a shellfish or the wing of a bird show the wonder of the work of God. Tertullian pictures Marcion trying to weave a spider’s web, build a bee’s cell or construct an ant heap.
good without being just and when man is sick God must give him strong medicine to make him better.79 Origen’s world was created at a fixed point of time and it will pass away at another point of time. Scripture insists that the world has a beginning and an end in time.80 There were other worlds before this world and there will be other worlds to follow it.81 God, Origen insists, quoting Maccabees and Hermas, created the world out of nothing.82

4.2. Tertullian laments the difference between the world as God made it and the world as it is now.83 The world belongs to God but the worldly belongs to the devil.84 God made the world although it is a prison from which men may escape by martyrdom.85 But Christians are not Indian mystics who flee from the world and from men. They are thankful to God for the world and do not despise his works or his gifts.86 Unlike the heretics, no true Christian will despise the flesh.87

4.3. The order of the universe points to the one God who made it. Justin sees the world united by the sign of the cross which Plato saw in the world soul. Plato had of course borrowed the idea from Moses.88 The world was ordered for man. Irenaeus speaks of the harmonious plan by which God formed the universe with its manifold variety.89 Once again Tertullian does not disappoint us. God has made the world in its proper order and man should not try to improve on it. If it was good for wool to be dyed purple or blue then God could and would have made sheep of these colours. What God did not will, man should not do.90 (Provision had been made for clerical attire by an appropriate number of black sheep!) Man does not use things in the way in which God intended, and his lust for what is rare disrupts God’s order.91 Clement points out the folly of men who dip and dredge for things which are inaccessible. Gold and jewels are not necessary and that is why God hid them away.92 God’s presence and providence reaches over all the world which he has made and wherever we think of him is a holy place.93 The world is ordered by God for the training of man, that man might come at last to unity with God when God shall be all in all.94 The creation which is now under the sway of corruption holds the hope of freedom when the sons of God shall be gathered into one.95 Yet even now the wonder of creation lies in the diversity which God rules and guides according to his plan.96 The world is like some great animal held together by God’s power and reason.97
5. The Devil and his Angels.

5.1. The apologists share a simple common view of the fall of Satan and the *Unheils geschichte* which followed. For his apostasy, God has placed a curse on the devil, and for his part in procuring the disobedience of man, God has placed a curse on the serpent as well.\(^9\)\(^8\) The work of the devil was accelerated with the disruption of God’s order by other angels who deserted their place and were subjugated by intercourse with women. Their sin has lasting consequences for they produced demons as children, and enslaved the race of man.\(^9\)\(^9\) These angels gave their wives the wicked teachings of the power of herbs, dyes, potions and spells. The world became so bad that God had to send the flood.\(^10\)\(^0\) The demons are no mean adversaries. When we look at the world, we ask who made it and who perverted it.\(^10\)\(^1\) They know the scriptures and have invented falsehoods which are close enough to the truth to make trouble.\(^10\)\(^2\) Their substance is spiritual, subtle, tenuous, invisible and they can therefore act swiftly, suddenly and secretly. They come like blight on apples which are still in full bloom. They breathe passion and vilence into the soul and incitement to offer to idols blood and burning flesh. Cleverest of all, they can forecast the weather from their astral abode. They can heal the diseases which they have caused, indulge in psychical research and put dreams into people’s minds.\(^10\)\(^3\) Yet the doom of the devil is certain. One reason for the present activity of the demons is that they know that the game is up.\(^10\)\(^4\) In the end all evil will be destroyed.

5.2. Already the fight is over and the battle won. The Word has overthrown Satan and bound him with the same chains with which Satan had bound man.\(^10\)\(^5\) The Christian takes the victory to himself and treads the serpent underfoot. No one can deny the power of the Word over the demons. Even Jews use his name to put demons to flight.\(^10\)\(^6\) No demon is prepared to make fun of the name of Christ. ‘Mock if you like’, says Tertullian ‘but get the demons if you can to join you in your mocking’.\(^10\)\(^7\) The apologists reveal an unadulterated empiricism in their attitude to exorcism. They are prepared to prove the power of the name of Jesus by exorcising any demon who may be brought to them and they point to the evidence which is public in every place. The demons are responsible for the prosecution of Christians and martyrdom is seen as a personal combat with the devil. Martyrs who are held in prison have entered into the devil’s house. Here they can trample underfoot the prince of evil.\(^10\)\(^8\) Heretics show their dependence on demons by the evil of their
Simon and Menander deceived many people the former claiming to be god but consorting with a prostitute. Heresy is the last final effort of the demons and their reaction to the coming of Christ. Heresy and idolatry are inseparable. All the accepted practice of pagan religion is the work of the demons. Man is more than the gods of the pagans for they are demons. Superstition in all its wickedness has placed man at the mercy of the demons. Men set up images and build temples which are really tombs. Anything which is linked with idolatry must be avoided. Games took their origin from the worship of idols and this origin must not be forgotten. There can be no compromise and those who try to serve two masters finish up serving the devil. Justin insists that Christians cannot sacrifice or eat what has been sacrificed and will prefer death as an alternative.

