

## Chapter One

### Introduction

#### Background of the Study

The history of Christian theology reveals that from the end of the fifth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, the person and the work of the Holy Spirit have been neglected in theological discussions. Comparatively speaking, at least, the person and work of the Holy Spirit have been less studied than the person and the work of the incarnate Son.<sup>1</sup> Today, however, this pneumatological neglect is slowly coming to an end as recent Christian thinkers have exuded renewed enthusiasm and interest in Pneumatology, particularly since the emergence of Pentecostalism and the ecumenical movement.<sup>2</sup>

The Holy Spirit is indeed the most difficult subject to discuss among the persons of the Trinity.<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly, the Spirit remains, as Stanley Burgess says, “the dark side of the moon” in Christian theology.<sup>4</sup> The Holy Spirit has a self-effacing nature,<sup>5</sup> but this

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus called the Holy Spirit *theos agraptos* or “the God no one writes about.” In *Orations 16 and 41*, he reprimanded Christianity about the reserve in teaching the divinity of the third person of the Trinity. See *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Com., 1983); henceforth *NPNF*<sup>2</sup>. More recently, the German theologian Jürgen Moltmann spoke of the “forgetfulness of the Spirit,” in *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts in the New Testament Church and Today*, rev. ed. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 136-49; John V. Taylor, *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and the Christian Mission* (London: SCM, 1972), 3-23; Thomas Smail, *Reflected Glory: The Spirit in Christ and Christians* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), 9-10; José Comblin, *The Holy Spirit and Liberation*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989), 33-42.

<sup>3</sup> F. X. Durwell, *Holy Spirit of God*, trans. Benedict Davies (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986), vii. See also Stanley M. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Ancient Christian Traditions* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984), 1; Alisdair I. C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, The History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Oden, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 3, *Life in the Spirit* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), 283.

nature does not warrant Christians to stay in ignorant mysticism, ill-informed, and deluded about the Spirit's person and ministry. Furthermore, that Christians believe in the *mia ousia treis hypostaseis*<sup>6</sup> of God, that Christians pray and worship in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that Christians claim the Holy Spirit to be the very presence of God—the Church's very own *Immanuel* experience—implies the necessity to continuously learn about the Spirit's person and work.<sup>7</sup>

The research topic was birthed by the researcher's frustration in Pneumatology class because although she was raised from a Pentecostal background wherein the work of the Holy Spirit—the Spirit's power and gifts—are emphasized, she still felt her knowledge of the Spirit was measly. Although this emphasis is biblical, the researcher figured that merely focusing on the benefits of the Spirit leaves a believer deprived of many other truths about the Spirit. And while the researcher acknowledges the Pentecostal distinctive of “identifying oneself with the experience that came to Christ's followers on the Day of Pentecost,”<sup>8</sup> she still perceives that Christians need to know the Holy Spirit beyond Pentecost. That is, the researcher aims to know and experience the person and work of the Holy Spirit in the context of the Spirit's relationship with Jesus Christ who is the Man anointed by the Spirit. In Jesus Christ's relationship with the Holy Spirit, the Spirit is not only a source of power and gifts; the Spirit is encountered by Christ as a person who leads and guides Him in life. By carefully examining the example

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<sup>6</sup> *Mia ousia, treis hypostaseis* (one substance, three persons) was first used by Didymus the Blind to express the doctrine of the Trinity.

<sup>7</sup> Just as Basil the Great once prescribed, even if it is quarry hard to look for the truth of the Spirit, we must look everywhere for the tracks of the Spirit, See *De Spiritu Sancto* in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 7:2.

<sup>8</sup> Ernest Williams in the *The Pentecostal Evangel* 2 (1961) cited by James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: SCM Press, 2010), 5.

set by Jesus Christ, the researcher hopes to bring herself, along with the readers of this research, to a reverent participation in the glorious mystery of the Trinity through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The Spirit of God is essentially mysterious. The metaphor in the gospel of John spoke of the Spirit as the wind that blows.<sup>9</sup> One cannot see the wind; neither can one tell where it comes from nor where it will go. However, one can know the wind is blowing by its movement such as when the leaves dance or when the water ripples. These are the “visible effects of a less visible operation.”<sup>10</sup> Hence, in order to know the identity of the Spirit, one must first pay attention to the Spirit’s activity.<sup>11</sup> This is why the research attempted to trace the works of the Holy Spirit in order to gain an understanding of who the Spirit is and to have a person-to-person encounter with the Spirit.

In particular, the researcher chose the pneumatological thought of the greatest second-century polemicist and theologian, Irenaeus of Lyons,<sup>12</sup> as this study’s vantage point. At first blush, Irenaeus may not be the expected name for a theological endeavor centering on the person and work of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps, among the early church fathers, Augustine, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus are better known as the

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<sup>9</sup> Oden remarks that due to the innate mystery of the Spirit, one can never use empirical devices to study the Spirit’s person and work. However, this does not mean that a study of the Spirit is not possible. See *Life in the Spirit*, 2-3, 9; Cf. John 3:8.

<sup>10</sup> Oden, *Life in the Spirit*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Brueggemann, a noted Old Testament scholar, observes that God was known by Israel through a particular grammatical movement: from verb (God provides), to adjective (God is a providing God), then, to nouns (God is Provider). See *The Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 230.

<sup>12</sup> Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings of Patristic Literature* (Allen: Christian Classics, 1983), 287.

theologians of the Spirit.<sup>13</sup> If anything, Irenaeus is best known for his treatises that served to defend and preserve the apostolic doctrine of Jesus Christ. Thus, the Bishop of Lyons's works are easily marked as key writings in the development of Christology from the Ante-Nicene period.<sup>14</sup> This does not mean, however, that Irenaeus offers nothing significant to pneumatological discussions. In fact, as shown by the thesis, Irenaeus offers a fascinating contribution to pneumatological discourses today. Theologians should dismiss the prejudice that Irenaeus should not be taken seriously as possessing a robust Pneumatology.

For a pneumatological exploration, the explicit christocentrism in Irenaeus's writings makes it an advantageous point of reference. The researcher is one with theologians like Karl Barth, Colin Gunton, and Robert Jenson in the resolve that the only way to know the persons of the Trinity is to begin with the self-identification of Jesus Christ.<sup>15</sup> Any attempt to deal with the Triune God—and in this case the Holy Spirit—must be hinged in Christ Jesus. Moreover, the pneumatological arguments that Irenaeus articulated, especially those which outline the relationship of Jesus Christ with the Holy

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<sup>13</sup> These early Church fathers have each written treatises on the Holy Spirit: Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter* in *NPNF*<sup>1</sup> 5: 83-114; Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 5:1-50; Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Holy Spirit, Against the Followers of Macedonius*, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 8: 315-25; Gregory of Nazianzus's *Orations* 16 and 47 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 7: 247-54, 378-85.

<sup>14</sup> Samuel George, a fellow at the New Theological College in India, maintained that Irenaeus is a key figure in the expansion of Christology, so much so that his treatises became foundational for the theologians centuries after him. See "The Emergence of Christology in the Early Church: A Methodological Survey with Particular Reference to the Anti-Heretical Polemics of Irenaeus of Lyons," *Asia Journal of Theology* 24 (2010) <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=592d5c9a-ae4-4e20-b814-90e331e0489a%40sessionmgr114&hid=103> (accessed March 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Karl Barth, *The Humanity of God*, trans. John Newton Thomas and Thomas Wieser (Richmond: John Knox, 1950), 11; Colin Gunton, *Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit: Essays Toward a Fully Trinitarian Theology* (New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 25-28. See also Robert Jenson, *God after God: The God of the Past and the God of the Future Seen in Work of Karl Barth* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), 113.

Spirit, have been considered by recent patristic scholars as key thoughts to the expansion and development of Pneumatology.<sup>16</sup>

Irenaeus developed several major themes with respect to the study of the Holy Spirit. For instance, on the doctrine of creation, Irenaeus is best known for his metaphor of the Son and the Spirit to be the “two hands”<sup>17</sup> through whom the Father created and saves the world. Also, Irenaeus is one of the first theologians to articulate Spirit-Christology. He referred to the Holy Spirit as the very anointing of Christ Jesus. In addition, Irenaeus made the distinction between the Holy Spirit’s identity and activity in connection to soteriology, ecclesiology, and even eschatology.

This research, however, focused on Irenaeus’s doctrine of the Holy Spirit in relation to his doctrine of recapitulation, which is characteristically Irenaean but not typically connected to Pneumatology.<sup>18</sup> There have been a few works that specifically addressed the theology of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus. The most recent is that of Anthony

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<sup>16</sup> Anthony Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 45, 58; Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 64-67; Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 57-62; Anthony Thiselton Nothingham, “The Holy Spirit in the Latin Fathers with Special Reference to their Use of 1 Corinthians 12 and this Chapter in Modern Scholarship.” *Communio Viatorum* 53 (2011), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=592d5c9a-ae4-4e20-b814-90e331e0489a%40sessionmgr114&vid=6&hid=103> (accessed September 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 5.6.1 (henceforth, *Ad Haer*), in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 531-2; henceforth *ANF*.

<sup>18</sup> On works about the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus, see Leslie W. Barnard, “The Beginning and End of Early Christian Pneumatology,” *Augustinian Studies* 39 (2008), 169-86; Thomas Marsh, “The Holy Spirit in Early Christian Teaching,” *The Irish Theological Quarterly* 45 (1978), 101-16; and H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church: A Study of Christian Teaching in the Age of the Fathers* (London: MacMillan, 1912). On works regarding Irenaean Recapitulation, see Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. J. E. Steeley (New York: Abingdon, 1970), 437-41; Gustaf Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical theology of Irenaeus*, trans. Ross Mackenzie (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), 79-87; and William P. Loewe, “Irenaeus’s Soteriology: Christus Victor Revisited,” *Anglican Theological Review* 67 (1985) <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=bea8b7f4-2a60-4db2-8902-75cac1a8619d%40sessionmgr11&vid=4&hid=113> (accessed July 2013).

Briggman.<sup>19</sup> However, Briggman's discussions of Irenaeus's doctrine of the Holy Spirit mention little about its relationship with the doctrine of recapitulation. In the same manner, when the doctrine of recapitulation is the subject at hand, little is said about the person and work of the Holy Spirit in the doctrine.<sup>20</sup> This void or knowledge gap is what this study hopes to fill. This research shows that through a judicious and critical reading of Irenaeus's work, his recapitulation doctrine could be perceived not only as a sole work of the incarnate Son but also of the Father and the Spirit.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The researcher analyzed Irenaeus's view of the Holy Spirit and the Spirit's significance to his doctrine of recapitulation. This study primarily addressed the following question: "What is the role of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus's recapitulation doctrine?" The following sub-questions were employed to arrive at a satisfactory rejoinder:

#### **Sub-Problems:**

1. Who is Irenaeus of Lyons?
  - 1.1 What are the significant events in the life of Irenaeus in Smyrna?
  - 1.2 What are the significant events in the life of Irenaeus in Rome?
  - 1.3 What are the significant events in the life of Irenaeus in Gaul?
2. What is Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation?
  - 2.1 What are the biblical foundations of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation?

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<sup>19</sup> Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 1-8.

<sup>20</sup> In general, scholars have analyzed Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation through the lens of his Christology. A plausible reason for this approach is the explicit connection of these two theological themes in Irenaeus's writings. See *Ad Haer* 3.16.6-3.18.1; 5.19.1.

- 2.1.1 How does Irenaeus's interpretation of the biblical foundations of the doctrine of recapitulation relate to contemporary biblical scholarship?
- 2.2 What are the theological influences upon Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation?
- 2.3 What is the relationship of philosophy and rhetoric with Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation?
3. Who is the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation?
  - 3.1 What are the works of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation of Jesus Christ?
  - 3.2 What are the works of the Holy Spirit in the messianic mission of Jesus Christ?
  - 3.3 What are the works of the Holy Spirit in the Church of Jesus Christ?

### **Significance of the Study**

Jürgen Moltmann, in his book *The Spirit of Life*, refers to the Holy Spirit as “the Cinderella of Western Theology.” For the German theologian, the Holy Spirit is the most unrecognized and neglected person of the Godhead.<sup>21</sup> This is not a sentiment unique to Moltmann. There have been a number of theologians who wrote about the apparent insufficient attention given to the third person of the Trinity.<sup>22</sup> Given this, the first significance of this paper is that it is a contribution to the pneumatological discourses today. More specifically, the researcher attempts to join the efforts of theological thinkers such as Stanley Burgess, Justo González, Thomas Oden, and Johannes Quasten in

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<sup>21</sup> Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life*, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Catherine Mowry LaCugna acknowledged that since the Early Church there has been a binitarian formulation in theology: only the Father and the Son are given emphasis, and the Spirit is sort of implied, to some extent. *God for Us: God, the Trinity, and the Christian Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 113. John McIntyre considered this lack of attention to pneumatological studies a “betrayal.” See *The Shape of Pneumatology: Studies in the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (New York: T & T Clark, 1997), 21. See also Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 1-5.

summoning the Church back to the olden days of brilliant doctrines and pious intellectual life by revisiting the thoughts of the early church fathers.<sup>23</sup> On this note, this work is a contribution as well to patristic pneumatological scholarship.

Secondly, this study provides a new avenue to a wider understanding of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation. Currently, there is no one work that has solely endeavored to identify the place of the Holy Spirit in the recapitulation of Jesus Christ in Irenaeus. Patristic scholars who have discussed the Irenaean recapitulation doctrine developed his thoughts mostly from either of the two perspectives: Christology and the doctrine of creation. This work, however, provides a nuance in understanding Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation by developing it from a pneumatological perspective.

Finally, this study touches the practical implications of Irenaeus's Pneumatology for the Christian community. In a manner similar to that of Irenaeus's concern and style, the work attempts to articulate the person and work of the Holy Spirit so that the Spirit would again be recognized as a person and not just a substance or power.<sup>24</sup> To recognize the Spirit as a person is essential to every Christian because the relationship one shares with the Holy Spirit is personal, i.e. person to person, one alongside the other.

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<sup>23</sup> Burgess, González, Oden, and Quasten are some of the theologians who have recognized the thought life of the early church and made it an integral aspect of their scholarship. See Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 5-7; González, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon* (New York: Abingdon, 1970), 13; Oden, *Life in the Spirit*, 11, 38, 213-6, 344-8, 418, 491-9; and Quasten, *Patrology*, vol.1, 287-289.

<sup>24</sup> Briggman notes that Justin Martyr, in *Dialogue* 87, has depersonalized the Spirit by not distinctively referring to Him as a person. The apologist interchangeably called the Holy Spirit *dunamis*. See Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 21-3. The same is true in Process thought, represented by John B. Cobb, Jr. and David Ray Griffin, who called the Spirit of God merely the creative energy that affects humanity's mode of existence. See *Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 32. Wolfhart Pannenberg has regarded the Spirit as an impersonal force in creation. See *Systematic Theology*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 383-4. See also John W. Cooper, *Panentheism: The Other God of the Philosophers, From Plato to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 266-8.



### **Definition of Terms**

*Recapitulation* or *Anakephalaiosis* is originally a literary term in the art of rhetoric which means a summary of one's vital points in an argument, but in theology, it means the summing up of all things" under the headship of Christ.<sup>25</sup> For Irenaeus, the heart of Christianity is no less than Christ Jesus who has redeemed creation and truly humanized humanity. When Jesus became was made man, "he recapitulated in himself the long history of man, summing up and giving us salvation in order that we might receive again in Christ what we had lost in Adam which is the image and likeness of God."<sup>26</sup> The word "recapitulation" is synonymous to "redemption" in Irenaeus; it is Irenaeus's attempt to coin in one word God's redemptive scheme for humanity. Hence, the researcher will follow Irenaeus in the employment of the term "recapitulation."

### **Scope and Limitation**

This study does not attempt to present an entire description of Irenaeus's Pneumatology. This work is only concerned with Irenaeus's understanding of the Holy Spirit in relation to his doctrine of recapitulation, particularly in the incarnate life of God the Son and in the life of the Church.

The researcher primarily relied on the only two long extant writings of Irenaeus: *Against Heresies* and *The Proof of Apostolic Preaching*. The earliest manuscripts of Irenaeus discovered were written in Latin and some in Armenian. Since the researcher does not read either of the two languages, she made use of the English translations.

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<sup>25</sup> H. Merklein, "Anakephalaiosis," in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1, eds. Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 83.

<sup>26</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.1.

Aside from this inherent limitation of Irenaeus's own writings, the researcher is fully aware of the notoriety of his works. They are often criticized for their lack of cohesiveness and organization. Favorably, over the past decades, scholars have begun to be comfortable with the fact that Irenaeus is a polemicist and not a systematic theologian.<sup>27</sup> The weakness of the Irenaeus's writings is overcome by the astuteness of his theology.<sup>28</sup> There have been prior studies done on Irenaeus's theology, and these works have proven that even with his limited existing writings and the challenges of tracing the Bishop's thoughts, comprehensive and adept studies could still be produced.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Dennis Minns, *Irenaeus: An Introduction* (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), xi.

<sup>28</sup> Gustaf Aulén noted that Irenaeus is unexcelled when it comes to richness and manifoldness of theological ideas, formulated in "unpretentious and adequate" statements. See *Christus Victor*, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Benjamin C. Blackwell, *Christosis: Pauline Soteriology in Light of Deification in Irenaeus and Cyril of Alexandria* (Durham: Durham University Press, 2010); James G. Bushur, *Joining the End from the Beginning: Divine Providence and Interpretation of the Scripture in the Teaching of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons* (Durham: Durham University Press, 2010); Jackson Lashier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2011); Michael Reeves, "The Glory of God: The Christological Anthropology of Irenaeus of Lyons and Karl Barth" (PhD dissertation, King's College in the University of London, 2004).

## Chapter Two

### Review of the Related Literature, Studies, and Works

This chapter is divided into four sections, organized thematically. The first part surveys the primary sources: the writings of Irenaeus himself, followed by a section dealing with the works about Irenaeus's life. Thirdly, publications dealing with Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation are presented, followed by a concluding section that provides a review of studies and literature related to Irenaeus's doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

### Irenaeus's Own Writings

Irenaeus's writings have gone far beyond the confutation of heretical claims. Pope Benedict XVI notes that he could easily be considered “the first great systematic theologian who exhausted the Bible to nourish the Church with sound doctrines.”<sup>30</sup> That Irenaeus was a systematic theologian (in its nineteenth-century definition) is debatable, but that his written works have been a significant contribution to the development of various doctrines is a fact beyond the shadow of a doubt. Irenaeus's *magnum opus*, *Against Heresies*, consists of five books. For the study at hand, *Against Heresies* serves as a map to his pneumatological thoughts. The first two books of *Against Heresies* display the exposition of the Gnostic heresies, and these books offer only a glimpse of Irenaeus's theology of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, in comparison with his predecessor Justin Martyr (c. 100–165), the material in Books 1 and 2 proves that Irenaeus exhibited a deeper understanding of Pneumatology. Whereas Justin depersonalized the Holy Spirit by referring to the Spirit as *dunamis* or the power of God, Irenaeus regarded the Spirit as a

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<sup>30</sup> Pope Benedict XVI, *Fathers of the Church: From Clement of Rome to Augustine of Hippo*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 15.

person by referring to the Spirit as the *Spiritus Creator*.<sup>31</sup> Regarding recapitulation, Book 2 is significant for this research. It is here that Irenaeus wrote about Jesus Christ taking up all stages of humanity's existence, vicariously: hence, the recapitulation.<sup>32</sup> Irenaeus's christological and pneumatological astuteness becomes even more evident in the succeeding books of *Against Heresies*.

Books 3, 4, and 5 show a more developed doctrine of recapitulation and theology of the Holy Spirit. In Book 3, Irenaeus exhibited the dynamic relationship of the Holy Spirit with Jesus Christ. He explicitly identified the Holy Spirit as the life-giving Spirit of the incarnation and the very unction of Jesus Christ to accomplish the messianic mission.<sup>33</sup> Irenaeus also began to discuss the role of the Holy Spirit in the church as he referred to the Spirit as the unction of the *ecclesia*.<sup>34</sup> Moving on to Books 4 and 5, a noticeable pneumatological thread becomes evident: the Holy Spirit as the *Spiritus Redemptor*. In these two books, Irenaeus referred to the Holy Spirit as the very presence of God among humanity, who offers salvation, effects adoption as sons and daughters of God, and grants incorruptibility to the body of Christ.<sup>35</sup>

The second extant writing of Irenaeus is the *Proof of Apostolic Preaching*. Just like *Against Heresies*, the *Proof* is also epistolary in format. But more than just being an apologetic document, it is also catechetical as it gives instructions for new converts. As in

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<sup>31</sup> Briggman points out the pneumatological distinction between Irenaeus and Justin Martyr. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 45; Cf. *Dialogue* 87,128 and *First Apology* 6.2; *Ad Haer* 1.22.1. Establishing the word "person/s" and using it to refer to the Triune God is often attributed to Tertullian. Nonetheless, Irenaeus displayed a clear understanding of the Holy Spirit as a personal being and not an impersonal of power.

<sup>32</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.22.4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.17.1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.6.4.

<sup>35</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.1-3; 4.20.1-4; 5.6.1; 5.9.3; 5.21.1.

*Against Heresies*, *The Proof* is an important pneumatological document. The treatise may first be divided into two parts, corresponding to the “moments” before and after Christ. Then, each of the two parts may be further divided into two sections. All in all, the four divisions of the *Proof* are: 1) God and Creatures, The Fall, 2) History of Redemption, 3) Christ in the Old Law, and 4) Christ in the New Law.<sup>36</sup>

On the first two parts of the *Proof*, Irenaeus affirmed the identity of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of creation and as the Spirit of inspiration to the prophets. Embarking upon redemption history, Irenaeus outlined the role of the Spirit from the Jewish tradition down to the Gospels. Moreover, Irenaeus sketched the roles of the Holy Spirit in Jesus Christ’s accomplishment of the messianic mission by using passages from the Old Testament. Borrowing from First and Second Isaiah, Irenaeus stressed that the Spirit at work in Jesus Christ is the very Spirit of God. In addition, Irenaeus articulated that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the new covenant in the Church, highlighting a very important, yet often neglected, pneumatological theme.

The researcher is aware of the existing fragmentary materials putatively written by Irenaeus. These fragmentary writings are available to the researcher but were not used since the two complete writings of Irenaeus are sufficient for the endeavor.

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<sup>36</sup> The researcher is following the division in the English translation of the *Proof*. See *Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*, *Ancient Christian Writers* 16, trans. and notes. Joseph P. Smith (New York: Newman Press, 1952), 1-19. Henceforth, *The Proof of Apostolic Preaching* shall be referred to as *Prf*. On the issue of which treatise was written first, the body of research is quite divided. Briggman observes that scholars from the earlier part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as Adolf Von Harnack, F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, and H. B. Swete conjectured that *Proof* was written after *Against Heresies* while scholars of the later generation like Yves-Marie Blanchard, posits otherwise. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 5; Cf. Hitchcock, “The Apostolic Preaching of Irenaeus,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908), 284-9.

### Studies and Literature on Irenaeus's Life

Being a significant figure in early church theology, there have been numerous people who made Irenaeus's doctrines the subject of their works. However, only a few developed an interest in his personal life. The available information about his biographical and intellectual development is scarce, to say the least. Embarrassingly, what are commonly available are laconic entries about his life included in the writings of scholars who endeavored to write on his theology. These introductory biographies do not do sufficient justice to the man whose legacy cannot be summarized in a few measly pages. There is, therefore, a significant need for a more lengthy biography of Irenaeus.

*Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching*, written by F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock in 1914, is considered one of the groundbreaking sources in Irenaeus-related studies.<sup>37</sup> Hitchcock writes about Irenaeus's life based on the few known facts about his life in Smyrna and discusses the philosophical and theological development of Irenaeus's thought. Hitchcock emphasized that the greatest influence on Irenaeus was the apologist Justin Martyr, a proposal with which Robert Grant, a veteran patristic scholar from the University of Chicago, disagrees. In his book *Irenaeus of Lyons: the Early Church Fathers*, Grant argues that it was Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John, who had a huge influence on Irenaeus.<sup>38</sup> Grant implies that Irenaeus should be acknowledged first as

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<sup>37</sup> F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 3. Oswald Howard of Harvard University noted that the book does not offer us any new knowledge about Irenaeus or his thought. However, the book's merit lies in its attempt to do what Irenaeus himself failed to do, that is, to provide a systematic and clearly organized presentation of his own distinctive thoughts. See "Review of Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching by F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock," *Harvard Theological Review* 9, no.3 (1916), 334. Even recent scholars like Anthony Briggman, Dennis Minns, and Eric Osborn still refer to Hitchcock's work on Irenaeus. See Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 227; and Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11.