6. The Love of Truth

6.1. Honesty is the basic requirement for Christian apologetic. Christians cannot build their system, like Plato, on a noble lie. ‘I don’t care whether Plato or Pythagoras ever thought anything like this at all. This is the truth and that is why you should learn it.’ There is no other plea for Christianity. ‘Our claim to be accepted is not that we say the same things as these writers, but that we say what is true’. Ireneaus writes to Marcianus to set out ‘the preaching of the truth or the confirmation of your faith’. The words of the Lord embody the truth. ‘For the Lord of all gave to his apostles the power of the gospel, through whom also we have come to know the truth which is the teaching of the Son of God’. Truth is found in the gospel which gives life and which is fourfold. Origen commences his First Principles on the same theme, ‘All who believe and who have assurance that grace and truth came through Jesus Christ, all who know Christ to be the truth as he himself said ‘I am the truth’, all derive the knowledge that leads men to a good and happy life, from the words and teaching of Christ himself and from no other source’.

6.2. Justin’s favourite word is φιλαλήθης, and he constantly talks of the love of truth. Ireneaus maintains that the love of truth is a necessity for the understanding of the world and for growth in knowledge. Truth stands firm and receives the testimony even of its enemies. The highest testimony to truth is that of the martyr who witnesses to death. Tertullian encourages his readers to suffer for the truth and to take the way of martyrdom. But on
a simpler level Christians show their love for truth by their sincerity and openness.\(^{127}\) Clement commends the pursuit of truth. 'It is an enterprise of noble daring to take our way to God'.\(^{128}\) A Christian lives simply by his love for truth.\(^{129}\) Philosophy or the love of truth is not for the few but all are called to follow in this way of strenuous study and careful thought.\(^{130}\) The Greeks have praised incredulity as providing sinew for the soul. On the contrary, only the faith that gives itself to the truth can find knowledge. The martyr whose gift is unqualified finds the fullest knowledge of God.\(^{131}\) The only motive for the contemplation of God is the love of knowledge for itself.\(^{132}\) Origen frequently returns to the theme of the love of truth.\(^{133}\)

6.3. The horror of heresy is as strong as the love for truth. To most people a clever imitation made of glass looks better than a genuine emerald. Simple people are greatly harmed so heresy must be overthrown. 'By showing how absurd and inconsistent with the truth their statements are'.\(^{134}\) Heretics wallow in falsehood. They are like Aesop's dog who dropped the bread it was holding in an attempt to grasp the shadow of the bread. They have dropped the bread of life in their attempt to grasp the shadow of truth.\(^{135}\) In the end heresies fail because the contrast between error and truth is too deep and obvious.\(^{136}\) Apart from the spirit, the truth cannot be found. Those who flee from the faith of the church sink into the mud and filth of error or in their blindness wander without end.\(^{137}\) The philosophers, says Tertullian, have no part in the truth which they corrupt.\(^{138}\) The Christian has the truth which the philosopher is looking for.\(^{139}\) Pagan worship is also of necessity false, for idolatry is a fraud.\(^{140}\) The simplicity of the truth which comes from God stands in contrast to the foolish wisdom of the world. Academy and church have nothing in common.\(^{141}\) The Christian wears the philosopher's cloak because he is a better philosopher than anyone else.\(^{142}\) Clement takes a different attitude to philosophy, but agrees with the last statement of Tertullian. Philosophy was given to the Greeks to be their schoolmaster just as the law was given to the Hebrews. There is one way of truth but into that one way run paths or streams from every side.\(^{143}\) Philosophy can in fact help to protect the faith against the attacks of sophists and other wicked men.\(^{144}\) But there is only one royal highway on which to travel and the dangerous tracks of the heretics leads to disaster.\(^{145}\) Heretics made their opinions out of their own imagination but Christians are soldiers who stand on guard for the word and the truth.\(^{146}\)
6.4. Truth is found in the rule of faith which is received at baptism. One should never budge from that rule, test everything by it and accept only what is consistent with it.\textsuperscript{147}