<sup>38</sup> Grant also provides the reason why Irenaeus placed a huge emphasis on apostolic succession, which was one of his greatest legacies to the Catholic Church. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1-10.

a churchman and a theologian, then, as an apologist and a philosophical figure.<sup>39</sup> Scholars have the tendency to easily toss Irenaeus to and fro between two extremes: either he is accused of being a philosopher Hellenizing the Gospel—as Adolf von Harnack demonstrated<sup>40</sup>—or he is trivialized as a simple and pious bishop. In “Revisiting Irenaeus’ Philosophical Acumen,” an article written by the patristic scholar Anthony Briggman, Irenaeus is depicted as both an orthodox bishop and a man who is aware of philosophy.<sup>41</sup>

Dennis Minns, a Dominican Friar and an Oxford University fellow, is one of the scholars to have shed light on Irenaeus’s life as a bishop. In *Irenaeus: An Introduction*, Minns describes the Christian milieu during Irenaeus’s time. Referring to the archival letters that went back and forth from the Church in Vienne and Lyons to the Church in Asia and Phrygia during the second century, Minns paints the picture of the Church under a great time of persecution.<sup>42</sup> It was in such a time that the zealous Irenaeus transitioned from being a presbyter to becoming the bishop of Vienne and, later on, also in Lyons. Gerard Vallee’s work, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius*, displays how Irenaeus refuted the beliefs of the Gnostics. By enumerating some of the theological and philosophical arguments that Irenaeus employed, Vallee

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<sup>39</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1-7.

<sup>40</sup> Adolf von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, trans. N. Buchanan from the 3<sup>rd</sup> German ed. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958), 231.

<sup>41</sup> See *Ad Haer* 3.24.2-3.25.3. See also Briggman, “Revisiting Irenaeus’ Philosophical Acumen” *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=fa6e2764-41dc-488c-8a24-80961c070362%40sessionmgr110&vid=5&hid=24> (accessed July 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Minns, *Irenaeus*, 3-5.

provides insights into Irenaeus's thought life.<sup>43</sup> Vallee gives credit to Irenaeus's treatises as important religious texts that helped to relegate the Gnostics to the margin and gave victory to the Catholic Church. Other works that depict Irenaeus as a skillful apologist and theologian include T. C. K. Ferguson's "The Rule of Truth and Irenaeus Rhetoric in Book 1 of *Against Heresies*," and Robert Grant's *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*.<sup>44</sup> In addition to these, Matthew Baker's "The Place of St. Irenaeus in Historical and Dogmatic Theology According to Thomas F. Torrance" does not only affirm the huge contribution of Irenaeus to Orthodoxy but also argues the lasting relevance of the bishop's influence even today.<sup>45</sup>

A review of Irenaeus's life and work is not complete without considering the aspect that has garnered him most of the criticisms: his chiliastic tendency.<sup>46</sup> Christopher Smith observes that if Irenaeus's thoughts are not easily dismissed as a scholarly source because of the chiliastic element in his theology, scholars who study his work neglect the fact that he had millennial thoughts. Smith's article is significant not only because it confirms and expounds Irenaeus's chiliastic thought, but also reveals how Irenaeus's

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<sup>43</sup> Gerard Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Ephiphanius* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), 93-6. Vallee affirms the strength of Irenaeus as a polemicist but maintains that Irenaeus was not the one to begin orthodox thinking because orthodoxy is not brought about by one person; it is rather a product of a crisis in a particular age.

<sup>44</sup> See T. C. K. Ferguson's "The Rule of Truth and Irenaeus Rhetoric in Book 1 of "Against Heresies," *Vigilae Christianae* (2001), 356-75; Robert Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988).

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Torrance considered Irenaeus to be the touchstone of his theological cogitations. See Matthew Baker, "The Place of St. Irenaeus of Lyons in Historical and Dogmatic Theology According to Thomas F. Torrance," *Participatio* 2 (2010), 6.

<sup>46</sup> Chiliasm or millennialism is the hope in a future thousand-year reign of the saints, based on a more or less literalistic exegesis of Revelation 20. This teaching was particularly famous during the first to mid-second century Eastern Church. See Richard Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1985), 258.



chiliastic thought is different from the conventional chiliasm of Papias of Hierapolis.<sup>47</sup>

The first chapter in the book, *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, a collection of essays edited by Sara Parvis and Paul Foster, supports the postulation of Smith. But even more, Paul Parvis offers a plausible explanation for Irenaeus's chiliastic tendency by referring to the *Zeitgeist* of Irenaeus. Parvis considers that chiliasm appealed to Irenaeus for three reasons: (1) it was a common teaching during the first and second century Church, (2) it affirmed his idea on the importance of the physical, and (3) it served as an encouragement to the martyrs of the persecuted Church.<sup>48</sup>

### **Studies and Literature on Irenaeus's Doctrine of Recapitulation**

The doctrine of recapitulation is the most celebrated topic among all Irenaeian doctrines. The following books provide solid background on the biblical, theological, and philosophical influences of Irenaeus's nuance of the recapitulation doctrine.

Grant acknowledges that Irenaeus often converted grammar into theology.<sup>49</sup>

Minns agrees with Grant, but also recognizes that "recapitulation," as a theological term, finds its roots in Scripture, particularly in Ephesians 1:10.<sup>50</sup> Eric Osborn, in *Irenaeus of Lyons*, argues that more than being a mere term, "recapitulation" is a complex concept.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> C. R. Smith, "Chiliasm and Recapitulation in the Theology of Irenaeus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 48 (1994), 313-33. Irenaeus's chiliastic thought will be furthered discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Parvis, "Who was Irenaeus: An Introduction to the Man and His Work," in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, eds. Paul Foster and Sara Parvis (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 28.

<sup>49</sup> Irenaeus also used "recapitulation" with the literal-rhetorical meaning in mind: "summing up." See Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 34, 37-8.

<sup>50</sup> Dennis Minns posits that "recapitulation" really had its origin in rhetorical instruction. See *Irenaeus*, 108-9.

<sup>51</sup> For Osborn, everything that God does is part of his economy, and every part of his economy is defined in relation to its recapitulation. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 97-99. Samuel George noted that for Irenaeus, recapitulation is a dynamic term, a term of action: God acting in and through Christ Jesus. See "The Emergence of Christology in the Early Church," 235-7.

Doing more exegetical work than Minns, Osborn traces the biblical underpinnings of the doctrine of recapitulation in Pauline (Romans 5, 1 Corinthians 15, Philippians 2:5-8) and Johannine (John 1) writings. Surpassing both Minns and Osborn in exegetical scholarship is James Bushur's monograph, *Joining the End to the Beginning: Divine Providence and the Interpretation of Scripture in the Teaching of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons*, which provides an excellent study on the biblical foundations of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.<sup>52</sup> Like Osborn, Bushur acknowledges that the Pauline epistles and the Johannine gospel influenced the development of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation, but also has examined the book of Genesis, showing how Irenaeus's understanding of the narrative of creation influenced his recapitulation doctrine.<sup>53</sup> Thomas Holsinger-Friesen is also helpful in understanding the "protological orientation" of Irenaeus.<sup>54</sup> Bushur's and Holsinger-Friesen's assessment regarding Irenaeus's cosmology is complemented by M. C. Steenberg in his book, *Irenaeus on Creation: The Cosmic Christ and the Saga of Redemption*.<sup>55</sup> Steenberg posits that the Genesis narrative once read in the light of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation is "history with an eschatological bent." The unfolding of events since creation is read in the light of Christ, who is both the Originator and Perfector of all creation.<sup>56</sup> That Irenaeian studies must proceed from his

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<sup>52</sup> Bushur argues that Irenaeus was the apologist who generously and extensively referred to Scripture in his theological reflections. See *Joining the End from the Beginning*, 232-9.

<sup>53</sup> Bushur, *Joining the End from the Beginning*, 106-113.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas Holsinger-Friesen, *Irenaeus and Genesis: A Study of Competition in Early Christian Hermeneutics* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 222-5.

<sup>55</sup> M. C. Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation: The Cosmic Christ and the Saga of Redemption* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 5.

<sup>56</sup> Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 99. Also, Wilhelm Bousset mentioned that Irenaeus's understanding of "man" in the Recapitulation doctrine really starts from Genesis 1:26. See *Kyrios Christos*, 447.

understanding of Creation is not an original postulation of Steenberg. This scheme has already been proposed by Gustaf Wingren in 1947.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, as a corrective, Steenberg cautions about asserting that creation lies at the center of Irenaeus's thought. He believes this to be quite misleading. It is Irenaeus's understanding of humanity, Steenberg conjectures, that is at the heart of his theology.<sup>58</sup> Apparently, it is for this reason that some scholars who have grappled with the Irenaeian recapitulation doctrine theologized from the stance of Christocentric anthropology.<sup>59</sup>

In *Of God and Man: Theology as Anthropology in Irenaeus to Athanasius*, Steenberg emphasizes the salvific theme in Irenaeus's recapitulation doctrine. Christ's redemptive action is characterized by the Word of God becoming human, living as human, and therefore sanctifying what is human by joining it to God.<sup>60</sup> Trevor Hart's article, "Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption," complements Steenberg's conclusions about the saving human life of Christ. Hart articulates that for Irenaeus, Christ's incarnation is the ontological solidarity of God with the whole of humanity.<sup>61</sup> Yet Hart is also quick to caution that it is not only the incarnation that is the sum of Christian soteriology for Irenaeus. Similar to Steenberg, Hart asserts that for Irenaeus, the

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<sup>57</sup> Gustaf Wingren's 1947 *Man and the Incarnation*, as per Steenberg, is the key monograph in the renewal of scholarly appreciation for Irenaeus. See Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Some of the works include John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-5; Michael Reeves, "The Glory of God," 5-9; M. C. Steenberg, *Of God and Man: Theology as Anthropology from Irenaeus to Athanasius* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), ix-x.

<sup>60</sup> However, Steenberg cautions that it is not as though Christ was fashioned after Adam; more accurately, it was Jesus Christ who was the prototype of humanity. See *Irenaeus on Creation*, 8.

<sup>61</sup> Trevor Hart strongly echoes Irenaeian thought throughout his work. See "Irenaeus, Recapitulation and Physical Redemption," in *Christ in Our Place: The Humanity of God in Christ for the Reconciliation of the World*, ed. Trevor A. Hart and Daniel Thimell (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1989), 180-1.

whole existence of Jesus Christ is the recapitulative act that has brought salvation to humanity.

Prior to Steenberg and Hart, it was Gustaf Aulén, in his 1931 book *Christus Victor*, who brought back the focus on the crucial significance of Jesus's life and ministry in Irenaeus's theology. Building on Irenaeus's Christology, Aulén recognized the earthly life of Jesus Christ as "a process of victorious conflict over the evil that gripped humanity and over death."<sup>62</sup> Aulén focused on the emphasis of Irenaeus on Christ's obedience as the undoing of Adam's disobedience: hence, the recapitulation.<sup>63</sup>

Irenaeus also acknowledged the vital participation of Mary in the accomplishment of recapitulation.<sup>64</sup> Although this Irenaean feature may seem only remotely related to the thesis, it actually provides interesting insights. For instance, in "The Role of Mary as Co-Recapitulator in St. Irenaeus of Lyons," Steenberg argues that Irenaeus's articulation of Mary's role in the recapitulation is beyond an aesthetic appeal to symmetry and is, in fact, an integral component in his theology.<sup>65</sup> Benjamin Dunning of Fordham University, building on Steenberg's work, posits in "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth: Creation, Sexual Difference, and Recapitulation in Irenaeus of Lyons," that Irenaeus's belief in the necessity of Mary's participation in the recapitulation warrants the existence of a distinction in the human roles of Adam and Eve, or of the man and the

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<sup>62</sup> Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 30.

<sup>63</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.21.9-10. Benjamin Dunning notes that one of the earliest Eve-Mary typologies is that of Irenaeus. See "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth: Creation, Sexual Difference, and Recapitulation in Irenaeus of Lyons," *Journal of Religion* 89 (2009) <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=12&sid=fa6e2764-41dc-488c-8a24-80961c070362%40sessionmgr110&hid=24> (accessed September 2013).

<sup>65</sup> M. C. Steenberg, "The Role of Mary as Co-Recapitulator in St. Irenaeus of Lyons," *Vigilae Christianae* 58 (2004) <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=fa6e2764-41dc-488c-8a24-80961c070362%40sessionmgr110&vid=9&hid=113> (accessed September 2013).

woman, in the economy of salvation.<sup>66</sup> Dunning's argument is thus followed by a soteriological quandary: "Is Mary also humanity's redeemer?" Robert Webber answers this dilemma in his article "Second Eve." Using Irenaeus as an example, Webber suggests that Christians could find the middle ground between acknowledging Jesus Christ to be the one and only Savior and recognizing Mary's rightful place as the obedient virgin.<sup>67</sup> In her obedience, the eternal Son of God was able to take on the form of flesh from her own flesh.<sup>68</sup> Works such as these open to this research a presupposition that the Holy Spirit must have had a role to play in the lives of other key people aside from Jesus Christ in the recapitulative economy of salvation in Irenaeus.

Aside from the theological influences on Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation, this work also tackles how the second century philosophy and rhetoric relate with the doctrine. The works of Grant, Minns, and Briggman provide evidences that Irenaeus was indeed a churchman who knew about philosophy, and that in certain instances, he was able to use this knowledge to craft strong polemics against the Gnostics.<sup>69</sup> Irenaeus's familiarity with Greek philosophy gained him major criticism from the modern scholar Adolf von Harnack. Harnack refers to Irenaeus's theology—including the recapitulation

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<sup>66</sup> Dunning, "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth," 59.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Webber, "Second Eve," *Christian History & Biography* 83 (2004) <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=15&sid=fa6e2764-41dc-488c-8a24-80961c070362%40sessionmgr110&hid=113> (accessed September 2013). That Mary has become a "cause of salvation for herself and the human race" does not mean that Mary was the one who enacted the recapitulation, only that she played a vital part in Christ's accomplishment of it.

<sup>68</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.19.3. Minns goes on to say that Mary alone is the guarantor of Jesus Christ's humanity. See *Irenaeus*, 71.

<sup>69</sup> See Grant, *After the New Testament*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1967), 168-9; Minns, *Irenaeus*, 36-41; and Briggman, "Revisiting Irenaeus's Philosophical Acumen," 115-6.

doctrine—as “the work of the Greek Spirit in the soil of the Gospel.”<sup>70</sup> Hart, an expert in the field of early church philosophy, disagrees with Harnack’s conclusions, especially on Irenaeus’s nuance of recapitulation.<sup>71</sup> Hart offers strong arguments for his case on his work, “Irenaeus, Recapitulation and Physical Redemption.” Hart’s argument is well supported by Grant’s work as to how Irenaeus utilized rhetoric more than philosophy.<sup>72</sup> Grant points out Irenaeus’s habit of converting grammar to theology, and this is precisely what he employed in recapitulation.

### **Studies and Literature on Irenaeus’s Doctrine of the Holy Spirit**

Pertaining to the role which the Holy Spirit played in the incarnation of Jesus Christ in Irenaeus, there are quite a good number of materials. For instance, patristic scholar Stanley Burgess’s *The Holy Spirit: Ancient Christian Traditions* stressed that for Irenaeus, the same Spirit who conceived Christ in the virgin’s womb, also inspired the Old Testament sages to prophesy about the coming Messiah.<sup>73</sup> Alisdair I. C. Heron, in *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, the History of Christian Thought, and Recent Theology*, agreed with Burgess’s postulation on the role that the Holy Spirit played in the incarnation. Quasten reiterated Irenaeus’s thoughts that it was through the obedience of Mary that the Holy Spirit was able to perform the recapitulative work by

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<sup>70</sup> Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, x.

<sup>71</sup> The apologists of the first and second centuries employed Greek philosophy because their primary audience was unbelieving Gentile intellectuals. Hart affirms that although Irenaeus used Hellenic words to make his theology intelligible to his audience, unlike Clement and Origen of Alexandria who heavily employed philosophy, Irenaeus maintained the Bible to be his foremost source and final authority. See “Irenaeus, Recapitulation and Physical Redemption,” 152, 180. For more of Irenaeus’s employment of Hellenic philosophy, see Briggman, “Revisiting Irenaeus’ Philosophical Acumen,” 124; Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 12-16; and Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 7-8.

<sup>72</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 46-53.

<sup>73</sup> Burgess also showed that for Irenaeus, it was the Holy Spirit who inspired the Old Testament sages to prophesy about the coming of the Messiah. See *The Holy Spirit*, 59.

means of the incarnation. The works of Steenberg, Dunning, and Webber on the role of Mary in the incarnation—all of which were mentioned above—prove to be beneficial supplementary in this part of the study.

With respect to the Messianic mission and the role of the Holy Spirit in salvation, Briggman's "Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus" in *Vigiliae Christianae* and his "The Holy Spirit as the Unction of Christ in Irenaeus" in *Journal of Theological Studies* offer valuable insights. In the "Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus," Briggman provides "a long-overdue reexamination of Irenaeus's utilization of Spirit-Christology."<sup>74</sup> He argues that in Irenaeus's thoughts the identity and the activity of the Holy Spirit are clear and distinguished. Irenaeus articulated in Book 3 of *Against Heresies* that the Spirit became accustomed to the human race by means of the humanity of the incarnate Word.<sup>75</sup> It is precisely this that Briggman unpacks in "The Holy Spirit as the Unction of Christ in Irenaeus." Briggman proves that the neglected aspects of Irenaeus's thought help us to recognize that it is the Holy Spirit who empowered Jesus Christ to fulfill the messianic mission from his birth, to his death on the cross, and to his resurrection.<sup>76</sup> A good complement to Irenaeus's thoughts on the salvific life of Jesus Christ is the book *Communion with the Triune God: The Trinitarian Soteriology of T. F. Torrance* by Dick Eugenio.<sup>77</sup> Particularly helpful to the research are the sections wherein Eugenio discussed

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<sup>74</sup> Anthony Briggman, "The Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (2012), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=97977f9f-edf1-424d-b97f-1d9bd8fdb0db%40sessionmgr15&vid=5&hid=10> (July 2013).

<sup>75</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3 and 3.17.1.

<sup>76</sup> Anthony Briggman, "The Holy Spirit as the Unction of Christ in Irenaeus," *Journal of Theological Studies* 61 (2010), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=97977f9f-edf1-424d-b97f-1d9bd8fdb0db%40sessionmgr15&vid=5&hid=10> (accessed July 2013).

<sup>77</sup> Dick Eugenio, *Communion with the Triune God: The Trinitarian Soteriology of T. F. Torrance* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 49-70, 125-39.

ontological atonement and pneumatic soteriology. Certain books of Torrance—*Theology in Reconstruction* and *Atonement: The Person and Work of Jesus Christ*—were also consulted to bring more light to discussion of the Holy Spirit’s role in the messianic mission.<sup>78</sup>

Briggman’s book, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, sheds a great light on the Spirit and the Church.<sup>79</sup> Briggman notes that according to Irenaeus, before the recapitulative work of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit was present, but not present in the sense of being one with humanity or dwelling amidst humanity.<sup>80</sup> Jesus Christ is the first human ever to have an intimate and full *koinonia* with the Holy Spirit. After the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, the Spirit became present within the Church and became integral to humanity. In connection to Briggman’s conjecture regarding Irenaeus, Osborn notes that recapitulation is not a one-time event in history, particularly in the earthy life of Jesus Christ.<sup>81</sup> Beginning from the event of the Pentecost, recapitulation is being extended by the Holy Spirit to the Church.<sup>82</sup> John Behr notes that for Irenaeus, it is in water baptism that a believer receives the Holy Spirit.<sup>83</sup> Alistair Stewart agrees with this and adds that the rite of water baptism in Irenaeus’s time was already a source of

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<sup>78</sup> Thomas F. Torrance, *Atonement: The Person and Work of Jesus Christ*, ed. Robert T. Walker (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2009), 137-200. See also, Torrance, *Theology in Reconstruction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 222, 246-7.

<sup>79</sup> Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 78-85.

<sup>80</sup> Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 181.

<sup>81</sup> Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 99.

<sup>82</sup> *Ad Haer* 3. 12. 1; Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 71-3.

<sup>83</sup> John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 50-69.



learning theology for lay people.<sup>84</sup> Eucharist is another rite that is very significant for Irenaeus and his understanding of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church. Gustaf Aulén's work, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, and the work of Donald Bridge and David Phipers, *Communion: The Meal That Unites*, shed light on the Eucharist for Irenaeus as an event wherein the Church is affirmed to be able to receive incorruptibility through the sacrifice of Christ.<sup>85</sup> Another aspect of the life of the Church where the Holy Spirit is most involved is Christian perfection. The works of Paul Bassett, Robert Newton-Flew, and Christopher Bounds, all three scholars coming from the Wesleyan tradition, helps shed light on Irenaeus's concept of Christian perfection.<sup>86</sup> All three affirm the trichotomous anthropology of Irenaeus, that a perfect human being is one made up of body, soul, and spirit. The works of Bassett and Flew were helpful for understanding the contribution of Irenaeus's thought on the historical development of Christian perfection, and the work of Bounds emphasizes the place of love as a virtue from the Holy Spirit necessary for perfecting Christians. John Hick, considered as the man responsible for the renewal of interest in Irenaeus's theodicy, observes that for Irenaeus, there is an ethical dimension to the work of the Spirit in the Church.<sup>87</sup> In his monumental work *Evil and the*

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<sup>84</sup> Alistair Stewart, "The Rule of Truth... Which He Received Through Baptism," in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, 158.

<sup>85</sup> Gustaf Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, trans. Eric H. Wahlstrom (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956), 90-101; and . Donald Bridge and David Phipers, *Communion: The Meal That Unites?* (Illinois: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1981), 61.

<sup>86</sup> Paul Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley* (Kansas: Beacon Hill Press, 1997), 65; R. Newton-Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology: An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 126-7; Christopher T. Bounds, "Irenaeus and the Doctrine of Christian Perfection," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 45 (2010), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=868332de-b5d8-4752-a231-8cb22d99bed9%40sessionmgr111&hid=122> (accessed September 2013).

<sup>87</sup> John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (Reprint, New York: Macmillan, 2010), 213; Cf. *Ad Haer* 4.37.5.

*God of Love*, Hick notes that it is the Holy Spirit who enables the people of God to choose what is good and helps them to live an ethical life as they grow towards the likeness of Christ. More insights on the work of the Holy Spirit in perfection are further discussed in Chapter Six.

## Chapter Three

### Research Methods and Procedures

#### Method of Study

The qualitative nature of this study required that it be approached with both historical and descriptive research designs.

The historical design, specifically life history, was employed to answer the queries of the research dealing with Irenaeus's life and his theological and philosophical influences. Life history methodology seeks to examine and analyze the experience of individuals in a particular time and culture, and it focuses on critical moments and influences that shaped the development of an individual.<sup>88</sup> For this particular aspect of the research, Irenaeus's very own writings and stories that depict his life situation became the researcher's primary sources, while materials written by other authors about Irenaeus's life and his *Zeitgeist* served as secondary sources.

Also, for the research, inter-textual analysis and interpretation were employed to answer the questions which aim to understand Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.<sup>89</sup> Using Irenaeus's own works as the primary source, and complimented by books, periodicals, and journal articles on Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation as the secondary sources, textual interactions were employed and major influences and themes of the recapitulation were identified. Moreover, the researcher employed "triangulation": a cross-checking by comparing and contrasting Irenaeus's own thoughts, the thoughts of

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<sup>88</sup> Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Sage Publishing, 2011), 151-2.

<sup>89</sup> John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Sage, 2009), 173-6.

the scholars who have interpreted Irenaeus's works, and the researcher's own interpretation.<sup>90</sup>

After identifying the major themes and influences of recapitulation, the researcher then identified the roles that the Holy Spirit played in the doctrine of recapitulation. The researcher surveyed the works of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation, the messianic mission, and the Church. Again, textual-analysis and triangulation were employed. Irenaeus's works, especially the sections where he explicitly talked about the Holy Spirit, were the researcher's primary source and other works on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit were the secondary sources.

### **Sources of Data**

For this research, two kinds of sources were obtained. The most important of these are Irenaeus's own writings: *Against Heresies* and *The Proof of Apostolic Preaching*. The researcher used the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* translation for *Against Heresies* while the *Ancient Christian Writers* translation was used for *Proof*.