6.5. Truth is marked by consistency and harmony.\textsuperscript{148} Clement sees the unity of truth as a composite whole from which sects have broken off a part. Only the Christian has a chance of finding the harmonious whole.\textsuperscript{149} Truth sends out its light without shadow to all who believe.\textsuperscript{150}

7. \textit{The Scriptures}

7.1. Justin claimed the scriptures in the name of Christ and insisted to Trypho that they were 'not yours but ours'. Justin too, developed at greatest length the exposition of scripture along the lines which the Gospel of Matthew had taken.\textsuperscript{151} Origen stands at the end of the development which we are considering, gives the first systematic exposition of principles of scriptural exegesis and writes the first commentaries. Neither Justin nor Origen can be adequately treated in a short summary. We shall therefore look at four points which all the apologists shared.

7.2. The Scriptures are a divine source of truth. The prophets saw and heard the truth, and spoke the words of the divine Logos who moved them.\textsuperscript{152} The same force and truth are found in the words of the Saviour, 'For these have within themselves a certain dreadful awe and they are sufficient to shame those who wander from the right path while sweet rest comes to those who practise them well!'.\textsuperscript{153} Origen (in BK. IV of the \textit{de Principiis}) points to the international influence, supra-human power, fulfilled predictions and divine subject of scripture as four proofs of inspiration. Scriptures must be interpreted spiritually, relating the whole of the scripture in all its parts, and allowing the spirit to inspire as the reader just as he inspired the writer.

7.3. The treasure of scripture is nevertheless a hidden treasure and its truth has to be strenuously sought. 'You know that whatever the prophets said and did, . . . they reveal in parables and types, so that most things may not be understood easily by everyone. They hid the truth in them so that those who seek to find and learn would have to work.'\textsuperscript{154} Irenaeus asks us to expect that there will be parts of scripture which we do not understand; but never to listen to wicked men abandon the rule of faith. If we hold to the rule, scripture will be completely consistent and all the parables will fit
together with the passages that are straightforward.\footnote{155}

Philip was able to persuade the Ethiopian because he had been prepared by the prophets in the fear of God and the apostles persuaded many in Israel who through the scriptures were possessed by the same fear.\footnote{156} Christ himself is the treasure hidden in the field of the scriptures.\footnote{157} The difficulties of scripture leads us to greater understanding by pointing to a deeper hidden truth.\footnote{158} Tertullian insists on the diversity of the content of the Old Testament, with its types, laws, images and statutes. Images and types prophesy and when fulfilled pass away but statutes exist for all time. Abraham's wives are a type and not a statute.\footnote{159} Marcion has failed to see the unity and the variety of scripture. In taking all scripture literally he has denied the unity of God. He must learn that prophetic utterances are fulfilled by Jesus and that scriptures contain enigmas, allegories and parables which must be understood in a non-literal sense.\footnote{160} Clement gives the mystical meaning of the 318 servants of Abraham,\footnote{161} and explains the fish and barley loaves as representing Greek and Hebrew culture.\footnote{162} Origen begins\footnote{163} from the plurality of meanings which words may possess. The direct and obvious meanings is not important because it refers to things and events. God cannot be described in this way and it is blasphemous to attempt to so describe him. The physical meaning of the words is an offence to be overcome. We must go on to the spiritual meaning. Jews look for a literal meaning and cannot see the fulfillment of the old in the new. Christians see the mystical economies of the scriptures and understand its mysteries. Scriptures must be seen a body soul and spirit. While there is more literal truth than literal untruth, the glory of scripture is not in words but in inner meaning.

7.4. The writers under review recount the story of the translation of the LXX and know its contents. Justin quotes from some kind of harmony of the gospels; but the other writers quote from the canonical gospels and from other parts of the books which became the New Testament.

7.5. From Justin to Origen there is general recognition that despite the truth of scripture it can be and is misused and needs to be defended.

8. \textit{Continuity and Recapitulation.}

8.1. Nothing is more difficult to sum up than the theory of recapitulation. Justin first expounds the idea. 'He taught us these
things for the changing and restoring of the human race.'

God gave the law as a temporary expedient because of the hardness of men's hearts. In the fullness of time he sent a new and final law in Jesus Christ. The coming of the new law and perfect word in Jesus Christ is at once the continuation and the climax of God's saving work. Christ recapitulates in himself the creation of man. Mary is the new Eve who responds to the angel with the words of obedience, 'Be it unto me according to thy word'.