This research also made reference to secondary literature including studies that have given particular focus and have critically analyzed Irenaeus's recapitulation doctrine and Pneumatology. On the recapitulation doctrine, Wingren's *Man and Incarnation* (1947) and Aulén's *Cristus Victor* (1951) provided useful information. Some other works that have provided helpful examination of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation include Grant's *Irenaeus of Lyons* (1996), Osborn's *Irenaeus of Lyons* (2001), and Minns's *Irenaeus* (2010). Other studies, literature, peer-reviewed periodicals and academic online

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<sup>90</sup> Creswell, *Research Design*, 191; See also Judith Belle, *Doing Your Research Project*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1993), 64; David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, (London: Sage, 2000), 177.

materials that articulate Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation were considered and thoroughly examined by the researcher.

The Holy Spirit in Irenaeus's thought has been discussed by a few scholars in the past, but only in light of his other doctrines such as the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of creation.<sup>91</sup>

Irenaeus's Pneumatology has not been exclusively and extensively studied until the scholarship of Anthony Briggman. His *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit* (2012) was referred to by the researcher regarding the pneumatological aspect of this study and proved to be of great help to the researcher's understanding of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus. Nonetheless, other works of Early Church theologians on Pneumatology were also considered and examined by the researcher in order to have a more vivid vignette of the early Church's understanding of the Holy Spirit. For instance, the works of Justin Martyr, *Dialogue 87-128* and *First Apology*, served as a good intellectual marker that displays Pneumatology before Irenaeus. Comparing and contrasting Justin's thoughts on the person and work of the Holy Spirit with that of Irenaeus helped the researcher to trace the concepts that Irenaeus picked up from his predecessor and those that he has developed on his own.<sup>92</sup>

### **Research-Gathering Procedure**

The gathering of data was conducted in selected university and seminary libraries. Irenaeus's *magnum opus Against Heresies* and his *Proof of Apostolic Teaching* are available at Asia-Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary. Aside from Irenaeus's own

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<sup>91</sup> Prior to Briggman, there were only two works that have solely sought to define Irenaeus's Pneumatology: Adhémar de Alés's "La Doctrine de l'Esprit en saint Irénée" and Antonio Orbe's "La Theologia del Espiritu Santo." Alés and Orbe are generously quoted in Briggman's monograph and book. None of these works on Irenaeus's Pneumatology in the past, including Briggman's, have sought to define the role of the Holy Spirit in the recapitulation doctrine. See Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 2, 59, 63-9, 71-7, 83-5, 130-1, 149, 158, 162-4, 184, 191-96.

<sup>92</sup> Other Early Church works on Pneumatology that the researcher surveyed are Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Holy Spirit, Against the Followers of Macedonius*, and Gregory of Nazianzus's *Orations* 16 and 47.

writings and other primary sources, a sufficient number of secondary sources were also available and accessible at APNTS. The Sue Fox Library offered a significant number of books on Irenaeus-related studies, particularly about his Pneumatology and doctrine of recapitulation. APNTS's subscription to EBSCO Host Databases for ATLA Religion and Philosophy also helped the researcher in acquiring relevant and important online peer-critiqued articles.

In addition, the researcher visited the Miguel de Benavides Library of the University of Santo Tomas and the Rizal Library of Ateneo de Manila University.

Through the help of the head librarian and the technical librarian of APNTS, the researcher has coordinated with the other seminaries in partnership with Asia Graduate School of Theology. However, there are more books available at APNTS on Irenaeus than in other seminaries in the AGST consortium.

Lastly, the researcher corresponded with Dr. Anthony Briggman, author of the book *The Theology of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus of Lyons* and fellow at Candler School of Theology in Emory University. Dr. Briggman generously referred the researcher to other secondary readings and materials useful to the aim of this research.

### **Treatment of Data**

The chief goal of this research was to present an analysis and interpretation of Irenaeus's doctrine of the Holy Spirit in his development of the recapitulation doctrine. In order to achieve this, the researcher employed data analysis strategies: data organization, immersion in data, and analytical interpretation.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 207.

First, the researcher organized the collected data into four major themes: Irenaeus's own writings, works on his life, works on his doctrine of recapitulation, and works that relate to his doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Secondly, the researcher immersed herself in the collected data through thorough reading. This engagement with the collected data was done one theme after the other, beginning with Irenaeus's own writings. During this immersion, the researcher created codes for the data by writing down key concepts that may answer the research problem and sub-questions. The researcher also wrote analytical memos; these may be in the form of critical questions or observational notes on emerging themes and concepts during the process of reading and research. These analytical memos helped the researcher examine the correlation and divergence among the collected data.<sup>94</sup>

Thirdly, using the codes and memos, the researcher delved into analytical interpretation. In interpreting, the researcher employed a triangulation process, bringing her insight in comparison and contrast with Irenaeus's thoughts and the thoughts of the scholars who studied his doctrine of the Holy Spirit and recapitulation. In this part of the research, the aim was to define the critical categories of the theology of the Holy Spirit and recapitulation in Irenaeus, and to establish the relationships of the two that they may be integrated into a credible interpretation and explanation.

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<sup>94</sup>Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 213-4.

## Chapter Four

### Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation

#### Irenaeus of Lyons: An Intellectual Biography

In order to truthfully understand a theology, one must at least have a good background of the theologian, especially the development of his thought. This section presents a short intellectual biography of Irenaeus of Lyons, and discusses him as a man of God's Word who nurtured the faith of his bishopric and as a polemicist who defended the doctrines of the early church. Also, in this part of the study, the researcher identifies the milieu where Irenaeus existed by looking at his own personal history. In other words, it is an effort to re-enact Irenaeus's world and understand his thought by means of his own testimony, the account of the people who lived alongside him, and the accounts of those who have written to envisage the Christian setting particularly in the places where Irenaeus lived: in Smyrna, in Rome, and in Gaul.<sup>95</sup>

#### The Making of a Saint and a Polemicist

Scholars dub Irenaeus as the most important Christian theologian and polemicist of the second century.<sup>96</sup> The significance of his contribution is beyond dispute, making him an eminent figure in Christian faith and heritage. Throughout the course of history, many have heard his name; some have endeavored to know his works, but only a few have expressed an interest to know the life of the man behind the saint and genius that is

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<sup>95</sup> Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 1. Most of the biographical information about Irenaeus comes from his own writings and from Eusebius of Pamphilus's *Ecclesiastical History* (henceforth, *H.E.*). See *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Second Series, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); henceforth *NPNF*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1; Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 16-18; Pope Benedict, *Fathers of the Church*, 14-18. The following are scholars who acknowledged the importance of Irenaeus in polemics and theology: Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 183-203; and Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 93-6.



Irenaeus. Hitchcock noted that “the fine points of Irenaeus’s life are so meager and disjointed that the blanks on the outline of his life must be filled-in by imagination.”<sup>97</sup> Since Irenaeus typifies what an early church theologian is—one whose life stories could be tracked by the routes of their travels—it would be best to depict his life according to the places he had settled. From there, one could recognize the life-defining moments that made him the saint and polemicist the world knows today. The time has come to dust off most Christians’ antiquated image of Irenaeus.

### **Irenaeus in Smyrna**

The exact date and location of Irenaeus’s birth are unknown, but he was likely born between 135-40 AD.<sup>98</sup> Irenaeus, certainly a native of Asia Minor, most likely originated from the city of Smyrna (now, Izmir in Turkey). Smyrna, one of the principal cities of Roman Asia, became a convergence of various cultures, especially Jewish, Greek, and Roman.<sup>99</sup> Smyrna was a *polis* of a highly-stratified social system and a complex melting pot of religious diversities. Despite its youth, Christianity seemed to thrive along with Judaism and pagan cults. Polycarp’s Church at Smyrna, where Irenaeus started to develop a penchant for the things of God, was a tight-knit group, composed of members who were literate and who could understand and read the Christian

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<sup>97</sup> Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Osborn refers to Irenaeus’s claim in *Ad Haer* 5.30.3 that the book of Revelation was written towards the end of the reign of Domitian (AD 96) and near to the time of his own generation. Osborn reasons that since a generation was commonly reckoned as thirty or forty years, Irenaeus’s claim dates his birth somewhere between AD 130-40. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2.

<sup>99</sup> E. Glenn Hinson, *The Early Church: Origins to the Dawn of Middle Ages* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 59-63.

scriptures.<sup>100</sup> Irenaeus had some sense of reserve in divulging intimate information about his life, but he did not repress expressions of veneration to his mentor, Polycarp. The time of his apprenticeship under Polycarp could be considered as the stage of his life that had the most impact on Irenaeus, and this influence stretched beyond his youth. One could even suggest that a great part of Irenaeus's life had been wrought by Polycarp since Irenaeus followed his master's footsteps and later became a bishop himself.<sup>101</sup> Irenaeus's relationship with Polycarp was marked by intimacy, affection, and respect. In a portion of Irenaeus's *Letter to Florinus* which was preserved in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, Irenaeus recounted how he spent the days of his youth at the feet of Polycarp:

I can speak of the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and discussed, his entrances and exits and the character of his life, the appearance of his body, the discourses he made to the multitude, how he related his life together with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and how he remembered their words, and what he heard about the Lord from them, about his miracles and teaching—how Polycarp received this from the eyewitnesses of the life of the Word and proclaimed it all in accordance with the scriptures.<sup>102</sup>

Polycarp brought Irenaeus into the knowledge of God and initiated him into the glorious truth and mystery of the Christian faith. As the mentor was saturated by the theology of the Scripture, the Gospels, and the Pauline Epistles, so was the apprentice.<sup>103</sup> The Christian doctrines—the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, salvation, etc.—were

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<sup>100</sup> Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*, 6, 10 in *ANF* 1: 34-5. See also W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1965), 188-9.

<sup>101</sup> Parvis supposes that Irenaeus's early training with Polycarp greatly determined who Irenaeus had been: a bishop and an official spokesman of the Church. See "Who was Irenaeus," 15.

<sup>102</sup> *H.E.* 5.24.16-17, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:243-4.

<sup>103</sup> Contra Harnack's assertion that Irenaeus's theology has no traces of Paul, Hitchcock, by emphasizing Polycarp's frequent reference to Paul, makes a good argument that Irenaeus is most certainly familiar with Pauline theology. Hitchcock also adds that Irenaeus is also familiar with the Petrine writings and their theology. See *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 24. Ultimately, Irenaeus himself acknowledged Paul and Peter as influential to him and his master Polycarp. See *Ad Haer* 3.3.2, 3.

inculcated by Polycarp into the young and susceptible mind of Irenaeus. “I recorded them not on paper but in my heart,” Irenaeus avowed, “and I meditate on them accurately by God’s favor.”<sup>104</sup> Irenaeus had a deep understanding that the Scripture is inspired by no less than God the Spirit.<sup>105</sup> The Spirit’s truth grew in Irenaeus and was united to his very soul, in the way he thought, spoke, and acted. In retrospect, one may construe that the theologizing of Irenaeus was not just brought about by the necessity to refute the heretics of his time but rather, even in his early years, Irenaeus had a keen interest in discussions about God. Long before the controversies, Irenaeus had been prepared and equipped with sound Christian tenets which later became the potent foundations of his polemics.

Polycarp had not only inculcated in him the highest regard and faithfulness to the Word of God but had also fanned into flame the scholar in Irenaeus. Irenaeus also valued learning from classic works such as *I Clement* and *Shepherd of Hermas*.<sup>106</sup> But perhaps one of the most important yet often less acknowledged influences on Irenaeus was Polycarp’s friend, Ignatius. The effect of Ignatius on the young Irenaeus was so strong that Harnack asserted that the very distinct “Christocentricity” of Irenaeus’s theology is something that he had not only caught from Polycarp, but also from Ignatius.<sup>107</sup> For instance, Irenaeus wrote:

But in every respect He is a man, the creation of God, and the recapitulation of Humanity in himself, the invisible become visible, the incomprehensible being made comprehensible, the impassible become passible, and the Word made man, thus summing up (*recapitulans*) all things in himself.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> *H.E.* 5.24.16-17, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1: 242-4.

<sup>105</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.10.1; 4.8.1; 2.35.2.

<sup>106</sup> A quotation taken from the *Shepherd of Hermas* is found in *Ad Haer* 4.20.2.

<sup>107</sup> Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, 262.

<sup>108</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.16.6.

This seems to be a ricochet of what Ignatius had written in his *Letter to the Smyrneans*:

...being fully persuaded, in very truth, with respect to our Lord Jesus Christ, that He was the Son of God, 'the first-born of every creature,' God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and was of the seed of David according to the flesh by the Virgin Mary; was baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him; that He lived a life of holiness without sin, and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, nailed [to the cross] for us in His flesh. From whom we also derive our being, from His divinely-blessed passion, that He might set up a standard for the ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His Church.<sup>109</sup>

Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation was birthed by the pregnant thoughts about *Christus pro nobis* which often recurred in Ignatius's epistles.

### **Irenaeus in Rome**

Sometime around AD 155, Polycarp visited Rome to settle a controversy with Pope Anicetus (155-166).<sup>110</sup> Polycarp, who was in his extreme old age by then, brought a delegation with him, which might have included Irenaeus, the young and promising scholar and churchman.<sup>111</sup> Irenaeus wrote: "For when under Anicetus he stayed in Rome he turned many away from the heretics we have mentioned and brought them back to the church of God by proclaiming that from the apostles he had received this one and only truth transmitted by the church."<sup>112</sup> And from Eusebius's *Church History*, here is a more detailed account of that visit putatively an excerpt from Irenaeus's writings:

When the blessed Polycarp was staying in Rome under Anicetus and they had modest disagreements about some other matters they made peace at once, since

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<sup>109</sup> Ignatius, *Epistle to the Smyrneans* 1, in *ANF* 1:86.

<sup>110</sup> Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 270-2; Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2; Hinson, *The Early Church*, 81.

<sup>111</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2.

<sup>112</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.3.4

they had no desire for strife on this topic. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John our Lord's disciple and the other apostles with whom he had associated, nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe this, for he said that he ought to hold fast the custom of the presbyters before him. In spite of this, they had fellowship with each other and in the church Anicetus yielded the Eucharist to Polycarp, obviously out of respect, and they parted from each other in peace, for those who observed and those who did not observe kept the peace of the whole church.<sup>113</sup>

Soon after this trip, Irenaeus's master was martyred; he was pierced by a dagger and was burned alive.<sup>114</sup> The Moscow manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* states that Irenaeus was teaching in Rome at the time of the persecution which claimed Polycarp's life and that he heard a voice as of a trumpet saying, "Polycarp is martyred."<sup>115</sup>

It is assumed that Irenaeus went to Rome for further studies to better his rhetorical skills.<sup>116</sup> Despite Irenaeus's claims in the Preface to Books I and II of *Against Heresies* which displayed his modesty, he was actually a trained rhetorician:

You will not expect from us, who live with the Celts and most of the time use the language of barbarians, either the art of speech which we did not learn, or the skill of a writer which we have not exercised, or elegance of language or persuasion which we do not know. You may, however, accept with love what we have written for you with love, simplicity, and truth, and without technique, and yourself develop it, being more capable than we are.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> H.E. 5.24.16-17, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1: 242-4.

<sup>114</sup> The exact year of Polycarp's martyrdom is uncertain. It is, however, dated between 155-68. See Hinson, *The Early Church*, 81-3; Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 270-2.

<sup>115</sup> This information about the time of Irenaeus is not present in the *ANF* translation but present in the Lightfoot translation. See *The Martyrdom of Saint Polycarp* in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Hammer (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), 185-8, 210. See also *The Martyrdom of Saint Polycarp*, in *ANF* 1: 43-4.

<sup>116</sup> Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 13; Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 2-3; Minns, *Irenaeus*, 1; and Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 22.

<sup>117</sup> *Ad Haer* Preface to Books 1 and 2. Although Irenaeus claimed to have no rhetoric or excellence of style, he demonstrated some rhetorical skill and a knowledge of the works of Plato, Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar. See Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 3-4. Jared Secord notes that this modest comment is exactly what one should expect from an author trained in rhetoric. See "The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian: Irenaeus from Smyrna to Lyons," in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, eds. Paul Foster and Sara Parvis (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 29.

Irenaeus was known to be a man abreast with the culture and intellectual milieu of his time. And while he was initiated to the mysteries of the Word of God by Polycarp in Smyrna, his philosophy was further honed in Rome by the very first apologist of the Church, Justin Martyr.<sup>118</sup>

Irenaeus championed Justin Martyr and referred to him as the true teacher over Tatian, the strayed student of Justin, who was at that time promulgating heresies.<sup>119</sup> Justin's influence on Irenaeus should not be taken lightly. However, the details of Irenaeus's encounters with Justin Martyr and the degree of their intimacy with each other were not recorded in detail as with Polycarp. Hitchcock imagined that as a young man in Rome, Irenaeus might have heard Justin and soon after, he came "under the spell of the master-mind."<sup>120</sup> Both Justin and Irenaeus shared similarities in theology. For instance, on their understanding of baptismal regeneration, Justin spoke of regeneration *via* water, and Irenaeus used the phrase, "the regeneration that takes place by means of the laver."<sup>121</sup> On the Eucharist, which the two called the Holy Communion, Justin and Irenaeus believed in transubstantiation. Both held that through the *epiklesis*, the Holy Spirit sanctifies the elements and makes them no longer simply bread and wine.<sup>122</sup> However,

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<sup>118</sup> Hitchcock noted that in Justin's pursuit of God, he tried several philosophies: Stoicism, Peripateticism, Pythagoreanism, and Platonism until finally he was brought into the light of Christianity. See *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 27.

<sup>119</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.28.1; 3.23.8.

<sup>120</sup> Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 27-30.

<sup>121</sup> Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 61 in *ANF* 1: 183; *Ad Haer* 3.17.2, 5.15.3. On Irenaeus's use of the "laver of regeneration," Briggman argues that what he meant was purification of the body and not purification of the soul. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 79-83.

<sup>122</sup> Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 66 in *ANF* 1: 185; *Ad Haer* 5.2.1-3.

the most notable influence of Justin Martyr on Irenaeus is *anakephalaiosis*. What was only an expression used by Justin to describe the work of Christ in relation to Plato's theory became an entire doctrine in Irenaeus. Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation and the influence of Justin on its conception will be discussed more in the following chapter.

It would not be entirely false to assume that the philosopher in Irenaeus was sharpened during his days in Rome, and it would not be farfetched to imagine that he became acquainted with different ways of thinking while he was in the capital of the empire where people from different schools of thought converged. However, to assume that Irenaeus's philosophy was entirely Rome-made would be unwise. His native home, Smyrna, was in fact a center of the Second Sophist movement which means that he must have been aware about philosophy during his youth.<sup>123</sup> Irenaeus's theological and philosophical background is primarily composed of influences from Asia Minor, Syria, Rome, and Gaul, but he was also acquainted with Palestinian, Hellenistic, and Alexandrian thoughts.<sup>124</sup> That Irenaeus knew these theological and philosophical traditions helped him effectively refute the Gnostics.<sup>125</sup> He ingeniously harnessed the unity of the Scripture to defend a truth that the heretics had singled out and contorted.<sup>126</sup> Because of this, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the priest and scholar who translated the *Proof*,

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<sup>123</sup> Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 3; Secord, "The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian," 25.

<sup>124</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1.

<sup>125</sup> Irenaeus's attack on the sophists may be seen as him turning their own weapons against them. Although he does not confront the philosophical tradition as do Clement and Origen, his account of God reveals his awareness of the Middle Platonic and Stoic philosophies of the day. See Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 3.

<sup>126</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.9.2-4 exemplifies how Irenaeus refuted the Gnostics who contorted the Johanne Gospel prologue and said that the *Logos* did not become flesh.

called Irenaeus a philosopher.<sup>127</sup> A few scholars support Erasmus's assessment. For instance, because of the diversity and depth of the philosophical and theological motifs in Irenaeus's writings, Bousset dubs him the "Schleiermacher of the second century."<sup>128</sup> Briggman who conjectures that Irenaeus employed Middle Platonism to combat the fallacies of the Epicurean also calls the theological body of research to a renewed acknowledgement of Irenaeus's philosophical acumen.<sup>129</sup> Irenaeus's intellectual ability to appropriate rational arguments in his polemics is indeed admirable. Christopher Stead correctly points out: "[Irenaeus] has more philosophical talent than is easy to detect in his surviving work."<sup>130</sup> But against the prevalent philosophies and the intricate maanderings of the second century philosophers, Irenaeus championed the simple truth and profound mystery of the Word of God. Given this approach, one may see that Irenaeus's apology is closer to Polycarp since his foremost means of defense is the Scripture and not philosophy:

I shall endeavour, in this the fifth book of the entire work which treats of the exposure and refutation of knowledge falsely so called, to exhibit proofs from the rest of the Lord's doctrine and the apostolical epistles: [thus] complying with thy demand, as thou didst request of me (since indeed I have been assigned a place in

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<sup>127</sup> In 1526, Erasmus edited and translated the Armenian manuscript of Irenaeus's *Proof*. Since then, he admired Irenaeus's skills in apologetics so much so that he considered Irenaeus as a great philosopher. Perhaps Erasmus is correct in calling Irenaeus a philosopher according to the 16<sup>th</sup> century definition of the word, but it is not viable with the 21<sup>st</sup> century meaning of philosopher. See Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 7-8.

<sup>128</sup> Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 421. Whilst Bousset's comparison of Schleiermacher to Irenaeus is anachronistic, it actually bears a great compliment for the second century theologian. Schleiermacher is not only a mere philosopher; his contribution to Hermeneutics and Higher Criticism earned him the title, "Father of Modern Theology." In Hick acknowledges hints of Irenaeus's theology, particularly his theodicy, which could be found in Schleiermacher's theodicy also. See *Evil and the God of Love*, 219.

<sup>129</sup> See Briggman, "Revisiting Irenaeus' Philosophical Acumen," 115-7.

<sup>130</sup> Christopher Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 90. Hence, to follow the divergent views of Gustave Bardy, André Benoît, and Elaine Pagels that Irenaeus is not a philosopher at all would be to denigrate not only his philosophical but also his theological astuteness. In the end, this would lead to an untruthful depiction of Irenaeus. See Briggman, "Revisiting Irenaeus' Philosophical Acumen," 115-6.



the ministry of the word); and, labouring by every means in my power to furnish thee with large assistance against the contradictions of the heretics... For it is thus that thou wilt both controvert them in a legitimate manner, and wilt be prepared to receive the proofs brought forward against them, casting away their doctrines as filth by means of the celestial faith; but following the only true and steadfast Teacher, the Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>131</sup>

### **Irenaeus in Gaul**

After Rome, Irenaeus moved to the cities of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul.<sup>132</sup> There are at least two plausible theories why Irenaeus relocated once more. First, Gregory of Tours, a sixth century historian, supposed that Irenaeus went to Lyons preaching the good news in accordance with the instruction of Polycarp. He also speculated that Irenaeus turned the whole city to the Christian faith before he was martyred.<sup>133</sup> However, these conjectures are suspect due to their inconsistency with other documents that depict second-century Gaul. As a case in point, Gregory of Tours's imagination that Irenaeus converted the whole city, including the Celtic people, is quite flawed. During the A. D. 177 persecution, the names of the martyrs on the list were either Greek or Latin sounding, not Celtic.<sup>134</sup> Also, during the time of Irenaeus, the relationship between the Gallic church and the Celtic tribes was one of animosity; the Greek Christians in particular were mistrusted and despised.<sup>135</sup> On the one hand, the churches in Gaul condemned the

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<sup>131</sup> *Ad Haer Praef 5.*

<sup>132</sup> It was typical for Greeks, Christians or not, to relocate in Rome, but Irenaeus was merely one among the few who went further west to Gaul. See Secord, "The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian," 25; David Noy, *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 7.

<sup>133</sup> Gregory of Tours, *A History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1974), 129.

<sup>134</sup> Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2.

<sup>135</sup> Parvis points out that despite all the difficulties surrounding Irenaeus, there was no hint in his writings. Irenaeus kept "a calm assurance and quiet confidence in the working out of God's purposes" in his bishopric. See "Who was Irenaeus," 15.

actuations of the Celts as wild and barbarous.<sup>136</sup> On the other hand, a majority of the Celts were among the populace who helped the Roman Empire in the desolating persecution.<sup>137</sup>

These inconsistencies now bring us to the second theory why Irenaeus settled in Gaul. Grant and Secord believe that Irenaeus himself was eager to take part in the worldwide mission of the church, and so he became a missionary to Gaul.<sup>138</sup> The social and economic history of the central city of Lyons gives a plausible explanation. The English ecclesiastical historian, W. H. C. Frend, noted that during Irenaeus's time, it was typical for Asian traders to migrate to Gaul particularly in the city of Lyons because it was the center of commerce and Roman public service in the Gallic community. Naturally, these traders also brought their culture and cultic life along with their merchandise. Inscriptions and temple ruins in Gaul establish this theory.<sup>139</sup> Frend referred to the Greek names of L. Taius Onesimus, Onesiphorus, and Epagathus, and to one woman described as *Asiana*, another as *natione Graeca*.<sup>140</sup> With these historical data, the latter theory as to why Irenaeus went to Gaul seems to be more persuasive. It implies that Irenaeus was part of a mass migration of people within the Roman Empire. It could also be clearly deduced that the Church in Gaul had a special connection to the Church in

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<sup>136</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 4. See also Hinson, *The Early Church*, 114.

<sup>137</sup> *H.E.* 5, 1-3, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:211-8.

<sup>138</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 3. Secord believes that Irenaeus was somehow motivated to follow the example of the Apostle Paul as a missionary. See "The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian," 33.

<sup>139</sup> W. H. C. Frend, "Christianity in the Roman Empire," in *The Christian World: A Social and Cultural History of Christianity*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1981), 48-9.

<sup>140</sup> Judith Herren, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 99; Cf. W. H. C. Frend, "A Note on the Influence of Greek Immigrants on the Spread of Christianity in the West," in *Mullus: Festschrift T. Klauser* (1964), 125-9. See also Secord, "The Cultural Geography of a Greek Christian," 31.

Asia, particularly in Smyrna. Scholars even suggested the possibility that many of the members in the Church in Gaul originated from the Eastern part of the Empire, including Smyrna.<sup>141</sup> In a letter putatively drafted by Irenaeus from the churches of Vienne and Lyons to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, there was a mention of men who moved from East to West. One of them was the Greek doctor, Alexander of Phrygia, who was also martyred at Lyons.<sup>142</sup> This letter gave an invaluable glimpse to the Christian milieu that in which Irenaeus lived. It was a time of torment and torture as the blood of the valiant Christian martyrs drenched the Church: “Christians were excluded from public baths and markets and then assailed; they were beaten, robbed, stoned, imprisoned, and tortured to death.”<sup>143</sup> Irenaeus mentioned a certain slave woman named Blandina who was martyred along with the Christian Asian merchants. Blandina was hung up on a beam and presented as food for the wild beasts.<sup>144</sup> Together, the martyrs of the churches of Vienne and Lyons became like Christ in their sufferings that they may not only attain what He has attained but also be symbols of unyielding faith to the Christians who were besieged by the hounding empire. Irenaeus understood very well that the Holy Spirit empowers a martyr and turns his/her misery into a glorious triumph:

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<sup>141</sup> Minns, *Irenaeus*, 3-5. The church at Lyons is believed to have started about the middle of the second century, since those arrested in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-80) included its founders. See also Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2.

<sup>142</sup> Minns, *Irenaeus*, 3; Secord, “The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian,” 32. Eusebius fortunately preserved substantial portions of this letter. See also *H.E.* 5.24.16-17 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:243-4.

<sup>143</sup> Hinson, *The Early Church*, 73; Secord, “The Cultural Geography of Greek Christian,” 32. The style of Irenaeus’s writing is earnest, strong and bold; the attitude and tone of his works reveal the bloody martyrdom events he had witnessed. See Osborn *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 7.

<sup>144</sup> Early church documents such as this letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons typically have a certain martyr whose story of *imitatio Christi* serves as the focal point. In this letter, it was Blandina. See also *The Martyrdom of Saint Polycarp*, in *ANF* 1: 3-44.

Thus it is, therefore, that the martyrs bear their witness, and despise death, not after the infirmity of the flesh, but because of the readiness of the Spirit. For when the infirmity of the flesh is absorbed, it exhibits the Spirit as powerful; and again, when the Spirit absorbs the weakness [of the flesh], it possesses the flesh as an inheritance in itself, and from both of these is formed a living man,—living, indeed, because he partakes of the Spirit, but man, because of the substance of flesh.<sup>145</sup>

Aside from persecution, heretics began to plague the Church by distorting doctrines, infusing fabrications into the Christian truths. To this, Irenaeus vigorously responded. In A. D. 177, Irenaeus was sent by the Church in Gaul to Rome in order to respond to Montanism.<sup>146</sup> That the Gallican confessors designated Irenaeus to contest the Montanist controversy implied their confidence in Irenaeus's theological and polemical astuteness. In a letter to Eleutherus, the bishop of Rome, they commended Irenaeus:

We have urged our brother and colleague Irenaeus to bring this letter to you and we ask you to hold him in esteem, for he is zealous for the covenant of Christ. For if we had known that rank confers righteousness on anyone, we should especially have commended him as a presbyter of the church, which in fact he is.<sup>147</sup>

Around the same time that Irenaeus was presenting his most orthodox judgment against Montanism, the churches he had left in Gaul, particularly the church in Lyons, were undergoing a fierce persecution under Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-80).<sup>148</sup> Pothinus, the ninety-year-old bishop of Lyons, and many of the presbyters and members of the church in Gaul, including the leaders who signed this commendation letter for Irenaeus,

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<sup>145</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.2; See also *Ad Haer* 4.33. 9.

<sup>146</sup> Montanism, a heresy that originated in Phrygia, was characterized by prophetic ecstasy. Grant notes that the Christians in Gaul represented by Irenaeus believed in spiritual gifts but were strongly opposed to the disorderly character of Montanism. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 4, 15.

<sup>147</sup> During Irenaeus's time, when one is called a presbyter, it is equivalent to being a local bishop. See *H. E.* 4, 5, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:218-9.

<sup>148</sup> Parvis, "Who was Irenaeus," 16.

died under Marcus Aurelius's tyrannical assail. When Irenaeus came back to Gaul, he succeeded the late bishop's office. There is a possibility that Lyons was not Irenaeus's first bishopric. Minns and Osborn, together with Nautin, conjecture that Irenaeus was already the bishop of Vienne and that he took over the care of both churches when Pothinus died.<sup>149</sup> If this is the case, what could be clearly deduced is that Irenaeus had an unequaled reputation as a man of God and as a leader that both the churches in Lyons and Vienne opted to put him in the highest position of two bishoprics.

During this time, Irenaeus became even more involved in defending the Church's doctrines against the prevalent heresies of his time. He believed that it was his purpose to investigate the theories of the Gnostics as part of his service to the Word.<sup>150</sup> He performed this task with utter seriousness. Eusebius mentioned that Irenaeus wrote a number of treatises and homilies; regrettably, only two are extant in complete form: *Against Heresies* and *Proof of Apostolic Preaching*. Irenaeus's *magnum opus*, *The Detection and Overthrow of Knowledge Falsely So-Called*, also known as *Against Heresies*, was birthed out of his response to the heresies that threatened the Church.<sup>151</sup> The first two books could be labeled as Irenaeus's exposé of the sacrilegious musings of the heretics: Book I shows the errors in following the fabrications espoused by Simon Magus, and Book II is an exposition of the weakness and falsity of these heretical beliefs. Books III to V are where Irenaeus used the Scripture as a weapon against these dissenting

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<sup>149</sup> See Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2-3. See also Minns, *Irenaeus*, 3-5.

<sup>150</sup> Irenaeus theologized in a time where the Church was confronted with external threats of persecution and internal threats of heresies. *Ad Haer* 2.17.1. See also Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 9.

<sup>151</sup> *Ad Haer* Praef 1 and Praef 5. Technically speaking, Gnosticism is not a Christian heresy in the sense that it did not arise from within the Christian church. But since the sects drew largely from Biblical sources, and several of their leaders were ex-Christians who regarded themselves as having the true interpretation of Christian revelation, people thought that Gnosticism was from the Christian Church.

doctrines. By and large, one of Irenaeus's immense achievements through this work was helping to silence Gnosticism.<sup>152</sup> Irenaeus overthrew the Gnostic idea of creation by presenting a scriptural and Trinitarian doctrine of the Father being personally involved in creation *via* his two hands: the Holy Spirit and the Son.<sup>153</sup> Relying greatly on the Scripture, Irenaeus also effectively disproved heresies such as Ebionism and Docetism which impeded danger to the Church's understanding of Jesus Christ and his unique nature being entirely God and entirely human.<sup>154</sup> In line with this, Irenaeus developed one of the earliest yet highly developed Spirit-Christology by outlining the relationship that the Holy Spirit and the incarnate Son share.<sup>155</sup> Irenaeus showed a deep understanding of the Spirit's person and activity in relation to the Word of God since the pre-incarnation period and up to when the Word became flesh to redeem humanity.<sup>156</sup> This redemptive course of action is what Irenaeus called "recapitulation" where Jesus Christ sums up and gathers all humanity under his headship.

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<sup>152</sup> Although Vallee acknowledged the contribution of Irenaeus's polemics in the overthrow of the Gnostics, he still greatly favored the view of Harnack and E. Schwartz that "the Gnostics erased themselves from history" in the sense that Gnosticism's esoteric character made it unappealing to the public. Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemic*, 92-3.

<sup>153</sup> The god of the Gnostics is distant and unconcerned about creation and anything corporeal. Irenaeus, however, asserted that although the true God is transcendent, the true God participates and works with creation. God is so participative and involved through God's two hands. See *Ad Haer* 4.20.1.

<sup>154</sup> *Against Heresies* could easily be regarded as a highly christological body of work. See *Ad Haer* 3.16.6; 3.20.2; 5.6.1.

<sup>155</sup> Irenaeus's Christology is not limited to Spirit-Christology. As Jackson Lashier argues, Irenaeus also exhibited a good understanding of Logos Christology. See Briggman, "The Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus," 1-19; and Lashier, "Irenaeus as Logos Theologian," *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (2012), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=6&sid=e45875f8-c840-48df-ac65-396b0e0892a7%40sessionmgr115&hid=114> (accessed September 2013).

<sup>156</sup> See *Ad Haer* 1.10.1; 1.21.1; 2.35.2; 3.4.2; 3.9.3; 3.17.1; 4.8.1; 5.36.2. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6. Although the word *anakephaleosis* or recapitulation was prior heard from the Apostle Paul and Justin Martyr, it was Irenaeus who first used this term to develop a doctrine. See *Ad Haer* 3.16.6; 3.18.2, 7; 3.21.10; 4.40.3; 5.12.4; 5.20.20; *Proof* 27-36. The doctrine of recapitulation will be further discussed in the following chapter.

However, it is not only the good theological ideas in *Against Heresies* that garnered attention. The final chapters of Book V also became controversial because of the apparent presence of chiliastic portrayals.<sup>157</sup> Scholars still debate whether Irenaeus was really a chiliast or not, and whether the last chapters of Book V really exhibit Irenaeus's chiliastic theology.<sup>158</sup> Nowhere did Irenaeus explicitly mention that he indeed believed in millenarianism. As a matter of fact, he differs in the distinctive features of chiliasm. Firstly, Irenaeus nowhere assigned a thousand-year duration of earthly rewards for Christians.<sup>159</sup> Irenaeus's only reference to Revelation 20:1-10 in *Against Heresies* 5.34.2 was to establish the resurrection, not to a millennium proper. Irenaeus also did quote Isaiah 65:22 in *Against Heresies* 5.34.4, but only as a reference to individual longevity; he did not apply the verse to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and argue for a thousand-year kingdom by reference to the lifespan of Adam. Secondly, there is no presence of an "intermediate kingdom" between the old and new creation in Irenaeus's theology.<sup>160</sup> Irenaeus wrote: "But when this [present] fashion [of things]

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<sup>157</sup> Smith identified that the chapters under criticism are chapters 32-36 of Book V. See "Chiliasm and Recapitulation in the Theology of Irenaeus," 329.

<sup>158</sup> Dale Allison argues that the chiliastic element in Irenaeus's theology, particularly in *Ad Haer* 5.32-36 was a result of his literal interpretation of the millennial passages in Revelation. See *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 157. In agreement with Allison, John Lawson described Irenaeus as "a man firmly grounded in primitive and Biblical Christianity." Lawson wrote: "His piety dictated adherence to the literalist and material tradition of millenarianism, and to a studied departure at this point from his customary usage of Scripture allegorism." See *The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus* (London: Epworth Press, 1948), 287. Parvis notes that Millenarianism was very much common in the earlier theological tradition of Asia Minor; Irenaeus was merely being a man of his time. See "Who was Irenaeus," 21-22. See also González, *A History of Christian Thought*, 168; Mary Ann Donovan, "Irenaeus in Recent Scholarship," *The Second Century* 4: 4 (1984): 219; Jean Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, tr. John A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd and Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), 386; Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 49-60.

<sup>159</sup> Smith, "Chiliasm and Recapitulation in the Theology of Irenaeus," 315-8; Cf. *Ad Haer* 5.34.2,4. See also Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 45-50.

<sup>160</sup> Smith, "Chiliasm and Recapitulation in the Theology of Irenaeus," 319. Steenberg, following Daniélou, conjectures that the emphasis on intermediate kingdom seems to have entered into the Asiatic tradition

passes away, and man has been renewed, and flourishes in an incorruptible state, so as to preclude the possibility of becoming old, [then] there shall be the new heaven and the new earth.”<sup>161</sup> Hence, although Irenaeus was familiar with chiliasm, he could not be considered a chiliast in a strict, literal sense. Parvis, on another note, encourages readers of Irenaeus to view his chiliastic tendency from a personal perspective.<sup>162</sup> In the first three sentences of *Against Heresies* 5.36.3, Irenaeus wrote:

John, therefore, did distinctly foresee the first “resurrection of the just,” and the inheritance in the kingdom of the earth; and what the prophets have prophesied concerning it harmonize [with his vision]... The apostle, too, has confessed that the creation shall be free from the bondage of corruption, [so as to pass] into the liberty of the sons of God.

Irenaeus may well have been thinking of his colleagues who had been savagely martyred,<sup>163</sup> hoping for the day when all those who imitated the suffering of Christ will also share in His glory. Also, this sort of chiliasm in Irenaeus emphasizes one of his major thoughts: the importance and the redemption of the physical.

Irenaeus’s second extant writing, *The Proof of Apostolic Preaching*, was less controversial. Its purpose was to refute the erroneous teachings of the Gnostics and to preserve the truthful Christian doctrines. But also because of its catechetical character, it has been used as a teaching material for new converts to the faith. The *Proof* may be brief

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through Papias. Although Irenaeus did quote Papias in *Ad Haer* 5.33.4, it was only to emphasize the renewal of creation, not to present an idea of intermediate kingdom. See, Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 54-5; Parvis, “Who was Irenaeus,” 21; Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 382; Cf. Eusebius’s account of Papias at *HE* 3.39.11 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:172.

<sup>161</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.36.1.

<sup>162</sup> Parvis, “Who was Irenaeus,” 22.

<sup>163</sup> Parvis, “Who was Irenaeus,” 21-2. Besides the context of martyrdom and anti-Gnosticism, one of the reasons why Irenaeus displayed chiliastic tendency in the last section of *Against Heresies* is that chiliasm was an accepted and taught doctrine in the first and second century Early Church. See Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 157; and Lawson *The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus*, 287.



but its theological content is robust. It is Trinitarian and scriptural. Irenaeus briefly but soundly explored in this work themes such as the Pentecost and the Holy Spirit as the New Covenant of the Church.<sup>164</sup> With regard to the dating of the *Proof*, it seems to be an earlier work than *Against Heresies*. Hints in the text such as a line in Chapter 48, which is traditionally understood as Irenaeus referring to the persecution under Septimius Severus, make it look as if the *Proof* belongs to the last years of Irenaeus's life.<sup>165</sup>

There is an uncertain tradition that Irenaeus died as a martyr sometime between A. D. 202-203. The first reference to his martyrdom seems to be in the fifth century. There is also a passing reference in Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah 64.4, but the word "martyr" is in all probability an interpolation from Gallic traditions concerning the devastating persecution in Lyons in the year 177.<sup>166</sup> Gregory of Tours's assumption that Irenaeus died as a martyr is rendered suspect by placing the martyrdom on an earlier date under the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that Irenaeus lived after the persecution of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211). In fact, beyond this point in history, no more is heard about the whole of the Greek-speaking Christian community in

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<sup>164</sup> Scholars have noted that Irenaeus's Pneumatology has a distinct sophistication as compared to the theologians before him. Yet even more noteworthy, Irenaeus, in his yearning to stay true to orthodox thinking, approached the Holy Spirit in the light of Jesus Christ. See *Proof* Intro, 32.

<sup>165</sup> There is indeed a reference to *Against Heresies* in chapter 99 of the *Proof*, but it does not necessarily imply that the whole *Ad Haer* was finished at that time. It seems, however, that *Ad Haer* was completed first before the *Proof*. Hitchcock took the statement in chapter 48, "kings are Jesus Christ's enemies and persecutors of His name," as Irenaeus referring to the persecution under Septimius Severus, and put the composition of the *Proof* at the end of Irenaeus's life. *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 5; Cf. "The Apostolic Preaching of Irenaeus," 284-9.

<sup>166</sup> Although the Church historian Eusebius did not say that Irenaeus died as a martyr, both the Eastern (feast August 23) and Western (feast June 28) churches venerate him as thus. This claim is first found (410) in Jerome's commentary on Isaiah 64:4 but not in his earlier *On Illustrious Men* which therefore suggests that the story may be an interpolation. See Jerome, *Letter 57, 59*, in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 6: 117.

Lyons.<sup>167</sup> And yet, through Irenaeus's writings, together with other extant historical data, the story of ancient Christianity in this region lives on. Furthermore, through Irenaeus's polemics and theological cogitation comes a heritage of Christian theology—one that is marked with vigor, simplicity, and piety. As Grant brilliantly illustrated, "Irenaeus's theology resembles a French Gothic cathedral supported by sturdy columns of biblical faith and tradition, enlightened by vast expanses of exegetical and logical argument, and upheld by flying buttresses of rhetorical and philosophical considerations."<sup>168</sup> And just like the French Gothic cathedrals, Irenaeus's theology is one that is worth revisiting and surveying. What follows at this point is an analysis of the most celebrated Irenaeian doctrine: the doctrine of recapitulation.

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<sup>167</sup> Minns, *Irenaeus*, 5.

<sup>168</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1.

## Chapter Five

### The Doctrine of Recapitulation

The concept of recapitulation had been present in the thought life of the early Church even before Irenaeus, but the genius of giving recapitulation a niche as a doctrine has always been credited to him.<sup>169</sup> Irenaeus did not only employ recapitulation in its literal meaning,<sup>170</sup> but developed it to a theological concept. Recapitulation for Irenaeus is the gathering of all creation under the headship of Jesus Christ.<sup>171</sup> The doctrine of recapitulation is heftily woven in and through the tapestry of Irenaeus's theology; so much so that Gustaf Wingren, the man who is responsible for the revival of interest in Irenaeus, supposes that "recapitulation is the unifying thread of Irenaeus's theology."<sup>172</sup> The doctrine of recapitulation is dynamic in Irenaeus's thought not only because it affects his perception and nuance of other doctrines, but also because it came about through Irenaeus's knowledge of the Bible, theology, philosophy, and rhetoric. This part of the

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<sup>169</sup> Justin Martyr putatively adumbrated recapitulation, but Grant insists that the theological interpretation of the word is Irenaeus's own. See Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 38. Bushur notes that historical testimony ascribes the development of the recapitulation doctrine to Irenaeus, in *Joining the End to the Beginning*, 90.

<sup>170</sup> In Greco-Roman rhetoric, recapitulation means a summary of points in conclusion of one's arguments. See Ben Witherington, *Letters and Homilies for Hellenized Christians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on Titus, 1-2 Timothy, and 1-3 John*, vol. 1 (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 2006), 363; and Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, vol. 42 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 33. Irenaeus used the literal literary meaning of recapitulation in *Against Heresies* 1.9.2 when he wrote that the apostle John summed up the message of his prologue in John 1:14, the *Logos* becoming flesh. Irenaeus also meant the same when in *Against Heresies* 4.12.1 he mentioned that Moses recapitulated the whole law before Israel (Deut 32:1). In *Against Heresies* 4.7.1-4, recapitulation was employed to mean the summing up of Irenaeus's argument showing that Abraham, through the revelation of the Word, knew the Father and the coming of the Son.

<sup>171</sup> Justo González, *Essential Theological Terms* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 148.

<sup>172</sup> Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 81. Osborn talks about the complexity of the doctrine of recapitulation, and asserts that everything that Christ does is part of recapitulation. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 98. See also Dominic Unger, "Christ's Role in the Universe according to St. Irenaeus," *Franciscan Studies* 5 (1945), 129.

study aims to explore the doctrine of recapitulation in Irenaeus by surveying how it was shaped by the Bible, theology, philosophy, and rhetoric.

### **The Biblical Foundations of the Doctrine of Recapitulation**

Irenaeus was a man of the Scripture. He quoted biblical passages to develop and strengthen his polemics. There are three main biblical sources that Irenaeus frequently mentioned—and which scholars also particularly took note of—in relation to the doctrine of recapitulation: the passages in the Pauline Epistles, the prologue of the Gospel of John, and the creation narrative in Genesis.<sup>173</sup>

#### **Passages in the Pauline Epistles**

The Bible uses the term “Recapitulation.”<sup>174</sup> In particular, Paul used it in Ephesians 1:9-10 where Jesus Christ’s recapitulation was explicitly cited: “And He [God] made known to us the mystery of His will according to His good pleasure, which He purposed in Christ, to be put into effect when *the times* will have reached their fulfillment—to *bring* (recapitulate) *all things* in heaven and on earth together under one *head*, even Christ” (NIV, italics mine).<sup>175</sup> In this passage, Paul affirmed that God has revealed the mystery of His will which is to give Christ all authority in heaven and on earth. Jesus Christ, in whom all of God’s fullness dwells (Col 2:9), mingled with His very own creation.<sup>176</sup> The reconciliation of what used to be two hostile realms, the heavenly

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<sup>173</sup> It is important to note that Irenaeus was not limited to only these three biblical sources (Pauline Epistles, John, and Genesis). However, it is the Pauline Epistles, John, and Genesis that are chief among Irenaeus’s biblical sources in developing recapitulation. See Blackwell, *Christosis*, 30-60; Bushur, *Joining the End with the Beginning*, 90-158; Holsinger-Friesen, *Irenaeus and Genesis*, 105-216; Osborn, “Love and Recapitulation,” 12-31; M. C. Steenberg, *Of God and Man*, 16-54; *Irenaeus on Creation*, 1-20.

<sup>174</sup> Paul also employed *anakephaliaosis* in Romans 13:9, as he said that the entire law is summed up or is recapitulated (*anakephaliaosutai*) in the commandment to love one’s neighbor as oneself.

<sup>175</sup> Verse 9 is also quoted to provide a clearer context.

<sup>176</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.3.4; 3.15.6; 5.20.2.

world of God and the earthly world of humanity, happened in and through Christ.<sup>177</sup> This passage became crucial to Irenaeus's understanding of recapitulation because it served as the groundwork for his development of the doctrine.<sup>178</sup> Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*

3.16.6 echoes Paul's arguments in Ephesians 1:9-10:

The Word being made man, thus summing up (recapitulating) all things in Himself: so that as in super-celestial, spiritual, and invisible things, the Word of God is supreme, so also in things visible and corporeal He might possess the supremacy, and, taking to Himself the pre-eminence, as well as constituting Himself Head of the Church, He might draw all things to Himself at the proper time.<sup>179</sup>

Irenaeus understood recapitulation (*anakephaleosasthai*) in Ephesians 1:9-10 to have a cosmic notion. The mystery (*mysterion*) of God's will is that God planned before time to gather and unite heaven and earth in the person of Jesus Christ. However, the New Testament scholar, F. F. Bruce, differs in Irenaeus's exegesis. For Bruce what is being recapitulated under Christ are the Jews and the Gentiles who are saved by grace through faith in Jesus, and the phrase "in heaven and earth" in the passage pertains to the church and angelic hosts co-united under one King, Jesus Christ.<sup>180</sup> Nonetheless, New Testament

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<sup>177</sup> Markus Barth notes that this verse is often linked to the concept of the cosmic Christ since it also mentions "things of heaven" (angels). See *Ephesians: Introduction, Translation, and Commentaries on Chapters 1-3* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1974), 91-92. J. Armitage Robinson points out that the definitive article of the Greek version, "*en Christou*," stresses that the work of summing up belongs to the Messianic office in *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesian*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1909), 32.

<sup>178</sup> While Hart still acknowledges the significance of Ephesians 1:10 to the conception of recapitulation doctrine, he gives credit to Irenaeus for the uniqueness and creativity of his nuance. See "Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption," 167. While Paul only meant Christ gaining headship over heaven and earth with the word "recapitulation," Irenaeus conveys a richer concept because to him the word encompasses the whole grand scheme of redemption.