All men have shared partially in the logos but at the incarnation to λόγον τὸ ὄλον became man.

8.2. Irenaeus speaks more often than any other Christian theologian concerning the continuity of the work of God and the summing up of all things in Jesus Christ. The summing up of all things may be seen historically and metaphysically. In both cases it is the perfecting and the correcting of a process or a reality. God sums up all things by bringing them to their climax, to their perfection, and this involves correcting what has gone wrong within them and what is deficient in their present state. Historically this is seen as a development in which God has been active from the beginning of creation, and his final act in the process of development is to perfect that which he had begun in Adam, and to correct that which had gone astray in Adam. Looked at metaphysically the summing up of all things indicates that creation and man in particular are at present in a state of deficiency, of sin, corruption and death. The recapitulation of all things in Christ means that this deficiency is supplied and this sin and death is destroyed. Both historically and metaphysically the summing up of all things in Christ means perfection on one hand and correction and salvation on the other.

So we read that the Word of God by whom all things were made came among men at the end of the times 'to complete and gather up all things', and 'to abolish death and to show forth life and produce a community of union between God and man'. The work of the son of God was to unite man with God. And thereby he destroyed the corruption with which man was indelibly tainted. Incorruption so long as it was invisible and not revealed to man could not help man at all. The incarnation made the incorruption of God visible so that man who had been tied and bound up with death through the disobedience of Adam, was released from that death. The coming of the Lord was to sum up mankind, to sum up the man who had in Adam fallen. So by the will and wisdom of God the proper man is born of the virgin, entering into flesh that man might be made after
the image and likeness of God in fulfillment of God's word at the
beginning.  

He was the same Word who formed Adam in the
beginning and who came to call man when man hid from him. Just
as God spoke to Adam in the evening and sought him out, in the
same way in these last days the same voice of God has visited the
descendants of Adam and sought them out. Man has never left
the hands of God nor has the voice of God failed to speak to him.
The voice of the father has been present from the beginning and will
be present to the end of his creation. There is no other father than
the one who has made us. There is no other hand of God besides
that, which from the beginning to the end has formed us and pre­
pared us for life, and which coming to us makes us in the image and
likeness of God.

8.3. Tertullian does not add anything to what we see in Irenaeus,
except to tell us, with no great consistency, that we can choose
between the first Adam and the second when it comes to the
question of marriage. We can have one wife or none. He enthuses
over the present stage of God's saving work, with the expansion of
the church and the spread of the world — 'We are but of yesterday,
and we have filled every place among you'.

8.4. Clement does add something new by making philosophy a
preparation for the coming of Christ. Philosophy was to the Greeks
what law was to the Jews. It finds fulfillment in Christ. Philoso­
phers are children unless they have been made men by Christ.
Clement also gives a more comprehensive account of the meta­
physical significance of ανακατάβασις (see above 2.5)

8.5. Origen develops both the continuity and the fulfilment of the
work of divine salvation. God's dealings with man are described as
οἰκονομία πρόνοια παιδευσις and συγκατάβασις. We are led from the
many pearls to the one pearl of great price. The prophets saw the
glory of Christ in anticipation but the coming of Christ was not a
gradual or natural development. In his coming, he 'gave us the
Gospel for the Law and at once the law of Moses appeared spiritual
in our eyes'. The historical form of the Old Testament must, like
the temple, be destroyed. Christ united the two testaments. Law
and prophets come together in him. 'They saw Jesus alone'. The
scriptures of the old and new testament point to the kingdom of the
heavens which is contained within the king himself, the
αὐτοβασιλεία.
9. The True Israel.

9.1. Justin claims that Christians are the new and true Israel, begotten by Christ who is himself the true Israel and Jacob.\(^{182}\) God's inheritance has passed to them.\(^{183}\) He speaks of the church as one body. Irenaeus develops the image of the body. The head is Christ and in his resurrection body, we, who are many, find our place. There are many members as there are many mansions in the father's house.\(^{184}\) Tertullian goes further. The body is one. When you fall in penitence at the knees of your brethren, you are touching Christ. When your brethren weep for your sins, it is Christ himself who is suffering.\(^{185}\) The assemblies of the Christians are better, says Origen, than those of cities.\(^{186}\) In Athens, for example, the Church of God is agreeable and faithful, while the Athenian assembly is full of intrigue. Yet Origen does not hesitate to say that the Church is not all it once was; but the signs of the Spirit are still present among those who have been purified by the word.\(^{187}\)