<sup>179</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.16.6. It is in Book III that Irenaeus expounds his use of recapitulation as a theological concept. Recapitulation is also succinctly explained by Irenaeus in the *Proof* 6, 30-2, 39, and 73.

<sup>180</sup> F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1984), 262.

scholars, Mark Edwards, Willard Taylor, and Andrew Lincoln, affirm and follow Irenaeus's cosmic interpretation of Ephesians 1:9-10.<sup>181</sup> Lincoln proposes that when Ephesians 1:9-10 is "viewed in light of the context of the whole letter and linked with other passages in which the relationship of Christ and cosmos is posited," the passage would then refer to the summing up of the diverse elements of the cosmos in one focal point that is Jesus Christ.<sup>182</sup> Lincoln also explains that the prefix "ana" in *anakephaleosastai* means a restoration of earthly and celestial things unto God with Jesus Christ as the "point of reintegration."<sup>183</sup> Lincoln affirms Irenaeus's thought by saying that there is "no cosmological dualism where heaven and earth are two separated realms" for both become one in the person and work of Jesus Christ.<sup>184</sup> Taylor further notes that the recapitulation entails corporeal and incorporeal creation, and that it has an "all-inclusive dimension" which embraces all time and space. The time of Jesus Christ is not only the "fulfillment of the prophetic messianic time," but the fulfillment of all of humanity's time and all purposes of God on humanity.<sup>185</sup> This is indeed why Steenberg noted Irenaeus's recapitulation doctrine as "history with an eschatological bent," and why

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<sup>181</sup> Mark Edwards, *New Testament VIII: Galatians, Ephesians, and Philipians* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 2001), 109. Willard Taylor, *Ephesians* (Kansas: Beacon Hill Press, 1965), 154-5; and Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 33-5.

<sup>182</sup> Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 33.

<sup>183</sup> Lincoln notes that the Greek prefix "ana" means "to repeat" or "to do again." Hence, Paul was saying that creation is being joined to God again through Jesus Christ. See *Ephesians*, 33-4.

<sup>184</sup> Lincoln mentions Irenaeus as one of the early church fathers who have notably developed the notion of recapitulation. His commentary on Ephesians 1:10 echoes Irenaeus's idea. Nonetheless, while Lincoln emphasizes the event of the cross as the unity of "heaven and earth," Irenaeus emphasizes the person and whole life of Christ as the unifying point of the two realms. See Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 34-5; and *Ad Haer* 2.22.4; 5.20.2.

<sup>185</sup> Taylor, *Ephesians*, 156. Taylor's commentary is a very good supplement to *Against Heresies* 3.11.8 where Irenaeus talked about the person and work of Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of all the covenants God made with humanity.

H. Merklein calls recapitulation the “historical dimension to the fulfillment of the universe.”<sup>186</sup>

Under the umbrella of recapitulation, there are other theological motifs from the Pauline Epistles which Irenaeus used and developed. For instance, the Adam-Christ typology that has been adumbrated by Paul (Rom 5:12-29, 1 Cor 15:20-2, 45-49) was developed by Irenaeus into greater length. Irenaeus understood that Christ has recapitulated the first human being, Adam, into Himself, so that in doing this, Christ might undo what he conceived as the first human sin that is disobedience. Elsewhere Irenaeus mentioned the similarity and contrast of Christ to Adam in order to emphasize the likeness of Christ to humanity in weakness (Rom 8:3, 2 Cor 8:9), and yet, His superiority in obedience to the Father (Phil 2:7-8) that ultimately brought him to the cross of Calvary.<sup>187</sup> Following Paul, the cross is also significant in Irenaeus’s understanding of recapitulation (1Cor 1:23).<sup>188</sup> Suffering and death were the ordinary lot of humanity, and therefore they were to be summed up, or experienced in full by Christ to truly free humanity.<sup>189</sup> Jesus Christ as a human confronted death on the cross, and the death that Christ suffered was real and recapitulative. Irenaeus spelled out the great exchange that happened on the cross: humanity’s disobedience for Christ’s obedience and humanity’s

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<sup>186</sup> Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 99. H. Merklein notes that the word “universe” when seen in the light of the biblical meaning of recapitulation does not mean a self-contained cosmos, but rather God’s purposeful creation. See “*Anakephalaiosis*,” in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, 83.

<sup>187</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.1; 3.22.1; 5.16.2. For further study on Pauline Christology, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Christ and the Spirit*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 167-229. Adam-Christ typology and its relationship with recapitulation will be given more attention later in the section, “Spirit- Christology: Recapitulation and Humanity.”

<sup>188</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.2.

<sup>189</sup> Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 159; *Ad Haer* 5.18.3; 5.23.2.

death for Christ's life.<sup>190</sup> In the resurrection, the victory of Christ over death is made complete; He became the life-giving Adam to humanity.<sup>191</sup> Hence, for both Paul and Irenaeus, Christ Jesus is the risen Lord who rules over all the living and the dead.

The idea of recapitulation in Paul was still incipient and basic, but Irenaeus was able to wield the Pauline theological themes and extend the notion of the recapitulation to a complex doctrine.

### **The Prologue of the Gospel of John**

While it is true that Irenaeus grasped and expounded the idea of Christ's recapitulation from the Pauline writings, his development of the doctrine is also greatly influenced by the Gospel of John, particularly by the prologue.<sup>192</sup> The recapitulation language in Irenaeus is vivified by its association with the Johannine motif of Jesus as the eternal *Logos* of God.<sup>193</sup> This passage from John adumbrates the concept of the cosmic Christ as the Word of God who is eternal and who pervades all things.<sup>194</sup> For Irenaeus, the *Logos* of God has been the head of all things for all eternity. In order to draw all things on earth again under the dominion of God, the Word became incarnate (John

1:14). Irenaeus wrote:

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<sup>190</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.6; 4.39.1; 5.16.3.

<sup>191</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.23.7; Cf. 1Corinthians 15:55.

<sup>192</sup> Jackson Lashier's argument that Irenaeus's Christology centers on Jesus Christ being the *Logos* is cogent. However, Lashier is quick to comment that Irenaeus's nuance of Christ as the *Logos* was unlike the Hellenic nuances that have gone before him. See "Irenaeus as Logos Theologian," 349; Cf. *Ad Haer* 3.18.1-2, 7; 3.22.1; 5.1.3; 5.14.2. Steenberg posits that Irenaeus's keenness on using the gospel of John is no less than an influence of Polycarp. See "Tracing the Irenaean Legacy" in *Irenaeus*, 202.

<sup>193</sup> Bushur, *Joining the End to the Beginning*, 101.

<sup>194</sup> Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John* rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 64-70; Raymond Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII* (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1985), 4-5; J. Ramsey Michaels, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 76-83; Rodney Whitacre, *John* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 1999), 58-62; and Joseph Mayfield, *John*, vol. 7 (Kansas, Beacon Hill Press, 1965), 30-3.



Even as the Word of God had the sovereignty in the heavens, so also might He have the sovereignty in earth, inasmuch as [He was] a righteous man, ‘who did no sin, neither was there found guile in His mouth;’ and that He might have the pre-eminence.<sup>195</sup>

The Word became corporeal because the creation that missed the mark is corporeal; the rectification must happen where the error has been committed.<sup>196</sup> And even though the Word is the One through whom all things were made (John 1:3),<sup>197</sup> the Word still condescended to redeem His very own creation.

Another concept from the Johannine prologue that is pivotal in the thought of Irenaeus, particularly in his polemic, is the notion of the immaterial *becoming* material. The apostle John and Irenaeus were confuting heresies that questioned the humanity of Jesus Christ. On the one hand, Mayfield, Morris, and Brown altogether agree that John was controverting Docetism, while on the other hand, Irenaeus was refuting the Valentinians.<sup>198</sup> The Johannine phrase “the Word became flesh,” meant to Irenaeus that Jesus Christ indeed was a human of flesh and blood, and through this nature that He has assumed, Christ became the representative of all humanity.<sup>199</sup> Morris cleverly noted that

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<sup>195</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.20.4.

<sup>196</sup> Humanity erred, and thus, the *Logos* needed to become human so that He could correct the error of humanity as one of them. See *Ad Haer* 5.21.1. Hence, Jesus Christ is the mediator between God and humanity, not because He is a *tertium quid*, but because He is fully human, even as He is fully God. See also *Ad Haer* 4.20.4.

<sup>197</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.2.5; see also *Ad Haer* 4.20.1; 5.6.1.

<sup>198</sup> Docetism, the heresy that scholars believed John was refuting in this prologue, supposed that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ. But they denied the reality of His flesh. They thought of Him as only appearing to live a human life since for them it would be utterly incomprehensible for God to have real physical contact with created matter. See Mayfield, “John,” 30; Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 64-70; and Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII*, 4-5.

<sup>199</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.6, 7.

the word “flesh is a strong, almost crude way of referring to the human nature.”<sup>200</sup> John used such a term to forthrightly express the truth that God in Jesus Christ has come down to pure human weakness. The word “flesh” in John often means powerless and superficial (John 1:13).<sup>201</sup> Whitacre notes that because the “Word became flesh,” the physical becomes the sphere of the spiritual, matter became capable of bearing the Spirit of God, and the glory of God is seen not through the flesh but precisely in the flesh. Similar to John, Irenaeus employed the word “flesh” elsewhere in his writings to explain the simple yet mysterious heart of Christianity, even the doctrine of recapitulation—that the eternal *Logos* of God took humanity’s frailty and weakness in order to make salvation possible:

But now the case stands thus, that the *Word* has saved that which really was humanity which had perished, effecting by means of Himself that communion which should be held with it, and seeking out its salvation. But the thing which had perished possessed *flesh* and blood... He had Himself, therefore, *flesh* and blood, recapitulating in Himself not a certain other, but that original handiwork of the Father, seeking out that thing which had perished.<sup>202</sup>

### **The Creation Narrative from the Book of Genesis**

The Johannine element of the *Logos* in Irenaeus’s doctrine of recapitulation is supported by the doctrine of creation in Genesis. In fact, Genesis is one of the most quoted biblical books in Irenaeus’s writings. Nevertheless, it must be noted that while Irenaeus relied on Genesis at quite a length, he did so with a christocentric focus.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 64-70.

<sup>201</sup> Whitacre, *John*, 58.

<sup>202</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.14.2 (italics mine). See also *Ad Haer* 3.18.1-2, 7; 3.22.1; 5.1.3.

<sup>203</sup> Irenaeus’s point of departure to creation is Jesus Christ. Steenberg supports this conjecture; his dissertation on Irenaeus’s understanding of Genesis 1-11 paved the way for two of his highly acclaimed works: *Irenaeus on Creation: The Cosmic Christ and the Saga of Redemption* and *Of God and Man: Theology as Anthropology in Irenaeus and Athanasius*.

Hence, John 1 and Genesis 1 are connected in Irenaeus's understanding; the Word whom God spoke in the beginning to bring all of creation into existence is the same Word who in the fullness of time, became flesh and made His dwelling among the *cosmos* He made.

Irenaeus, being a man saturated by the Old and New Testaments, saw the conspicuous similarity between Genesis 1 and John 1. For Irenaeus, both passages reveal the absolute sovereignty and creative power of God.<sup>204</sup> In John, however, God accomplished something new, something that even the angels have not yet witnessed, and that is God taking on the form of a creation. Both Morris and Brown emphasize that Genesis and John open with *in the beginning*, but what the latter really means is a *new beginning*.<sup>205</sup> The newness did not mean a discontinuation of God's work in creation, but instead, it was this newness that connected the beginning (first Adam) with the end (second Adam). In his commentary on the genealogy of Jesus Christ, Irenaeus wrote:

Wherefore Luke points out that the pedigree which traces the generation of our Lord back to Adam contains seventy-two generations, connecting the end with the beginning, and implying that it is He who has summed up in Himself all nations dispersed from Adam downwards, and all languages and generations of men, together with Adam himself.<sup>206</sup>

Irenaeus grasped from Genesis 1:26 that the pattern from which humanity was fashioned after is no less than God; hence, God said "after Our image and likeness." Irenaeus's interpretation is in line with the Old Testament scholars Hamilton and Brueggemann. From the dust of the earth, God created humanity in God's image and God

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<sup>204</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.2.1-5; 2.30.9; 5.18.3; 5.21.2.

<sup>205</sup> Some of the parallelisms between Genesis 1 and John 1 are as the opening phrase "in the beginning, and the imagery of darkness and light. See Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII*, 4; Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 64.

<sup>206</sup> See *Ad Haer* 3.22.3.

afforded them the ability to reason and the liberty to choose.<sup>207</sup> God envisioned human beings to progress through life while holding firmly to what is good and becoming ever more fully in God's likeness. Even more, Irenaeus understood that humanity's prototype is the Son, the Word of God who in the fullness of time appeared to the world as the Savior: "...and the 'image' is the Son of God, in whose image man was made. And therefore, He was *manifested in the last times* to show the image like unto Himself."<sup>208</sup> Irenaeus realized that it is the image and likeness of God that makes humanity different among all the other creation. All things were created by God, called out through the Word and animated by the Holy Spirit, but it is only humanity who was created to reflect the image and likeness of God. For Irenaeus, human beings who were made in the image of God are meant to transform and mature in the likeness of the Son who, after all, is the true beginning and end of all human beings.<sup>209</sup>

By examining the biblical foundations, one may see that recapitulation assumes both the horizontal and vertical coordinates of God's economy: the horizontal which is the unbroken line of God's creative and redemptive activity from the beginning to the end

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<sup>207</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.37.7. Irenaeus wrote of God's patience towards humanity and the need of the human race to continue progressing towards God's image and likeness in *Ad Haer* 4.37.9. The Old Testament scholar, Victor Hamilton, notes that not only did God give humanity reason and liberty, God also made humanity capable to exercise dominion over creation. See *The Book of Genesis Chapters 1-17* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 136-7. Walter Brueggemann also adds that humanity's ability to respond is one of the ways in which humankind is created after the image and likeness of God. Only humanity is the "speech-creature *par excellence*" who has the ability among all creation to grow a more intimate relation with the Creator. See *Genesis* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 31.

<sup>208</sup> *Proof* 22 (Italics mine). See also Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 19-20.

<sup>209</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.33.4. See also Steenberg, *Of God and Man*, 27-9. Dick Eugenio explores the various implications of Jesus Christ being the perfect image of God. Eugenio emphasizes that recapitulation is the act through which humanity was able to attain again the image of God in the God-Man Jesus Christ. See "The Humanization of Humanity," *The Mediator* 9 (2013), 41. <http://www.apnts.edu.ph/wp-content/uploads/Mediator-9.1.pdf> (Accessed May 2014). Walter Brueggemann offers an interpretation of Genesis 1:26 that echoes Irenaeus's thought well. Brueggemann suggests that the phrase "let Us make man in Our image, in Our likeness" is a bold confession of the Creator being "humanized" as the one who cares in costly ways for the world. See *Genesis*, 33.

of time (Gen 1: 26; Eph 1:10), and the vertical coordinate which is the descent and ascent of God's Son to redeem all creation (John 1:14; Eph 1:10).<sup>210</sup>

### **The Theological Influences upon the Doctrine of Recapitulation**

From the passages of the Bible that served as the foundation of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation, what follows is a survey of the two theological themes that are most associated to the doctrine: *Logos* Christology and Spirit-Christology.

#### ***Logos* Christology: Recapitulation and Creation**

The doctrine of creation and the doctrine of recapitulation are strongly intertwined in Irenaeus mainly because of *Logos* Christology: the pre-incarnate Word, the Creator of all things, became human in the person of Christ who recapitulates all things.<sup>211</sup>

*Logos* Christology may often be a less acknowledged element in Irenaeus's theology, but nonetheless, it has a strong presence in Irenaeus's writings and is greatly influential to his nuance of recapitulation.<sup>212</sup> *Logos* Christology, otherwise known as high Christology or

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<sup>210</sup> Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 87. See also Bushur, *Joining the End to the Beginning*, 103-5. Bushur notes that like Paul, Irenaeus saw this vertical dimension to include the reordering of the universe under Christ's headship (Eph 1:21-2). The vertical dimension also includes the real, physical union of God and humanity in Christ. This comes from the Johannine influence (John 1:14) that Jesus is the Word of God.

<sup>211</sup> C. R. Smith and Steenberg note that Irenaeus is a "consistent creationist" and that one must take his protology as the point of departure to understand his theology. Nonetheless, as what has been shown in the survey of the biblical foundation of recapitulation, Irenaeus's hermeneutical principle is not protology—although he has shown a good grasp of the doctrine—but Christology, the person and work of Jesus Christ. Other scholars who think that Irenaeus's recapitulation is hinged in Christology include Loewe, "Irenaeus's Soteriology: Christus Victor Revisited," 1-2; Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 30; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 437-41; and George, "The Emergence of Christology in the Early Church," 235-7.

<sup>212</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan writes: "The use of the idea of Logos in Revelation 19:13 should have shown that there was a place in the language of the church for a conception of this idea which owed very little to philosophical speculation." See *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 187.

Christology from above, emphasizes the divinity of Jesus Christ as the pre-existent and creative Word of God who became flesh.<sup>213</sup>

During the second century, *Logos* Christology had already become one of the traditional elements in Christian faith. The primary reason for the *Logos*'s popularity is that it has a notable biblical root, and second, *Logos* has been used by the apologists to correlate Christian belief with Greek philosophy.<sup>214</sup> Although Irenaeus used Hellenic language to make his arguments appealing and understandable to his audience, it was not his concern to reconcile Christian and Hellenic paradigms.<sup>215</sup> Irenaeus's real intent was to expose and refute the heresies in the Hellenic schools. Chief among the heretics that Irenaeus refuted were the Valentinians, and against them, Irenaeus had stood the ground for a biblical nuance of the *Logos*. The Valentinians believed that all things came into being through a long line of emanations, and that even the Son and the Spirit are no less than emanations from the Godhead.<sup>216</sup> Against this, Irenaeus emphasized the deity of the

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<sup>213</sup> Oden postulates that the main stem of New Testament usage of *Logos* is not Greek but the ancient Hebrew *dabar YHWH* (Word of God) through whom the World was made. See *Systematic Theology*, vol. 2, *The Word of Life* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), 69. See also, Thomas F. Torrance, *Incarnation: The Person and the Life of Christ*, ed. Robert T. Walker (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 2008), 58-67; Murray J. Harris, *Jesus as God: The New Testament Use of Theos in Reference to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), 51-71.

<sup>214</sup> Theophilus and Athenagoras are other examples of apologists who used the idea of the *Logos* theology to establish a common ground with philosophical schools. See Lashier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Irenaeus*, 343-4.

<sup>215</sup> Although Irenaeus thought of himself as someone who rejected the idea of connecting the biblical beliefs to Hellenic perceptions, it is inevitable that he was incipiently influenced by the *Zeitgeist* of his time. Irenaeus exposed the un-apostolic succession of these Gnostics chiefly in *Against Heresies* 2.14.1-9.

<sup>216</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.11.1. Valentinus taught that the rest of creation was emitted by Man and Church, who was emitted by the Tetrads that is Duality, Father, and Truth. He spoke of the Holy Spirit to be an emanation from Truth who is one of the Tetrads. Valentinus, however, taught a more perplexing origin of the Son. He taught the Son as sometimes Jesus who is emitted by the lower emanation *theletos*, and sometimes Christ who is an emanation from Man and Church. Irenaeus identified the root of this Valentinian thought from earlier Gnostic heresies; thus, he maintained that the system should be put to an end.

Son and of the Spirit.<sup>217</sup> Irenaeus affirmed that the Son and the Holy Spirit are inherent in the very life of God, and that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are the one God who created all things.<sup>218</sup> The metaphor Irenaeus used to express the tri-unity of God in the act of creation was the “two hands of God” or the Son and the Spirit through whom and in whom he made everything freely and independently.<sup>219</sup> The “two hands of God” in Irenaeus warrants the divinity of the eternal *Logos* and the Holy Spirit because he considered that the Word and the Spirit are one and the same with the Father who is the Creator. The “two hands of God” became an effective defense of Irenaeus to controvert the heretic concept of *Æons* being the source of creation:

He (the Creator) made all things freely, and by His own power, arranged and finished them, and His will is the substance (existence) of all things, . . . He is discovered to be the one only God who created all things, who alone is omnipotent, and who is the only Father rounding and forming all things, visible and invisible, such as may be perceived by our senses and such as cannot, heavenly and earthly, “by the *word* of His power;” and He has fitted and arranged all things by His *wisdom*, while He contains all things, but He Himself can be contained by no one: He is the Former, He the Builder, He the Discoverer, He the Creator, He the Lord of all; and there is no one besides Him, or above Him.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> See *Ad Haer* 1.23-31.

<sup>218</sup> One of the distinct characteristics of Irenaeus theology is the doctrine of the Trinity. See *Proof* 3, 5-7, 47, 99. Books 3-5 of *Against Heresies* exhibit the works of the Triune God in the economy. See also Lashier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons*, 238-60; Michel René Barnes, “Irenaeus’s Trinitarian Theology,” *Nova et Vetera* 7 (2009), 67-106.

<sup>219</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.20.1; 5.6.1. Colin Gunton noted that although the “two hands of God” metaphor may seem as a crudely impersonal image, it is actually extremely subtle in the sense that one’s hands are oneself in action. See Gunton, *Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit*, 10; George, “The Emergence of Christology in the Early Church,” 235. Irenaeus stressed that God’s creative power is limitless and that God needs no other power in order to create something except God’s own two hands: “It was not angels, therefore, who made us nor who formed us, neither had angels power to make an image of God, nor anyone else. . . . For God did not stand in need of these [beings], in order to the accomplishing of what He had Himself determined with Himself beforehand should be done, as if He did not possess His own hands. . . . the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit.” See *Ad Haer* 4.20.1.

<sup>220</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.30.9. In his efforts to confute the heretical idea of emanation, Irenaeus unwittingly strengthened the Christian doctrine of creation. See also *Ad Haer* 2.2.1-5.

God's involvement with creation through his own "two hands" shows the indispensable truth that God is present with creation, and that God interacts with them.<sup>221</sup> When God moves, creation moves along through the animation of God's Spirit. When God speaks, creation responds to God's Word. It is this active and dynamic relationship of God and creation that serves as a platform for the demonstration of God's creative and redemptive works in the theology of Irenaeus. The *Logos* who created all things took up the substance of creation so that He may redeem them all from the fall and gather them under his headship.<sup>222</sup> Christ's recapitulation shows the unity and continuity between God's creative and redemptive plans:

For the Creator of the world is truly the *Word* of God: and this is our Lord, who in the last times was made man, existing in this world, and who in an invisible manner contains all things created, and is inherent in the entire creation, since the *Word* of God governs and arranges all things; and therefore He came to His own in a visible manner, and was made flesh, and hung upon the tree, *that He might sum up all things in Himself*... Those therefore who did not receive Him did not receive life. But to as many as received Him, to them gave the power to become the sons of God (John 1:12).<sup>223</sup>

The Word made flesh does not only correct the error that infiltrated creation, but also initiates all of creation to a renewed relationship with God; one that is marked with intimacy and growth.<sup>224</sup> Following Irenaeus's active understanding of creation, recapitulation, therefore, is not a one-time event in the life of the incarnate *Logos*. Rather,

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<sup>221</sup> Narrative theologian Michael Lodahl noted that when the Scripture says, "God saw everything he had made, and indeed it was very good," it implied that creation is capable of responding and fulfilling God's will. See *The Story of God: A Narrative Theology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Kansas: Beacon Hill Press, 2008), 65.

<sup>222</sup> The Holy Spirit, the *sophia* of God who breathed life on creation, also has a role to play in the redemptive plan of God. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>223</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.18.3 (italics mine). See also *Ad Haer* 2.2.1-5; 2.30.9; 5.21.2.

<sup>224</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.38.1-3. See also *Ad Haer* 4.34.1-4. Irenaeus, *contra* Marcion, argued that the novelty which Christ brought is no less than Himself. He has bestowed on humanity those good things which were announced beforehand by the prophets of the Old Testament, good things which even the angels desired to look into (1Pet 1:12).



it is a continuous work in progress as all of God's workmanship mature towards the likeness of Jesus Christ whose perfection has always been the destiny of humanity.<sup>225</sup>

Recapitulation in Irenaeus emphasizes that the Logos is both the Creator and redeemer of humanity and all of creation.

### **Spirit-Christology: Recapitulation and Humanity**

The place of Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus can easily be traced because of the fact that he was a staunch defender of the gospel against the Gnostics who did not believe that Christ took up physical or tangible substance. A great part of his writings contains strong claims that are backed up with biblical and historical proofs about the God-Man, Jesus Christ.<sup>226</sup> For Irenaeus, that the eternal *Logos* became a real human of flesh and blood holds both polemic and salvific significances. Irenaeus's Christology demonstrates a twofold movement: a downward movement from God to humanity, and a reciprocal upward movement from Him as a human being to God on behalf of all humanity. He wrote: "Now this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made a man among men, that He might join... man to God."<sup>227</sup>

Irenaeus identified Christ as the second Adam (human) who inaugurates the whole of humanity to a new relationship with God along with His newness. There has always been a relationship between God and humanity. That Adam and Eve disobeyed

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<sup>225</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.33.4; 5.16. 2-3. See also *Man and the Incarnation*, 90.

<sup>226</sup> Irenaeus's writings also offer biblical references to the humanity of Christ. Irenaeus's historical claims to the humanity of Jesus come from the testimonies he heard from his mentor Polycarp. Irenaeus wrote: "I can speak of the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and discussed... how he related his life together with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and how he remembered their words, and what he heard about the Lord from them, about his miracles and teaching." See *H.E.* 5.24.16-17 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 1:243-4.

<sup>227</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.20.4. Hart acknowledges the point of Aulèn's argument, but he adds the other movement that is humanity in Christ to God. See "Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption," 162; Cf. Aulèn, *Christus Victor*, 16-35.

presupposes that the Creator relates with them and that they have knowledge of the Creator's commandment. Irenaeus considered Adam and Eve still immature during the temptation in Eden. They were no more than infants who still needed to grow in God's likeness.<sup>228</sup> Although they had tasted and seen the goodness of the Creator, their immaturity made them vulnerable and easily persuaded by the devil to disobey God.<sup>229</sup> Because of disobedience humanity's bond with God was distorted from a loving and satisfying communion to a conflicting and hostile relationship. Disobedience is the chief sin of humanity in Irenaeus's thought. It is the offense that ruined humanity's relationship with God and brought disinheritance to humanity's first parents.<sup>230</sup> Humanity matured in sin, but remained infantile in the knowledge of God.

In order to undo this ironic tragedy and to redeem humanity, the Word took to himself the ancient substance of Adam, and summed up His own handiwork into Himself in the incarnation.<sup>231</sup> Just as Adam was made out of dust from the virgin earth and was animated through the breath of God, Jesus Christ was born through the flesh of a virgin

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<sup>228</sup> For Irenaeus, God intended for humanity to mature towards perfection. See *Ad Haer* 4.38.4; 5.6.1; 5.9.3; 5.14.2; *Proof* 12. See also Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement*, 47; Reeves, *The Glory of God*, 18; and Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 195-212. Christopher Smith makes an interesting suggestion that Irenaeus's language of Adam and Eve as children (*prepubescent*s) is not figurative but actual. See "Chiliasm and Recapitulation in the Theology of Irenaeus," 318-22. See also Steenberg, "Children in Paradise: Adam and Eve as 'Infants' in Irenaeus of Lyons," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 (2004), 1-35.

<sup>229</sup> Steenberg notes that in Irenaeus there is a strong connection of knowledge and maturity. See *Irenaeus on Creation*, 161-2. Irenaeus wrote that God's plan is for humanity to be finally "brought to maturity at some future time, becoming ripe through such privileges to see and comprehend God". See *Ad Haer* 4.37.6. See also *Ad Haer* 2.11.1; 2.30.9; 3.10.2; 5.21.3; 5.27. 1; and *Proof* 12.

<sup>230</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.41.3; see also *Ad Haer* 3.18.6 and *Proof* 2.

<sup>231</sup> John Taylor wrote: "Whenever a baby is born, it is a kind of summing up... the baby's parents and grandparents live on in him/her... The history of the race is in his/her veins." See *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and the Christian Mission* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974), 89-90. Nonetheless, in Irenaeus's thought, that humanity is made after God's image means humanity is patterned after the image of the Son (*Ad Haer* 4.20.1). Hence, though the Son became human, He is still distinct and He stands over the whole human race. See *Ad Haer* 4.6.2; 5.1.3; 5.21.1.

woman and was conceived of the Holy Spirit.<sup>232</sup> For Irenaeus, it is important that Jesus Christ, the one who gains victory against the devil has the same formation of Adam, the one who was defeated:

But when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made [out] of a woman. For indeed the enemy would not have been fairly vanquished, unless it had been a man [born] of a woman who conquered him. For it was by means of a woman that he got the advantage over man at first, setting himself up as man's opponent. And therefore does the Lord profess Himself to be the Son of man, comprising in Himself that original man out of whom the woman was fashioned, in order that, as our species went down to death through a vanquished man, so we may ascend to life again through a victorious one; and as through a man death received the palm [of victory] against us, so again by a man we may receive the palm against death.<sup>233</sup>

It is in Christ's human life that He confronts the enemy of humanity—in the temptations and in the crucifixion—however, without being defeated.<sup>234</sup> Christ conquers Satan and liberates humanity by exposing Satan in his nature as a liar, thus robbing his promises of their allure.<sup>235</sup> Hence, while Adam disobeyed God and was defeated by the devil through deception, Jesus obeyed God even unto death (Phil 2:8), and was rendered victor over the devil and his schemes.<sup>236</sup> Through the triumph of Christ, death became no longer

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<sup>232</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.1.3. The purport of Spirit-Christology in Irenaeus is that Jesus Christ is the Man who is filled with the Spirit of God. See Briggman, "Sprit-Christology in Irenaeus," 19; *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 182-93, esp. 190-3. Irenaeus was fond of making typologies and textual interconnections from the Old Testament to the New Testament (eg. Adam-Christ, Eve-Mary, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil-the Cross, etc.). See *Ad Haer* 3.16.2, 6; 3.18.1, 4, 7; 3.21.5; 3.22.1; 3.23.1; 5.16.2; 5.19.1; 5.23.2. *Proof* 32-3. Recent scholars have not only focused on the Adam-Christ typology, but have also explored the theological richness of Eve-Mary typology. For a further study on Eve-Mary typology in Irenaeus and the significance of Mary in recapitulation, see Dunning, "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth," 57-88; Steenberg, "The Role of Mary as Co-Recapitulator in St. Irenaeus of Lyons," 117-37; and Webber, "Second Eve," 20.

<sup>233</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.21.1. See also *Ad Haer* 4.Praef 4.

<sup>234</sup> Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 84-5.

<sup>235</sup> Loewe, "Irenaeus's Soteriology," 14.

<sup>236</sup> Irenaeus's thought of Christ recapitulating Adam easily transitions to a saga of a reiterated conflict, but whereas in Adam it was failure and defeat, in Christ it is conquest and victory. See Aulèn, *Christus Victor*, 22-34; Loewe, "Irenaeus's Soteriology," 1-15; and Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 131-2.

humanity's fate. Jesus Christ became the first-born from among the dead, the first to attain imperishability.<sup>237</sup> Standing on what Christ has accomplished, humanity has a newfound place with God. Humanity was once disinherited, but through Christ, humanity became co-heirs of God's kingdom, sons and daughters of the Almighty God. "When He became incarnate, and was made man," Irenaeus wrote, "He commenced afresh the long line of human beings, and furnished us, in a brief, comprehensive manner, with salvation; so that what we had lost in Adam—namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God—that we might recover in Christ Jesus."<sup>238</sup>

Because of sin, humanity could not truly grow and be made perfect after the likeness of God. Disobedience changed the course of humanity.<sup>239</sup> However, Christ reversed the direction from slavery to sin to freedom in the Spirit, and from alienation from God to communion with God. Jesus Christ's victorious reversal of Adam's defeat caused humanity to be re-primed, and the gift of salvation is endowed to all who are under Christ's headship. Irenaeus wrote:

It was not possible that the man who had once for all been conquered, and who had been destroyed through disobedience, could reform himself, and obtain the prize of victory; and as it was also impossible that he could attain to salvation who had fallen under the power of sin,—the Son effected both these things, being the Word of God, descending from the Father, becoming incarnate, stooping low, even to death (Phil. 2:8), and consummating the arranged plan of our salvation.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.22.4; 3.18.6, 7. See also J. T. Nielsen, *Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968), 57.

<sup>238</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.1.

<sup>239</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.33.4; See also Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 90.

<sup>240</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.2. This passage is a proof that Irenaeus was not a Universalist; nor was he an antinomian. See also *Ad Haer* 2.22.4; 3.18.6, 7; 5.17.1.

For Irenaeus, the humanity of Jesus Christ, the God-man, has become the salvific principle for the rest of the human race. That God has become human, that the eternal, invisible, and incomprehensible has entered the dimension of time and space is precisely the beginning of a restored communion. Every boundary between God and humanity such as sin, death, and even the rebellious human will are all broken down through Christ's salvific life. There is an ontological solidarity between Jesus of Nazareth and the rest of the human race.<sup>241</sup> The relationship that Christ shares with the Father, the humanity in Christ may share also: "He has, by means of His advent, poured upon the human race the greater gift of paternal grace."<sup>242</sup>

Jesus Christ's solidarity with humanity also meant for Irenaeus that He has assumed all stages of life, sanctified what is human, and joined it to God:

He came to save all through means of Himself—all, I say, who through Him are born again to God—infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men. He therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, thus sanctifying those who are of this age, being at the same time made to them an example of piety, righteousness, and submission; a youth for youths, becoming an example to youths, and thus sanctifying them for the Lord. So likewise, He was an old man for old men that He might be a perfect Master for all, not merely as respects the setting forth of the truth, but also as regards age, sanctifying at the same time the aged also, and becoming an example to them likewise. Then, at last, He came on to death itself, that He might be "the first-born from the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence," the Prince of life, existing before all, and going before all.<sup>243</sup>

This passage about Jesus Christ's physical *prokope* (progress) is a distinct motif in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation. Irenaeus gave an image of Christ who is truly of the human race and for the human race. Christ's life and death was not merely to undo and

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<sup>241</sup> Hart, "Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption," 167.

<sup>242</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.34.4.

<sup>243</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.22.4.

redeem humanity from the error of the First Adam. Christ lived a life of obedience and righteousness, and died a gruesome death on the cross in humanity's stead: "for by summing up in Himself the whole human race from the beginning to the end, He has also summed up its death."<sup>244</sup> Irenaeus's concept of Christ's sacrificial life and death is more than the Anselmian concept of divine *satisfacio*.<sup>245</sup> What Christ has given humanity is not merely an escape from the divine wrath. Christ gifted humanity with a new nature that is healed from its leprous state, sanctified, and able to harmoniously participate in God's work.<sup>246</sup> The salvific deeds of Christ implicate all of humanity, from every generation whether past, present, or future. Humanity becomes victorious over sin through Christ's life of obedience, over death through the power of his resurrection, and over the devil through his pre-eminence and lordship over all things.<sup>247</sup> Through Jesus Christ's recapitulative work, heaven and earth are filled with His very own divine light, life, and goodness.

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<sup>244</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.23.2.

<sup>245</sup> Hart, "Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption," 174.

<sup>246</sup> In fragment 34 of Irenaeus's lost writings, he wrote: "For as we are lepers in sin, we are made clean, by means of the sacred water and the invocation of the Lord, from our old transgressions; being spiritually regenerated as new-born babes, even as the Lord has declared: 'Except a man be born again through water and the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

<sup>247</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.2; 4.20.4. Aulén notes that in Irenaeus it is not just the cross of Christ Jesus that is the salvific event, but instead the salvific event is the whole life of the historical Jesus that brings redemption and atonement to human race. See Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 28-34.

### Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Irenaeus's Doctrine of Recapitulation

Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation is certainly hinged on the Scripture and theology. Nevertheless, since Irenaeus lived at such an age of Hellenism, there are also philosophical and rhetorical influences present in his development of recapitulation.<sup>248</sup>

During the first and second century, one must be personally initiated into a certain philosophical school in order to be a legitimate philosopher.<sup>249</sup> Based on this strict definition, Irenaeus is by no means a philosopher. However, that Irenaeus did not belong to any school does not mean that he was not acquainted with philosophy. Irenaeus's polemics show his familiarity with secular learning and the Hellenic schools of the second century.<sup>250</sup> Irenaeus's philosophical knowledge was decent enough for him to be relatable to his Greco-Roman audience and ample enough for him to refute the Gnostic inventions.<sup>251</sup> For instance in *Against Heresies* 3.24.2, Irenaeus wrote about the Epicurean god "who does nothing either for himself or others; that is, he exercises no

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<sup>248</sup> H. Schlier points out that the word "*anakephalaiosis*" is rare in secular Greek and is unknown outside secular sources. However when seen in its usage in the New Testament and early church literature, the word is rich in allusion and significance. See "*Anakephalioomai*" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 3, ed. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 681-2. See also Justo González, *Essential Theological Terms* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 148; and Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms*, 258.

<sup>249</sup> Paul Tillich notes that philosophy was more practical than theoretical during the first and second century; it was a matter of the existential interpretations of life. See *A History of Christian Thought: From Its Judaic and Hellenic Origins to Existentialism*, ed. Carl Braaten (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 27.

<sup>250</sup> Grant traces how Irenaeus used the philosophical Plutarchan handbook, and gives examples on how Irenaeus used rhetoric. See "Irenaeus and Hellenic Culture," *Harvard Theological Review* 42 (1949), 41-51.

<sup>251</sup> Scholars like Grant and Briggman appeal to the theological body of research to consider Irenaeus as someone knowledgeable in philosophy. They assert that Irenaeus was not only a pious churchman but is also a rhetorician and philosopher in his own right. See Grant, *After the New Testament*, 168-9; and Briggman, "Revisiting Irenaeus's Philosophical Acumen," 115-6.

providence at all.”<sup>252</sup> Also, in *Against Heresies* 3.25.5, Irenaeus quoted Plato’s *Laws* 4.715E and *Timaeus* 29E to prove his point that Plato was more religious and closer to the truth than Marcion.<sup>253</sup>

While Irenaeus displayed knowledge of philosophy, Hart notes that he still refused to theologize on a Hellenic paradigm, especially the dualistic framework of a god and a Demiurge.<sup>254</sup> The Gnostics believed that there is a supreme and transcendent god who never interferes with the affairs of the material world and who dwells in an approachable light.<sup>255</sup> Hence, this god is incapable of creating the physical world; the one who creates is called the Demiurge. Irenaeus could not tolerate the idea that creation could be the work of an ignorant or imperfect Demiurge or the result of Æons, a downfall or a deficiency.<sup>256</sup> This is because the idea of dualism does not only distort the biblical doctrine of creation, but it also changes the history of salvation.<sup>257</sup> For Irenaeus there is

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<sup>252</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.14.2. For more instances where Irenaeus proved to be well-read also in Hellenic philosophy, see Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 90-1; Minns, *Irenaeus*, 36-41; Steenberg, “Tracing the Irenaeian Legacy,” 202.

<sup>253</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.25.5. See also Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 14; and Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 91.

<sup>254</sup> Hart, “Irenaeus, Recapitulation, and Physical Redemption,” 180-1. Other forms of dualism that Irenaeus refuted were the (1) scriptural dualism of Marcion, which separates the New Testament from the Old Testament, and (2) ecclesiastical dualism of Simon Magus, in which a distinction is made between simple believers and the *pneumatikos*.

<sup>255</sup> Robert Grant, *Gnosticism: A Source Book of Heretical Writings from the Early Christian Period* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 143-208. See also Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), 174-237; and Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Random House, 1979), 119-141. James Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English: The Definitive New Translation of the Gnostic Scriptures, Complete in One Volume*, rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 170-89.

<sup>256</sup> Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 20. Albert Debrunner gives a detailed history of *Logos* in ancient Hellenic philosophy. See “*Legos*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 4, ed. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1965), 77-90.

<sup>257</sup> The problem of dualism greatly persisted in Arius, but it was confuted by Athanasius. See *Four Discourses Against the Arians* 2.21-72 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 4: 359-88.



only one God, revealed to the world by Christ Jesus who is the Word made flesh.<sup>258</sup>

Irenaeus perceived c

hristological dualism—separating Christ from Jesus, the Logos from the Savior, the Christ above from the Christ below—as detrimental to Scriptural testimony.<sup>259</sup>

Moreover, there is only one economy which is universal, and on the basis of which Christ will recapitulate all things. Irenaeus asserted that recapitulation is what unites the *Logos* and Christ, and also *Logos* Christology and Spirit-Christology. Other apologists, in their effort to relate Christianity with philosophical schools, tended to be drawn into dangerous approximations to polytheistic thinking as the *Logos* of God is thought to be a lesser *hypostasis* of God or merely a form of God's power.<sup>260</sup> Recapitulation in Irenaeus maintains that the *Logos* is not merely God's power, but is a being, a person.

Furthermore, the *Logos* is not a lesser *hypostasis* of God because the Word is no less than Jesus Christ who is God the Son.<sup>261</sup> Irenaeus's nuance of recapitulation also reveals that

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<sup>258</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.28.4; 3.1.1; 3.25.3.

<sup>259</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.11.1; 3.16.2, 8; 3.17.4; 4.Praef.3; 4.2.4.

<sup>260</sup> The Apologists were drawn to Logos theology because it provided a point of contact with the Greeks and because of its ability to answer the questions of how a transcendent and spatially distant God could work in the world. Hence, they employed Middle Platonic logic. See Lashier, *The Trinitarian Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons*, 104, 135. Tillich's section on the apologists of the second century very well supports Lashier's conjecture. See *A History of Christian Thought*, 29-32, 45. The use of the apologists of *arche* is also problematic for it is a Greek creation concept through and through. See J. C. M. Van Winden, "In the Beginning: Some Observations on the Patristic Interpretations of Genesis 1:1," in *ARCHE: A Collection of Patristic Studies by J.C.M. Van Winden*, ed. J. De Boeft and D. T. Runia (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 61-77. Other works arguing for a Middle Platonic background in Justin include Barnard, *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), Jean Daniélou, *The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea*, vol. 2, *Gospel Message and Hellenic Culture*, trans. and ed. John Baker (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1973), Edwards, "On the Platonic Schooling of Justin," *Journal of Theological Studies* 42 (1991), 17-34. For further readings on Justin Martyr, see *1Apol* 23.2; 33.6; 64.5; 2 *Apol* 10.8; 13.4; *Dial* 61.1, 3; 62.4. For Theophilus, see *Autol* 1.7; 2.10, 13, 22.

<sup>261</sup> The common thread among Hellenic philosophical schools—in Heraclitus, in the Sophists, in Stoicism, in Platonism, etc.—about the *Logos* is that it is only viewed as an *Æon* or mediator, but for Irenaeus, the *Logos* is not only a mediator but the God who reconciles and restores creation to Godself. See Debrunner, "Lego," 77-86.

God needs no mediatory being between him and creation. In creation, God fashioned the cosmos and humanity with his own “two hands.” In redemption, God is in Christ saving and gathering heaven and earth under His governance. As shown in the discussion above on theological influences of the doctrine of recapitulation, Irenaeus understood and approached the *Logos* not from the vantage point of Greek philosophy nor did he approach it through the lens of Justin’s thought, but rather he had a personal understanding of the *Logos* from his study of Scripture.

Grant postulates that more than philosophy, Irenaeus’s interest lies in rhetoric.<sup>262</sup> It is, to a certain extent, a very crucial *extra* biblical influence on Irenaeus’s theology, particularly in the doctrine of recapitulation. Grant postulates that Irenaeus employed a method of correlation to articulate his thought.<sup>263</sup> As he developed his nuance of the doctrine of recapitulation, Irenaeus drew together the ideas he considered authoritative: the Bible, the Christian tradition present to him, and the ideas he learned from his mentors. Also, Vallee notes that the rhetoric of the whole *Against Heresies* shows Irenaeus’s acquaintance with secular rhetoric. Irenaeus presented the weaker arguments first, that is philosophy, before going to his stronger arguments, the scriptural and theological.<sup>264</sup> Irenaeus confuted heretical claims by using what he knew of Greek literature.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Grant *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 46; Cf. Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 90.

<sup>263</sup> Grant *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 46.

<sup>264</sup> Vallee, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 12-3.

<sup>265</sup> For instance, he exposed the folly of the Gnostic doctrines that were drawn and inspired by the works of the comic poet Menander: “But these men appear to me to have endowed their Æon with the [same sort of] passion as belongs to that character in the comic poet Menander, who was himself deeply in love, but an object of hatred [to his beloved]...those who have invented such opinions have rather had an idea and mental conception of some unhappy lover among men, than of a spiritual and divine substance.” See *Haer* 2.18.5; Cf. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 41-3.

Irenaeus also had a penchant for converting grammar to theology and *anakephalaiosis* or recapitulation is one of these words.<sup>266</sup> Recapitulation was putatively picked up by Irenaeus from *First Apology* 60.1-7.<sup>267</sup> Here Justin Martyr claimed that Plato's reference to the world-soul being arranged in the form of the Greek letter "X" was derived from Moses (Num 21:6-9), and was in fact a reference to the cross of Christ.<sup>268</sup> Nonetheless, the theological nuance of recapitulation according to Grant is "undoubtedly Irenaeus's own."<sup>269</sup> Minns conjectures that Justin's correlation of Christ's cross and the Platonic world-soul placed X-wise gave Irenaeus a strong image of the universality of Christ crucified, with arms wide open embracing and holding all of creation. This is evident in Irenaeus's statement that it was necessary for Christ to become incarnate:

to bring to light the universality of His cross, in order to show openly through His visible form that activity of His: that it is He who makes bright the height, that is, what is in heaven, and holds the deep, which is in the bowels of the earth, and stretches forth and extends the length from East to West, navigating also the Northern parts and the breadth of the South, and calling in all the dispersed from all sides to the knowledge of the Father (John 12:32).<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Grant gives a good discussion on Irenaeus's use of rhetoric in his theology. See *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 46-53.

<sup>267</sup> Scholarly consideration has traditionally focused on *Against Heresies* 4.6.2 where Irenaeus quoted Justin and talked about recapitulation. However, it is still a debate whether the word recapitulation was still part of the quotation or whether it was already Irenaeus's own interpretation. See J. Armitage Robinson, "On a Quotation from Justin Martyr in Irenaeus," *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1930), 374-8; and Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 52.

<sup>268</sup> Plato, in *Timaeus* 36B, referred to the world-soul being arranged in the form of the Greek letter "X." Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 60.1-7, believed that Plato got it from Moses (Num 21:6-9) and Justin believed it to be a reference to the cross of Christ. Regrettably, Justin did not further elucidate his claim. See Minns, *Irenaeus*, 109. Justin Martyr believed all humanity, including Plato, to be bearers of the *Logos spermatikos* that lead all men to the true *gnosis* of God. Irenaeus differs with his predecessor in this epistemological stance because for him, man will only know God through the love He has shown in Jesus Christ: hence, Jesus is properly named the "Truth." See *Ad Haer* 5.18.3.

<sup>269</sup> Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 52. *Ad Haer* 3. 11.8

<sup>270</sup> *Proof* 34. See also *Ad Haer* 5.18.3.

Here, as it is elsewhere, Irenaeus showed that although he picked up adumbrative ideas from the philosophical-rhetorical tradition present and available to him, his understanding and nuance of these ideas, such as recapitulation, remains guided by the revelation of the Scripture in the person and work of Christ Jesus.

Now that the biblical foundations, the theological influences, and the role of philosophy and rhetoric in Irenaeus's recapitulation have been established, the discussion now turns to the most vital part of this study: the examination of the Holy Spirit's role in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.

## Chapter Six

### The Holy Spirit in Irenaeus's Doctrine of Recapitulation

Pneumatology and recapitulation are two important doctrines that scholars have studied in Irenaeus's theology. However, the connection between the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ's recapitulation in Irenaeus has not been thoroughly explored. In his monumental work, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, Hitchcock asserts that for Irenaeus humanity is not saved apart from the Holy Spirit.<sup>271</sup> Hence, even in the scheme of recapitulation in Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit has a unique contribution and vital participation. Irenaeus's soteriology asserts that the salvific economy is the work not only of Jesus Christ but also of the Holy Spirit. In particular, it is unmistakable that for Irenaeus, the advent of Jesus Christ served as a signal that the age of the Spirit has opened and that the Spirit is the one who works out the divine purposes centered in Jesus Christ.<sup>272</sup>

There have been many misinterpretations and criticisms of Irenaeus's Pneumatology in the past. One is the claim of Harnack that the personality of the Holy Spirit vanishes in Irenaeus, and another is that of Daniel Smith, saying that Irenaeus presented the Spirit only as a mere power and not as a distinct person.<sup>273</sup> This thesis, through careful research, disproves these claims and identifies the person and work of the Spirit in Irenaeus, particularly in the doctrine of recapitulation. In this chapter, the

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<sup>271</sup> Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 112. See also *Ad Haer* 5.9.1-3.