9.2. Justin proudly and extensively uses the name of Christian. He defends, as do others, the title against misinterpretation.\(^{188}\) Christians are not messianic trouble makers.\(^{189}\) Tertullian violently objects to the injustice of persecution for the name. Christians are tortured in the hope that they will deny their faith.\(^{190}\) They are charged with not worshipping the gods and not sacrificing to the emperor. They cannot sacrifice to non-existent gods or to an emperor who is merely human.\(^{191}\) They do not worship an ass's head, but venerate the sign of the cross which may be seen on every hand.\(^{192}\) Persecution will never destroy Christians, for 'the blood of Christians is seed'.\(^{193}\) Some Christians stand their ground like the soldier who refused to wear a crown, but there are some pastors who are 'lions in peace but deer in a fight'.\(^{194}\)

9.3. The Church is governed by the rule of faith, gospel or preaching which has been handed down from the apostles.\(^{195}\) The apostles had deposited this treasure in the church as one deposits money in a bank.\(^{196}\) What Peter preached at Pentecost is the preaching of the whole church.\(^{197}\) The apostles were 'eye witnesses of the word of life'.\(^{198}\) Clement claims that this teaching which comes from Christ is complete and lacks nothing, for it is the power and wisdom of God.\(^{199}\) Origen writes his *De Principiis* to expound the establish a rule for the church.\(^{200}\) The church has grown weak through neglecting the word of God. Christians spend their time in worldly occupations and 'you turn your back on the word of God and the
9.4. The daily life of ordinary Christians coupled with their fortitude in time of danger moved Justin towards Christian faith. When he saw Christians facing death, he could not believe the slanders against them. He says confidently that anyone who has known a Christian will have noticed a difference in his daily life. Tertullian makes the point with less restraint and with less real force, but he doesn’t give us the heart of the matter. It is the peculiar property of Christians that they love those who hate them. They love in a practical way, by caring for the poor, destitute, aged, shipwrecked and those in need. Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligunt.

10. The Last Things.

10.1. Justin is the first to speak of a δευτέρα παρουσία. Christ is present with his church now but he will come in glory for every eye to see. The Jews will not accept a crucified Messiah, for they cannot see that there must be two advents, ‘one in which he was pierced by you, and a second when you would know him whom you had pierced’. We are now ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τής παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ. ‘For the prophets foretold two advents, one which has already taken place, as of a dishonoured and suffering man, but the second when it has been declared that he shall come again with glory in heaven with his army of angels, when also he shall resurrect the bodies of all men who have lived. He shall clothe those of the worthy with immortality. He shall send those of the wicked in eternal consciousness into everlasting fire with the bad demons’. Irenaeus speaks similarly of the return of Christ, as does Tertullian for whom the second coming will be literally the greatest show on earth. The identity of the humiliated and triumphant Lord is central. Clement and Origen both affirm the return of the Lord but omit the realistic and chiliastic features of those who preceded them.

10.2. Resurrection is central to Christian belief and to pagan attack. Justin argues for it as essential for the righteousness of God’s judgement, and as reasonable for the understanding of man. Sensation must survive death if judgment is to mean anything. Human birth from human seed is as strange a mystery as that of resurrection. Heretics reject the resurrection of the flesh; but Irenaeus insists that God is a God who raises the dead, who makes man from dust and, with a life more vital than that which we have now, restores our flesh to eternity. After resurrection, an earthly kingdom will
accustom the righteous to incorruption. 214 There is a general recognition that all will not be equal in the resurrection or that some mansions are better than others. Clement and Origen both see a necessity for a cleansing fire.

10.3. Already on earth we have received an earnest of the Spirit and can cry, ‘Abba Father’. What will it be like when we see God face to face? 214 Present distress is necessary that we might be broken up, ground fine, sprinkled with the patience of the word of God and purified by fire to be ready for the banquet of the king. 215 Tertullian sees martyrs like athletes in training. 216 His wild hyperbole on the glories of eternal reward is matched by an intelligent and human argument. Christians are accused of committing atrocities in order to gain eternal bliss. Would you, would anyone, says Tertullian, plunge a knife into his own child to achieve an eternal reward? 217