<sup>272</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.21.4; Heron, *The Holy Spirit*, 39.

<sup>273</sup> Adolf von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, tr. N. Buchanan from the 3<sup>rd</sup> German edition (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), 267 n. 2; Daniel Smith, "Irenaeus and the Baptism of Jesus," *Theological Studies* 58 (1997), 624.

researcher presents how Irenaeus depicted the Holy Spirit in the three phases of recapitulation: the incarnation, the messianic mission, and the ecclesiastical age.

### **The Holy Spirit and the Incarnation**

The irreversible act of God becoming God-Man in the person of Jesus Christ is the start of recapitulation.<sup>274</sup> Irenaeus summarized the incarnation in the formula: *Filius Dei filius hominis factus est* (the Son of God became the Son of Man).<sup>275</sup> For Irenaeus, the Word's incarnation is the necessary preliminary for the salvation of humanity; all salvific activities are hinged on the fact that God became human.<sup>276</sup> The first and most important basis of salvation is that Jesus Christ took up the same ancient formation of Adam, and became one with all human beings.<sup>277</sup> Jesus Christ's *becoming* is unprecedented; it jars the flow of natural events, and baffles the capacity of the human mind to understand.<sup>278</sup> Jesus Christ's *becoming* is no less than the glorious mystery carried out by the Holy Spirit:

The Holy Ghost came upon Mary, and the power of the Most High did overshadow her: wherefore also what was generated is a holy thing, and the Son of the Most High God the Father of all, who effected the incarnation of this being, and showed forth a new [kind of] generation; that as by the former generation we inherited death, so by this new generation we might inherit life.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.16.3. See also Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 82; Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 20.

<sup>275</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.19.1. Irenaeus noted that God, the angels, and even the demons bear witness to the fact that Jesus is the Son of God and the Son of Man. See *Ad Haer* 4.6.3-7. See also Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 133.

<sup>276</sup> Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 28.

<sup>277</sup> While Jesus Christ is similar to humanity, He is also different because His existence did not begin when He was conceived. Jesus Christ is the Word who is pre-existent and who has brought all creation into being. See *Ad Haer* 1.15.6; 3.2.8; 3.8.2-3; 3.16.6; 3.18.1; 4.24.2; 5.18.1.

<sup>278</sup> Unlike other human beings who have been conceived out of the desire of the flesh, Jesus Christ was conceived by the Spirit in the human womb to carry out the divine will of the Father. See *Ad Haer* 3.19.2; *Proof* 51. See also Dunning, "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth," 75-81; Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 86.

<sup>279</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.1.3; Cf. Luke 1:35. The incarnation for Irenaeus is the mystery that unbelieving and heretic minds could not accept. See *Ad Haer* 3.2.3; 3.16.2, 8; 3.21.4, 5; 3.22.4; 4.33.1-2, 4; 4.34.1-4; 4.38.1-3.

Irenaeus understood the incarnation in relation to the Holy Spirit.<sup>280</sup> Loofs and Simonetti postulate that Irenaeus used references to the Spirit to pertain to the pre-existent Christ; they suppose that there is no clear distinction between the Spirit of God and the pre-existent Son.<sup>281</sup> However, it is very clear from the passage above that Irenaeus understood the Holy Spirit as a different person from the Son. Irenaeus's understanding is quite advanced compared to one of his teachers, Justin Martyr, whose *First Apology* 33.6 reads:

Therefore the Spirit and the Power that is from God should be understood according to custom as nothing other than the Word (who is also the First-begotten of God)...this one (the Word/Power/ Spirit), when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive not by intercourse, but by power.<sup>282</sup>

For Irenaeus, it was the Holy Spirit who united the Word of God and the flesh of Mary, and this resulted in the incarnation of the Son of God. Irenaeus likened Christ's body to a

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Pinnock notes that the Spirit overshadowing Mary is a reminiscent of the Holy Spirit hovering over the waters in Genesis 1:2. It illustrates that the Spirit active in creation is the same Spirit active in God's new creative act. See *Flame of Love*, 86.

<sup>280</sup> It is the Word who became incarnate, and Irenaeus makes it clear that it is the Spirit who has worked with the flesh of Mary to bring about the incarnation. See *Ad Haer* 5.1.3. See also, Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 58-9.

<sup>281</sup> Loofs and Simonetti cited by Briggman. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 184-6, 190.

<sup>282</sup> *First Apology* 33.6. Briggman observes that Justin Martyr's lack of distinction of the Word and the Spirit is typical of the rudimentary understanding of the Spirit in the middle second century. In *Dialogue* 87, *Dialogue* 128, and *First Apology* 6.2, Justin Martyr interchangeably referred both to the Son and the Spirit as *dunamis* and had not clearly distinguished one from the other. Irenaeus, however, gave weighty referral to the Jewish pneumatological tradition and also affirmed the deity of the Spirit in Book 2. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 45; Cf. *Ad Haer* 1.22.1; 2.28.2. Briggman and E. R. Goodenough have the same conclusion about the Pneumatology of Justin Martyr. See *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (Jena:Verlag Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1923), 236-237. For Irenaeus's distinction of the Word and the Spirit, see *Ad Haer* 2.13.8; 2.28.6.

flower “which was made bud forth by the Spirit.”<sup>283</sup> In Mary’s womb, the two hands of the Father have taken hold of humanity again since the Word and the Spirit were united with humanity.<sup>284</sup> The eternal Son has become flesh and the Holy Spirit has given Him life. Jesus’s flesh is derived from the flesh of a virgin and it is the virgin’s humanity that is the warrant of the humanity of Christ.<sup>285</sup> Nonetheless, the baby Jesus is not a mere being of flesh. Rather, He is the promised Messiah, the One who is born of the Spirit, the One in whom the fullness of God dwelt.<sup>286</sup> Thus, the baby Jesus is the Christ, the anointed one, and His anointing is no less than the very Spirit of God. Irenaeus called Jesus “the child of the Holy Ghost,” the new and spiritual Adam through whom the whole human race is rendered living and perfect.<sup>287</sup>

Irenaeus firmly believed that it is the Holy Spirit who inspired the Old Testament prophets to proclaim the coming Savior, the Virgin-born Emmanuel.<sup>288</sup> Irenaeus saw the revelation about the coming Messiah as one of the works of the Holy Spirit: “The Holy Spirit, who through the prophets predicted the dispensations of God... the birth from the virgin, the passion, the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension of the beloved Jesus Christ our Lord in the flesh into the heavens.”<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> *Proof 59*.

<sup>284</sup> Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 87. See also *Ad Haer* 2.17.2; 4.34.1; 5.1.3; 5.6.1; 5.14.2. Irenaeus wrote: “For never at any time did Adam escape the *hands* of God... in the last times... His hands formed a living man, in order that Adam might be created [again] after the image and likeness of God.”

<sup>285</sup> Minns, *Irenaeus*, 71.

<sup>286</sup> *Proof 47*, 51. See also Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 87-8, 98.

<sup>287</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.22.3; 5.1.3. Irenaeus wrote: “...before Joseph had come together with Mary, while she therefore remained in virginity, ‘she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.’” in *Ad Haer* 3.21.4.

<sup>288</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.2; 3.19.3; 4.23.1.

<sup>289</sup> *Ad Haer* 1.10.1.



Moreover, for Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit played a crucial role in fulfilling the covenant of God with humanity.<sup>290</sup> Through the prophecies inspired and sealed by the Holy Spirit, humanity takes heart and recognizes that the God they face is mindful and faithful to the completion of His promises. In the advent of the promised Messiah, the Holy Spirit could be deemed as God paving the way for humanity. Every spoken prophecy and pre-figuration helped humanity to be capable of beholding God the Son.

The result of the Spirit overshadowing Mary was ontological: the coming of the true God-man, Jesus Christ. However, Irenaeus argues that what precedes the ontological effect is a moral cause: Mary's obedience. Irenaeus contrasted Eve's virginal defiance with Mary's virginal submission to God's plan. Eve was disobedient because she acted according to the desires of the flesh. In contrast, Mary the Virgin was found obedient when she said, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word."<sup>291</sup> She was obedient because she acted according to the leading of the Spirit.<sup>292</sup> Steenberg posits that obedience is the supreme virtue in Irenaeus's theology,<sup>293</sup> and this virtue is a work of the Holy Spirit. For Irenaeus, it is through the Spirit of God that

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<sup>290</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.11.8. Irenaeus asserted that the Holy Spirit is the seal of all the prophetic activities regarding the Messiah. In this passage, Irenaeus picked up from Old Testament prophets and New Testament gospel writers to explain how every covenant God made with humanity eventually pointed to Christ. Irenaeus wrote: "For this reason were four principal covenants given to the human race: one, prior to the deluge, under Adam; the second, that after the deluge, under Noah; the third, the giving of the law, under Moses; the fourth, that which renovates man, and sums up all things in itself by means of the gospel, raising and bearing men upon its wings into the heavenly kingdom."

<sup>291</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.22.4; Cf. Luke 1:38.

<sup>292</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.10.2; 5.11.1, 2.

<sup>293</sup> Moreover, Steenberg notes that if obedience is the supreme virtue in Irenaeus's thought, disobedience is the cardinal sin of humanity. See "The Role of Mary as Co-Recapitulator in Irenaeus of Lyons," 128. See also *Ad Haer* 3.18.6; 3.22.4; 4.39.1; 5.19.1; *Proof* 33. There are two figures of obedience for Irenaeus: Jesus and Mary. Irenaeus emphasized Jesus's obedience in the crucifixion, while Mary's was in the incarnation event. See *Ad Haer* 3.22.4; 5.16.3.

humanity can obey God: "...when we were destitute of the celestial Spirit, we walked in former times in the oldness of the flesh, not obeying God; so now let us, receiving the Spirit, walk in newness of life, obeying God."<sup>294</sup> Hence, when the Holy Spirit wholly covered and sanctified Mary, her own desire and will became submissive to God's desire and will. Mary's obedience led to the miraculous event in salvation history where the Creator was sheltered and nourished by His own creation.<sup>295</sup>

For Irenaeus, apart from the Spirit of God, beings made out of flesh are dead and incapable of growth. Thus, the Holy Spirit is important because he is the divine agent who imparts the breath of life and who shapes and animates all embodied beings.<sup>296</sup> The incarnate Word of God has undergone physical growth, and just as it is with all of creation, it is God's life-giving Spirit who sustained His physical progress. The *prokope* of Jesus Christ that Irenaeus recognized presupposes that the Holy Spirit who bestowed life to the incarnate Word, has protected His life and assured His physical growth.

Irenaeus's emphasis on Jesus Christ's *becoming* and His physical growth as a human not only strengthens the doctrine of incarnation but also brings to light one of recapitulation's tenets: sanctification. Sanctification is accomplished by God through His

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<sup>294</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.3. See also *Ad Haer* 5.8.1-2; Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 227.

<sup>295</sup> The word of God was incarnate in Mary's womb as a helpless fetus. Jesus Christ was tethered to Mary by means of the umbilical cord from which He has also drawn nutrition. Through this, Jesus was able to physically grow as an infant. Dunning asserts that Irenaeus understood the role of Mary as the vessel through whom God bestows to the female humanity a distinct participation in the salvific scheme. See "Virgin Earth, Virgin Birth," 59.

<sup>296</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.12.2; Cf. Isaiah 42. That the Holy Spirit is the God who sustains creaturely existence is very important for Irenaeus; it strengthens his argument against the Gnostics that there really is no intrinsic antithesis between the Spirit and the corporeal beings. This thought was later on caught and expounded by other theologians such as David Jensen and T. F. Torrance. See Jensen, *The Lord and Giver of Life: Perspectives on Constructive Pneumatology*, ed. David H. Jensen (London: Westminster Press, 2008), 1; and Torrance, *Theology in Reconstruction*, 215.

two hands, the Word and the Spirit.<sup>297</sup> Irenaeus understood that Jesus Christ, the Man filled with the Holy Spirit, has vicariously sanctified and healed humanity as He passed through each of human life stages.<sup>298</sup> Jesus Christ has exemplified what true humanity should be. Pinnock follows Irenaeus's thought that as Jesus Christ physically matured, His piety and obedience, His zeal for justice and holiness also grew stronger and deeper.<sup>299</sup> The Spirit of God has permeated the life of Jesus Christ and sustained both His physical and spiritual growth, from a baby in the womb to a grown man ready to complete the messianic mission.

### **The Holy Spirit and the Messianic Mission**

Jesus Christ has always been the Messiah, and in his conception as the God-man, the reconciliation between the God and humanity has begun. Yet Irenaeus considered Jesus's baptism at Jordan as the event wherein the Father confirms before the people that He is indeed the Christ, and the Holy Spirit came down in the form of a dove.<sup>300</sup> Irenaeus clarified that it is the Holy Spirit not an Æon or just the mere power of God, who is the anointing of Christ. In the words of Irenaeus, "it is the Father who anoints, but the Son is

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<sup>297</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.12.14. For Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit is the one who purifies or sanctifies humanity. On the *prokope* of Jesus Christ and its implication on pneumatic soteriology, Eugenio writes: "The emphasis here is that because Jesus Christ lived in complete dependence on the Holy Spirit from his birth to resurrection—and particularly in his growth—the whole economy of salvation cannot be separated from the saving agency of the Holy Spirit." See *Communion with the Triune God*, 80-1.

<sup>298</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.16.3; 3.19.1; 5.13.4; 5.21.1.

<sup>299</sup> Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 86. See also *Ad Haer* 3.18.7; 4.20.4. The Gospel of Luke narrates one incident when the young Jesus was led by the Spirit to the temple (Luke 2: 27). The Holy Spirit and Christian sanctification will be further discussed in the section on the Holy Spirit and the Church.

<sup>300</sup> On Jesus's baptism, see *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.10.3; 3.12.7; 3.17.1-4; 3.18.3; *Proof* 47, 53; Briggman, "The Holy Spirit as the Unction of Christ in Irenaeus," 180-8, 192; *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 59-60. Thomas Smal noted that the baptism of Christ prefigured two significant moments in the history of salvation: the cross because here He showed solidarity with the sinful humanity and the resurrection for as he accompanies the old human being down into his death, so he brings up the new human being into a new life. See *Reflected Glory: The Spirit in Christ and Christians* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), 80-1.

anointed by the Spirit, who is the unction.”<sup>301</sup> Fabbri supposes that for Irenaeus, there is a double anointing of Christ, one in the incarnation and one in the baptism. Briggman, on the contrary believes that Fabbri has misinterpreted Irenaeus. There is only one anointing of Christ for Irenaeus; that is the Holy Spirit, and the incarnation, the baptism, and even the resurrection are only the manifestations of this anointing.<sup>302</sup> Furthermore, Briggman supposes that Irenaeus understood the missional purpose behind the anointing at Jordan.<sup>303</sup> Referring to Isaiah 11:1-4 and 61:1-2, Irenaeus explained Jesus Christ’s unction and the reason why He received the anointing:

And again Esaias [Isaiah], pointing out beforehand His unction, and the reason why he was anointed, does himself say, “The Spirit of God is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me: He hath sent Me to preach the Gospel to the lowly, to heal the broken up in heart, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind; to announce the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance; to comfort all that mourn.”<sup>304</sup>

Justin Martyr differed in Irenaeus’s missional perception of the anointing of the Spirit. In *Dialogue* 87.3, he wrote: “The scriptures [Isa 11:1-3] say these powers of the Spirit, the ones enumerated, have come on Him [Christ] not as if he was lacking them, but as if intending to find their rest on that one, that is to find an end on Him.”<sup>305</sup> Christian Oeyen, after a study of *Dialogue* 87, concludes that the argument that governs the whole

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<sup>301</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.3. See also Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 87.

<sup>302</sup> Fabbri cited in *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 70-1.

<sup>303</sup> Irenaeus understood the anointing of the Holy Spirit in conformity with the accounts he found in the Old Testament. In those accounts the Spirit descended on people chosen to carry a mission or fulfill an office. See Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 71.

<sup>304</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3. Irenaeus was confuting the Gnostic claim that it is the *Æon* that descended on Jesus at his baptism. See Briggman, “The Holy Spirit as the Unction of Christ in Irenaeus,” 173; Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 59- 60. See also *Ad Haer* 3.12.7; 3.17.1-4; *Proof* 47, 53.

<sup>305</sup> *Dialogue* 87.3, 5.

interpretation of Justin Martyr is that Christ does not need the power of the Spirit, which came down on him at the Jordan, but it comes, in order to find its rest on him.<sup>306</sup> While Justin Martyr believed that Jesus Christ did not need the Spirit because the power and gifts are already in Him, Irenaeus emphasized the humanity of Christ which caused Him to need the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. Essentially, in so far as Jesus Christ is God, He did not need to be anointed by the Spirit, but in so far as He is human, Jesus Christ needed the Spirit.<sup>307</sup> Irenaeus made no distinctions of Jesus Christ's divinity and humanity with respect to identifying His being; Jesus Christ for Irenaeus is fully divine and fully human.<sup>308</sup> However, in *Against Heresies* 3.9.3, using the same passage that Justin Martyr used (Isa 11:1-3), Irenaeus noted the distinction between Jesus Christ's humanity from His divinity in order to explain why the Spirit had to come upon Him: "For inasmuch as the Word of God was man from the root of Jesse, and son of Abraham, in this respect did the Spirit of God rest upon Him, and anoint Him to preach the gospel to the lowly."<sup>309</sup>

Irenaeus perceived that the Holy Spirit was not only with Christ to fulfill the messianic mission, but also to be accustomed to dwell and closely work with humanity:

He did also descend upon the Son of God, made the Son of man, becoming accustomed in fellowship with Him to dwell in the human race, to rest with human beings, and to dwell in the workmanship of God, working the will of the

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<sup>306</sup> Oeyen cited in *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 22-8.

<sup>307</sup> Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 65.

<sup>308</sup> See *Ad Haer* 3.16.1-9; Behr, *The Way to Nicea*, 145.

<sup>309</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3. As the Incarnate Word, Jesus has divested Himself of the independent use of His divine attributes. He learned to be dependent on the leading of the Holy Spirit. See Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 88.

Father in them, and renewing them from their old habits into the newness of Christ.<sup>310</sup>

The Spirit has been active and at work in the world since the creation, bestowing the breath of life and sustaining creaturely existence.<sup>311</sup> Yet it was only in the incarnate life of Jesus Christ that newness in the Spirit's relationship with humanity commenced. Before Christ, the Spirit would come and empower God's people for a particular task, and once the task is finished, the Spirit would leave. However with Christ, the Spirit became His constant companion since birth. Irenaeus believed that in the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the incarnate Son, it is not only Jesus that was acted upon by the Holy Spirit but also the Spirit was acted upon by Christ. Torrance expounds Irenaeus's thought, and he wrote:

Since He [Jesus Christ] is Himself both the God who gives and the Man who receives in one Person, He is in a position to transfer in a profound and intimate way what belongs to us in our human nature in Him. That applies above all to the gift of the Holy Spirit whom He received fully and completely in His human nature for us. Hence in the union of divine and human natures in the Son the eternal Spirit of the living God has composed Himself, as it were, to dwell with human nature, and human nature has been adapted and become accustomed to receive and bear the same Holy Spirit.<sup>312</sup>

Irenaeus notes that the Holy Spirit did not create an environment within humanity suitable to the Spirit's work and presence, but instead, the Spirit had become accustomed

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<sup>310</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.1. See Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 77; see Irenaeus of Lyons and the *Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 71-3. See also Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 68. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 178; and Eugenio, *Communion with the Triune God*, 128-9.

<sup>311</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.24.2; 4.20.1; 5.1.3; 5.7.1; 5.12.2; 5.15.2.

<sup>312</sup> Torrance, *Theology in Reconstruction*, 246.

to dwelling, resting, and working closely with all the given-ness of humanity as another advocate.

After the baptism at Jordan, the Holy Spirit immediately led Jesus Christ to the wilderness. There He fasted for forty days and nights and was tempted by the devil.<sup>313</sup> The temptation of Jesus Christ is significant in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.<sup>314</sup> Irenaeus supposed that if Jesus Christ is to truly recapitulate and rectify humanity, He must also go through the temptation that Adam and Eve went through and enter the battle as a human being. Irenaeus wrote: "unless man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished."<sup>315</sup> The attacks of the devil were real and intense towards Jesus Christ who is the representative of all humanity. The devil cunningly gave alternative after alternative and maneuvered the movement of their dialogue.<sup>316</sup> The devil used the law to attack and lure Jesus Christ into disobedience, but Christ took the law, the very weapon of the enemy, and used it to defeat him. For when Jesus Christ exposed the name and the true nature of humanity's ancient enemy "Satan" (in Hebrew means apostate or one who speaks contrary to the Word of God), Jesus Christ

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<sup>313</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.21.1-2; Cf. Matthew 4:1, Mark 1:12, Luke 4:1, 2.

<sup>314</sup> The account of the temptation in the wilderness also has apologetic significance for Irenaeus because it proves that Jesus is indeed a real and substantial man—for "it belongs to a man to suffer hunger when fasting." See *Ad Haer* 5.21.2.

<sup>315</sup> For Irenaeus, Jesus Christ's humanity is like that of Adam's, one which is weak and one that could be tempted. See *Ad Haer* 3.19.3; 4.Praef 4; 5.21.1; see also Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 85-6. Irenaeus drew an analogy of Christ's temptation in the wilderness and the devil's temptation of Adam and Eve in the Garden. *Ad Haer* 5.21.2.

<sup>316</sup> Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 91; Cf. Karl Barth, *The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, vol. 4/1 of *Church Dogmatics*, trans. G. T. Thomson, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936), 261.

showed who is the real violator of God's law.<sup>317</sup> Reeves, observing Irenaeus's thought on the temptation in the wilderness, notes that this event is the supreme example of Christ having taken the position of humanity under the law, using only the law to undo the disobedience of humanity's first parents with His very own obedience.<sup>318</sup> In this encounter in the wilderness, the Messiah emerged victorious over Satan,<sup>319</sup> but only because he depended on the Holy Spirit who is also the Spirit of counsel, might, and fear of God.<sup>320</sup> Furthermore, Irenaeus argued, the Holy Spirit gave Him the strength to reject momentary gratification and worldly power in favor of piety and reverence toward God.<sup>321</sup> Even when placed in a vulnerable state, Jesus Christ relied upon the Holy Spirit and chose the path of obedience.<sup>322</sup> As the writer of Hebrews affirmed, even if He was tempted in every way, Jesus remained sinless (Heb 4:15).

With the power of the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ went to Nazareth and began to preach.<sup>323</sup> Jesus Christ, like the prophets of the Old Testament, became inspired by the Holy Spirit to call the people to repentance and to salvation.<sup>324</sup> To Irenaeus, Jesus is able

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<sup>317</sup> The devil's temptation, according to Irenaeus, is to offer what he could not give: Adam and Eve were beguiled under "the pretext of immortality." See *Ad Haer* 3.23.5; 4.Praef 4. See also Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 50; Loewe, "Irenaeus's Soteriology," 14.

<sup>318</sup> See Reeves, *The Glory of God*, 31.

<sup>319</sup> Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 87-8; Bushur, *Joining the End to the Beginning*, 130.

<sup>320</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.17.3. Reeves, *The Glory of God*, 162. Pinnock notes that *kenosis* could not be fully understood apart from the Spirit. See *Flame of Love*, 88.

<sup>321</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.17.3.

<sup>322</sup> For Irenaeus, recapitulation entailed Jesus Christ to destroy the power of sin. Christ showed that human beings can have power over sin by relying on the Holy Spirit in the account of the temptation in the wilderness. See *Ad Haer* 3.18.7; Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 19.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. Matthew 4:12-18, Mark 1:14, Luke 4:14. Jesus Christ is the prophet and, at the same time the Word being proclaimed. He is the messenger, and yet, He is also the very message of God to man.

<sup>324</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.2.1-8; 4.6.6; 4.12.5.



to preach with power and might because the Holy Spirit is with Him.<sup>325</sup> The very Spirit of God rested upon Christ and gave Him the wisdom to understand the Scripture. Jesus Christ taught by the anointing of the Holy Spirit, and just like the Spirit who permeates all things, His messages were given to address the deep and hidden issues of the human heart. Jesus Christ brought the people out of darkness and into the light, from blindness or not knowing God to having sight or beholding God in Christ.<sup>326</sup>

Setting the captives free is also a part of Jesus Christ's messianic mission.