10.4. In the end the thing that matters is not that some faithful should find a better mansion, but that God should be shown to be just, sovereign and good. The basic question of human existence is at stake. Is the final authority in this world good, bad or indifferent? That is why Clement argues so strongly for the unity of goodness and justice, that is why Justin asks the rulers to judge justly for their own sakes and that is why Origen insists that the last enemy shall be destroyed and that all will be restored as God first made it, ‘for the end is always like the beginning’. 218 After the cleansing fire through which all must pass, the good will climb higher to perfection and all that is evil will be destroyed. There will be a restoration of all things. 219 God will be all in all. 220

The conclusion of this paper must be that different people argued, sometimes with variant terms, for the same things. There is a unity of logical themes in five very different thinkers. Developments include movements from apologetic to ‘protreptic’ discourse, from a concern with main themes to the mopping up of minutiae by Origen and from separate answers to each problem to composite answers to more than one problem. This last movement both strengthens apologetic and builds a system. Differences between individual writers remain important but the common logical pattern is an indication of a common purpose and a common medium. Each theme is found in Justin and each is developed more fully in one of his successors.
NOTES

4. *Stromateis,* V. 68.
6. *De principiis* I. 1.5.
7. *Stromateis,* V. 82.
8. *De principiis* I.1.6.
19. *Adv. haer.* III. 18
22. *Strom.* IV. 156.
26. *Dial.* 61.2 and 128.3.
30. *Prin.* IV.4.1. cf. *Contra Celsum* V,39; *Prin.*1.2.13; *De orat.* XV.
37. *Strom.* IV.156.
38. *1 Apol.* 46.
41. *Prot.* I.
42. *Prot.* X.
43. *Strom.* VII.3.
44. *Dem.* 22.
47. Adv. haer. IV.4.3.
49. Spect. 18.
50. De testimonio animae I.
51. Ibid. II.
52. Dem. 11.
53. Dem. 15 and 16.
55. Adv. haer. III.20
56. Strom. II.22.
57. Strom. V.1. and 4.
58. Strom. VII.3.
59. Strom. VII.11.
60. 1 Apol. 28.
63. 2 Apol. 10.1.
64. Dial. 6.
65. Adv. haer. II. 33,34.
66. Apologeticum 50.
67. De anima 5.
68. De anima XX (cf. De anima XXII)
69. De anima XXV.
70. Dial. 11.1
72. Adv. haer. II. 2.1-3,
73. Adv. haer. II. 10.4.
74. Adv. haer. II. 34.3.
76. Adv. haer. IV. 38.3.
78. Ibid. I.14.
80. Prin. III. 5.1.
81. Prin. III. 5.3.
82. Prin. II. 1.5.
83. De spectaculis II.
84. Ibid. XV
85. Ad Martyres I.2.
86. Apologeticum 42.
87. De carnis resurrectione 4.
88. 1 Apol. 60.1. cf. Timaeus 36 B.
89. Adv. haer. II. 2.4.
90. De cultu feminarum 8.
91. De cultu feminarum 8 and 9.
93. Strom. IV. 17 and Strom. VII. 7.
94. Prin. III. 5.6.
95. Prin. III. 5.4.
96. Prin. II. 1.2.  
97. Prin. II. 1.3.  
98. Dem. 16.  
99. 2 Apol. 5.  
100. Dem. 18 and 19.  
101. De spectaculis 2  
102. 1 Apol. 23.3.  
103. Apologeticum 22, 23.  
104. Prin. III. 6, 1-6  
107. Apologeticum 23.  
108. Ad martyres 1.  
110. 1 Apol. 26. De anima 34.  
111. 1 Apol. 23.3.  
112. Prot. 3.  
113. De spectaculis 7.  
114. De poenitentia 5 and De patientia 5.  
115. Dial. 34.  
116. Dial. 5 and 6.  
117. 1 Apol. 23.  
118. Dem. 1.  
120 Adv. haer. III Pref.  
126. Ad martyres 5.  
127. Apologeticum 36.  
128. Exhortation X.  
129. Paid, II.8.  
131. Strom. 4.4.  
132. Strom. 4.22.  
138. Apolog. XLVI.  
139. Ibid.  
140. Idolatr. I.  
141. Praescr. 7.  
142. De pallio VI  
143. Strom. I.5.  
144. Strom. I. 20.
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194. *De Corona* I.
202. *Ad Scapulam* I.
203. *Apologeticum* XXXIX
204. *Dial.* 54.
205. *Dial.* 32.2.
207. *1 Apol.* 52.3.
209. *De spectaculis* XXX
211. *1 Apol.* XVIII and XIX.
212. *Adv. haer.* V. 3. 1 to 3.
216. *Ad martyres* III.
217. *Apologeticum* VIII.
219. *In Joann.* I. 16.