Irenaeus believed that because of disobedience, Adam and Eve, along with the entire human race, were held captive by the enemy and that sin served as their bond.<sup>327</sup> It is incumbent that the Messiah binds the enemy first to truly free humanity. Irenaeus wrote: "The Man [Jesus Christ] proves him [Satan] to be a fugitive from and a transgressor of the law, an apostate also from God... The Word bound him securely as a fugitive from Himself, and made spoil of his goods— namely, those men whom he held in bondage, and whom he unjustly used for his own purposes."<sup>328</sup> Jesus Christ's conquest is the conquest of Him who is incarnate. As the Savior who has fairly vanquished the enemy, Jesus Christ rescued those who were gripped by sin and those who were oppressed by evil spirits.<sup>329</sup> Through the Spirit of freedom, Jesus, "with power" after his baptism "went

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<sup>325</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.23.1; *Proof* 59.

<sup>326</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.10.3; 3.12.7; 3.17.1-4; 3.18.3; 4.23.1; *Proof* 47, 53. See also Loewe, "Irenaeus's Soteriology," 12.

<sup>327</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.21.3.

<sup>328</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.21.3.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. Matthew 12:28 and Acts 10:38.

about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with Him.”<sup>330</sup>

Aside from the spiritual healing that Jesus gave to humanity, Irenaeus also acknowledged the miraculous physical healings that Christ performed during the course of His ministry. Irenaeus reckoned that all the miracles of Jesus Christ are testament to His claim that He is the Son of God.<sup>331</sup> All of Christ’s messianic works—authoritative preaching, setting the captives free, and miraculous healings—which are all accomplished in partnership with the Holy Spirit, demonstrated God’s will to endow salvation to humanity. Also, every miracle performed only envisaged the imminent kingdom of God that Christ had been proclaiming.<sup>332</sup>

The Messiah’s victory over sin and the devil is not complete until He conquers humanity’s last enemy: death. Irenaeus regarded death as the neighbor of the enemy; wherever the devil is, death surely follows.<sup>333</sup> Because death had a hold on humanity through disobedience, it is, then, through obedience that humanity could do away with death.<sup>334</sup> As such, the Anointed One took on the cross and became humanity’s representative, suffering rejection, humiliation, and death for the sake of humanity. The cross is Christ’s ultimate act of obedience, and it brought not only forgiveness of sins but

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<sup>330</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.12.7.

<sup>331</sup> *Proof* 67.

<sup>332</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.21.4.

<sup>333</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.22.2.

<sup>334</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.6; 4.39.1; 5.16.3. Irenaeus extended the connection of the fall and the crucifixion saying that if it is through a tree that sin and death came to humanity, then, it is also through a tree that reconciliation and life will be restored to humanity. *Ad Haer* 5.16.3; 5.23.1; *Proof* 34, 79.

healing to humanity's disobedience as well.<sup>335</sup> Christ recapitulated in Himself the whole human situation—from birth to maturity to death—so that in all these, He is able to recapitulate humanity in Himself.<sup>336</sup> Jesus Christ, who became a brother to the sinners, gave His life that others may live. He exchanged His righteous flesh for the fallen human flesh so that humanity may be reconciled in friendship to God.<sup>337</sup>

The death that Jesus Christ suffered was genuine death, and as He received humanity's beginning, He also received humanity's ending.<sup>338</sup> Nonetheless, Irenaeus understood that the salvation and liberation of humanity would not be complete and the recapitulation of the whole human race would not come into full realization until Jesus Christ comes back from the dead: "Then, at last, He came on to death itself, that He might be 'the first-born from the dead, that in all things He might have the preeminence,' the Prince of life, existing before all, and going before all."<sup>339</sup> When Jesus Christ died, his physical body became destitute of what Irenaeus called the "breath of life."<sup>340</sup> However, after three days, the "vivifying Spirit" brought life to Jesus Christ. Irenaeus distinguished the breath of life from the vivifying Spirit: "For the breath of life, which also rendered man an animated being, is one thing, and the vivifying Spirit another, which also caused

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<sup>335</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.17.3; See also *Ad Haer* 5.16.3.

<sup>336</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.18.3; 5.23.2. The cross has both apologetic and soteriological significances in Irenaeus. For while he emphasized that in Christ's death on the cross humanity is given life, he also refuted the doctrines of Cerintus and the Ebionites who said that the Christ left Jesus on the cross. For the exposition of the heretic views, see *Ad Haer* 1.26.1-2; 2.20.1-5. For Irenaeus's refutation of the Gnostic doctrines about the crucifixion, see *Ad Haer* 3.16.1-9; 3.18.1-7.

<sup>337</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.14.1-2. See also Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 144; Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 99. Pinnock's brief work about Jesus Christ being the representative of humanity is a noteworthy expansion of Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation. See *Flame of Love*, 95-111.

<sup>338</sup> *Proof* 38.

<sup>339</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.22.4.

<sup>340</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.3.

him to become spiritual... Now what has been made is a different thing from him who makes it. The breath, then, is temporal, but the Spirit eternal.”<sup>341</sup> Thus, it is only the vivifying Spirit that is able to sustain eternal life.<sup>342</sup> Through the vivifying Spirit, He was resurrected and He became the first born from among the dead (Col 1:18). Death, which has become the enemy’s victory over humanity, has been defeated by the Son of Man:

[Jesus Christ] received new life; and the last enemy, death, is destroyed, which at the first had taken possession of man. Therefore, when man has been liberated, what is written shall come to pass, “Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting?” This could not be said with justice, if that man, over whom death did first obtain dominion, were not set free. For his salvation is death’s destruction. When therefore the Lord vivifies man, death is at the same time destroyed.<sup>343</sup>

Christ’s death and resurrection are vicarious. He has done them once and for all.

Following Irenaeus, Hart notes that Jesus Christ’s resurrected flesh is the salvific principle for humanity.<sup>344</sup> This victory is not only attained by Christ for His generation or the generations after Him, but even for the faithful ones who lived before Him: “For the Lord, having been born “the First-begotten of the dead,” and receiving into His bosom the ancient fathers, has regenerated them into the life of God, He having been made Himself the beginning of those that live, as Adam became the beginning of those who die.”<sup>345</sup> Irenaeus added: “When He [Jesus Christ] became incarnate, and was made man,

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<sup>341</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.12.2.

<sup>342</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.12.2. While the breath of life is given to all flesh, the vivifying Spirit, according to Irenaeus, is only given to the ones who follow Jesus Christ and pursue righteousness and obedience. Irenaeus figured that what happened in the resurrection of Christ is like that of Ezekiel’s encounter with the dry bones. See *Ad Haer* 5.15.1.

<sup>343</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.23.7.

<sup>344</sup> Hart, “Irenaeus, Recapitulation and Physical Redemption,” 180-1. The human body of Jesus was not discarded but rather it received resurrection. See also *Ad Haer* 5.13.4; 5.21.1.

<sup>345</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.22.4. See also *Ad Haer* 3.23.7; 5.12.2-4.

He commenced afresh the long line of human beings, and furnished us, in a brief, comprehensive manner, with salvation; so that what we had lost in Adam—namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God—that we might recover in Christ Jesus.”<sup>346</sup>

Hence, Jesus Christ is the new Adam who restores humanity to God and gives life to God’s people through the same Holy Spirit who brought Him from death to life.<sup>347</sup>

Eugenio notes that Irenaeus is among the first ones who asked the question *Cur Deus Homo*, and also among the first ones to offer a rejoinder to it.<sup>348</sup> Irenaeus’s long answer is indeed spelled throughout his *magnus opum, Against Heresies*, but it is mostly found in the section 3.18.3-3.19.3. Blackwell notes that it is in these passages where Irenaeus demonstrated his atoning exchange formula: Christ became human so humanity could become like him.<sup>349</sup> Irenaeus understood and answered the question of why God became human from the perspective of grace. Harnack noted that on Christ’s work, Irenaeus often emphasizes “*filius dei filius hominis factus est propter nos*” (for our sake the Son of God became the Son of Man) and also “*filius dei passus est propter nos*” (the Son of God suffered for us).<sup>350</sup> Irenaeus had vicarious *inhomination* in mind; that is the eternal Son of God had assumed and lived within the condition of fallen humanity so that with the help of the Holy Spirit, He could sanctify all that is human. In effect, His

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<sup>346</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.1. Irenaeus’s perception of the “image and likeness of God” and its connection in the recapitulation and the Holy Spirit will be further discussed further in the following section.

<sup>347</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.12.2-4.

<sup>348</sup> Eugenio, *Communion with the Triune God*, 49. It was Anselm later on, who would use this quotation as the title of his book on the atonement.

<sup>349</sup> Blackwell, *Christosis*, 36-7; Cf. *Ad Haer* 3.10.2; 3.16.3; 3.18.3- 3.19.1; 3.20.2; 4.33.4.

<sup>350</sup> Blackwell, *Christosis*, 37; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, 288-90.

sanctified humanity became the blameless sacrifice that affords salvation to all.<sup>351</sup> Irenaeus understood that Christ's sacrifice was not only His body broken and bruised or His blood spilled on the cross. Irenaeus saw the totality of Jesus Christ's life of obedience, the kind of obedience that even leads unto death, as the real and ultimate sacrifice.<sup>352</sup> It is through the person and work of Jesus Christ, the God-man, that humanity was reconciled and restored unto God.<sup>353</sup> From the incarnation, to the cross and resurrection, Irenaeus saw Christ as the anointed substitute and representative of humanity. Christ's vicarious life, including his death and resurrection, is the one sacrifice for the many. Christ truly recapitulated in Himself all of humanity's experience and did for humanity what it cannot for itself.

### **The Holy Spirit and the Church**

Recapitulation does not end with the triumph of Jesus Christ over the devil, sin, and death. Scholars such as Aulén, Wingren, and Quasten who studied Irenaeus's thought note that recapitulation continues in the church through the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>354</sup> Before the completion of his messianic mission, Jesus Christ promised that He would send another Advocate, the Holy Spirit, upon His return to the Father. For Irenaeus, the Pentecost is the fulfillment of both Christ's promised Advocate and the prophecy in Joel 2:28-29:

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<sup>351</sup> *Ad Haer* 2.22.4. Eugenio offers a rich explanation on ontological atonement and vicarious inhomination. He referred to Torrance—the theologian who considered Irenaeus as the cornerstone of his theology—as his major point of departure. See *Communion with the Triune God*, 48-82.

<sup>352</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.18.6; 4.39.1; 5.16.3; 5.17.3; 5.23.1; *Proof* 34, 79.

<sup>353</sup> Eugenio notes that salvation is in its real essence a restoration of a once lost relationship. See *Communion with the Triune God*, 48.

<sup>354</sup> Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 22; Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 170-1; Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1, 299-300. See also *Ad Haer* 3.16.6.

The Holy Ghost had descended upon the disciples, that they all might prophesy and speak with tongues, and some mocked them, as if drunken with new wine, Peter said that they were not drunken, for it was the third hour of the day; but that this was what had been spoken by the prophet: “It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy.” The God, therefore, who did promise by the prophet, that He would send His Spirit upon the whole human race, was He who did send; and God Himself is announced by Peter as having fulfilled His own promise.<sup>355</sup>

The Church became the locus of the Holy Spirit’s presence and work since Pentecost.

Hence, apart from the Church one cannot truly receive the Spirit. Irenaeus wrote: “Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and every kind of grace, and the Spirit is truth.”<sup>356</sup> Irenaeus understood that the Spirit who was given to humanity at the Pentecost was not an impersonal spirit or a mere power from God. Rather, it is the personal Holy Spirit of the Triune God. The very Spirit of Christ who has empowered Him to accomplish the messianic mission and who has raised Him from the dead is graced upon the Church. The Spirit, who anointed Christ so that He can fulfill His messianic mission, is communicated and becomes the anointing of his body, the Church.<sup>357</sup> Torrance’s discussion complements Irenaeus’s thought well. He wrote:

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<sup>355</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.12.1. See also *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.17.1. Briggman draws a connection between the accustomization of the Holy Spirit during Christ’s life on earth and the Pentecost. Briggman suggests that for Irenaeus if it was not for the accustomization of the Spirit, the Pentecost would not have happened. See *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 71-3. See also Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 111; Taylor, *The Go-Between God*, 109.

<sup>356</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.24.1. Irenaeus called the Church “paradise,” the new equivalent of Eden: “Into this paradise the Lord has introduced those who obey His call, ‘summing up in Himself all things which are in heaven, and which are on earth,’ but the things in heaven are spiritual, while those on earth constitute the dispensation in human nature. These things, therefore, He recapitulated in Himself: by uniting man to the Spirit, and causing the Spirit to dwell in man, He is Himself made the head of the Spirit, and gives the Spirit to be the head of man.” See *Ad Haer* 5.20.2.

<sup>357</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.6.6. Irenaeus postulates that the Holy Spirit became communicable right after the resurrection of Christ or right after Jesus’s body was glorified. See *Ad Haer* 3.9.3; 3.10.3; 4.20.2.

Until he has sanctified himself and perfected in our human nature his one offering for all men, until he had made once and for all the sacrifice to take away sin, until he has overcome the powers of darkness and overcome the sharpness of death, until he had ascended to present himself in propitiation before the Father, the Kingdom of Heaven could not be opened to believers and the blessings of the divine Spirit could not be poured out upon human flesh or be received by sinful mortal men.<sup>358</sup>

The Holy Spirit's role in the Church, as it was with Jesus Christ Himself, is missional.

The Holy Spirit is the Advocate of believers who reminds them all of Jesus's teachings and empowers them to do as Christ did: heal the sick, liberate the ones oppressed by evil spirits, and proclaim God's kingdom. Irenaeus affirmed that the Holy Spirit came to the Church at the Pentecost with great power. He continued to say: "This Spirit did David ask for the human race, saying, 'And establish me with Thy all-governing Spirit'."<sup>359</sup> The Spirit who anoints the body of Christ has the power to admit all nations to the entrance of life and to bring all peoples to the new covenant, so that with one accord in all languages, they utter praises to God.<sup>360</sup> Irenaeus perceived the Pentecost as the inauguration of the new covenant wherein the people of God become the epistle, inscribed not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in the heart.<sup>361</sup> At the Pentecost, the process of recapitulation which Christ inaugurated to sum up, renew, and perfect humanity, is continued in the church by the same Spirit who empowered and enabled Him.

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<sup>358</sup> See *Theology in Reconstruction*, 247. See also, Eugenio, *Communion with the Triune God*, 129.

<sup>359</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.2; Cf. Psalm 51:2.

<sup>360</sup> See *Ad Haer* 3.17.2. Irenaeus perceived that the Pentecost is the reversal of the divisive consequences of Babel, for all nations praise God in many languages in one heart, in one covenant.

<sup>361</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.13.4; *Proof* 90.



For Irenaeus, along with other early Church theologians, one is initiated into the Church and receives the Spirit through water baptism.<sup>362</sup> Irenaeus had a penchant for using water imagery for the Holy Spirit, and so it was natural that he did the same with regard to the sacrament of water baptism:

Wherefore also the Lord promised to send the Comforter, who should join us to God. For as a compacted lump of dough cannot be formed of dry wheat without fluid matter, nor can a loaf possess unity, so, in like manner, neither could we, being many, be made one in Christ Jesus without the water from heaven. And as dry earth does not bring forth unless it receive moisture, in like manner we also, being originally a dry tree, could never have brought forth fruit unto life without the voluntary rain from above. For our bodies have received unity among themselves by means of that laver which leads to incorruption; but our souls, by means of the Spirit.<sup>363</sup>

In this imagery, Irenaeus likened the Holy Spirit to the water that unites a compacted lump of dough—representing the faulty human race—and dry wheat—representing Jesus Christ. Smail and González supports Irenaeus’s thought that the sacrament of baptism is not simply a symbolic act or conscious spiritual experience, but is a real and mysterious participation in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit.<sup>364</sup>

When one’s body is washed with the water in baptism, the person receives the Holy Spirit

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<sup>362</sup> The practice of baptism as initiation to the Church is characteristic of the early Church. During that time, one has to go through rigorous catechism before the baptismal rite. The *Proof* and excerpts from *Against Heresies*, especially the chapters containing teachings of the Rule of Faith, became one of the primary catechetical materials used by the early Church. See Richard P. C. Hanson, *Tradition in the Early Church*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 59, 75-86; Cf. *Ad Haer* 1.1.20; 3.4.1; 4.53.1; *Proof* 3. See also Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 88; C. K. Barrett, *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament*, (Carlisle: Paternoster Row, 1985), 68; Oscar Cullman, *Baptism in the New Testament*, (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1950), 23-46, Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 66. Alistair Stewart notes, however, that trinitarian and declatory baptismal creeds only came a century after Irenaeus. Yet, despite this lack of fixity in wordings, Stewart points out that there have always been substantial christological statements during the baptismal ceremonies in Irenaeus’s time. See “The Rule of Truth... Which He Received Through Baptism,” in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, 158. For other early church writings on baptism, see Justin, *First Apology* 61 in *ANF* 1: 183; Tertullian, *On Baptism* 1-2, 4, 7-8 in *ANF* 3: 669-72; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 20.1-8 in *NPNF*<sup>2</sup> 7: 147-8.

<sup>363</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.2.

<sup>364</sup> See Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 83; and González, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 1, 172.

who bestows resurrection to the flesh and nourishment to the soul.<sup>365</sup> In water baptism, one receives from Christ the gift He has also received from the Father:

Our Lord compassionating that erring Samaritan woman—who did not remain with one husband, but committed fornication by [contracting] many marriages—by pointing out, and promising to her living water, so that she should thirst no more, nor occupy herself in acquiring the refreshing water obtained by labour, having in herself water springing up to eternal life. The Lord, receiving this as a gift from His Father, does Himself also confer it upon those who are partakers of Himself, sending the Holy Spirit upon all the earth.<sup>366</sup>

The gift of the living water, the drink that wells up to eternal life, is no less than the Holy Spirit who is the earnest of incorruption. It is the Holy Spirit who confirms the believer's faith and reassures one that he or she is indeed a child of God.<sup>367</sup> Sharing the belief of the early church theologians like Justin Martyr and Tertullian, Irenaeus did not only consider baptism as cleansing from sins but also believed that its fuller significance is humanity's regeneration.<sup>368</sup> Irenaeus went on to say:

We have received baptism for remission of sins in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate and died and was raised, and in the Holy Spirit of God, and that this baptism is the seal of eternal life and is rebirth unto God, that we be no more children of mortal men, but of the eternal and everlasting God.<sup>369</sup>

Irenaeus supposed that all are children of God by nature and creation but not all are God's children by obedience and doctrine: "For it was for this end that the Word of God

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<sup>365</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.2. In *Ad Haer* 5.15.3, Irenaeus referred to baptism as the "laver of regeneration."

<sup>366</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.2. See also 4.14.2; 4.24.1; 4.33.14; 4.36.4; 4.39.2; 5.2.3; 5.18.2. See also, Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 86-9; Stewart, "The Rule of Truth... Which He Received Through Baptism," 158; Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 109.

<sup>367</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.24.1.

<sup>368</sup> *First Apology* 61 in *ANF* 1: 183; Tertullian, *On Baptism* 1-2, 4, 7-8 in *ANF* 3: 669-70.

<sup>369</sup> *Proof* 3. See also *Ad Haer* 3.6.1; 3.16.3; 3.18.6; 4.1.1; 4.20.12; 4.25.3; 5.12.2; *Proof* 41.

was made man, and He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man, having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God.”<sup>370</sup> This passage implies the qualitative difference of a believer’s reception of the Holy Spirit and Christ’s. While the second Adam, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit are essentially one (*homoousios*), a believer is only adopted into the life and communion of the Triune God through the Holy Spirit. Apart from the Holy Spirit who is also rightfully the Spirit of adoption, recapitulation would not be possible, for it is the Spirit who unites the believers to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, since the believers received the same Spirit who is the unction of Christ, the Church received the same empowerment to continue the mission of Christ.<sup>371</sup>

Aside from baptism, another sacrament through which the Church can participate in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ through the Spirit is the Eucharist:

For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> The Church is summoned by God to share the tender filial love that is between the Son and the Father through the Holy Spirit. See *Ad Haer* 3.19.1; see also 4.1.1; 4.41.2; Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Virginia: John Knox Press, 1964), 27; Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 69; Minns, *Irenaeus*, 110–12; Pinnock, *Flame of Love*, 100; Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 77. Irenaeus wrote in *Proof 7*: “Therefore the baptism of our rebirth comes through these three articles, granting us rebirth unto God the Father, through His Son, by the Holy Spirit. For those who are bearers of the Spirit of God are led to the Word, that is, to the Son; but the Son takes them and presents them to the Father; and the Father confers incorruptibility.”

<sup>371</sup> Cf. Isaiah 11:1-3.

<sup>372</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.18.5. González points out that there is no detailed and orderly exposition of the eucharist in Irenaeus’s theology because he only discussed the eucharist to refute heresies, and especially to address the heretic contempt for flesh and matter. See *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 1, 172.

The Eucharist, for Irenaeus is also more than a symbolic act or a grateful commemoration of Christ's sacrifice. Once the ordinary bread and wine are offered to the Lord in prayer or in *epiclesis*, the Spirit consecrates and sanctifies the elements so that the Church shares in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.<sup>373</sup>

And just as a cutting from the vine planted in the ground fructifies in its season, or as a corn of wheat falling into the earth and becoming decomposed, rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God, who contains all things, and then, through the wisdom of God, serves for the use of men, and having received the Word of God, becomes the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ; so also our bodies, being nourished by it, and deposited in the earth, and suffering decomposition there, shall rise at their appointed time, the Word of God granting them resurrection to the glory of God...because the strength of God is made perfect in weakness.<sup>374</sup>

In the Eucharist, as it is in baptism, this vicarious participation of the Church in Christ's salvific life is a vital part of recapitulation. Human beings who partake in these sacraments are being recapitulated, united, and taken into the Christ by the Holy Spirit. For Irenaeus, the Eucharist is a union and communion of flesh and Spirit; it evidences that the human flesh can indeed receive salvation and incorruptibility, and through this sacrament, the Spirit strengthens and confirms humanity's hope to take hold of that which Christ has attained: resurrection.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.18.5; 5.2.3. That the death and resurrection of Christ are vicarious make the Eucharist a communal event. The members of the Church are made one by the Spirit when they partake of the consecrated bread and wine. See Barrett, *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament*, 92-6. See also Bridge and Phipps, *Communion*, 53; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, trans. John W. Doberstein (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1954), 120-2.

<sup>374</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.2.3. This understanding of the Eucharist falls clearly within Irenaeus's theology of the economy of God: it is within the temporal things of this world that humanity is prepared, maturing in order to be able to bear immortality. See Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 73-4.

<sup>375</sup> Behr notes that death is seen as an important part of Irenaeus's theology of the Eucharist. Death is the weakness of humanity where God's strength, His resurrection power, is displayed perfectly. *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 73. See also Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, 178-80. Bridge and Phipps note that the prospective aspect of the Eucharist was of great importance in Irenaeus's time because of the persecutions that plagued the Church. The thought of the coming kingdom was their comfort and hope. See *Communion*, 61.

In the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, Irenaeus referred to the Holy Spirit as the earnest of incorruption and the hope of resurrection.<sup>376</sup> The Holy Spirit serves as the deposit who guarantees the Church of the inheritance in Jesus Christ:

But we do now receive a certain portion of His Spirit, tending towards perfection, and preparing us for incorruption, being little by little accustomed to receive and bear God; which also the apostle terms “an earnest,” that is, a part of the honour which has been promised us by God... This earnest, therefore, thus dwelling in us, renders us spiritual even now, and the mortal is swallowed up by immortality. “For ye,” he declares, “are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you.” This, however, does not take place by a casting away of the flesh, but by the impartation of the Spirit. For those to whom he was writing were not without flesh, but they were those who had received the Spirit of God, “by which we cry, Abba, Father.”<sup>377</sup>

Bassett notes that Irenaeus made a distinction between the image and the likeness of God.<sup>378</sup> While he used “image” to denote the body God fashioned and breathed life to—the form and substance that humanity shares with the Word Incarnate—he used “likeness” to denote the gift of the Spirit to those who are one with Christ. Likeness is the saving action by which the Spirit transforms the Church to have the maturity of Christ.<sup>379</sup> This is the perfection of love or moral perfection of a believer.<sup>380</sup> The Holy Spirit, the earnest of the glory God has in store for the Church, is the one who transforms God’s people from the oldness of sinful humanity to the newness of Christ and renders them

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<sup>376</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.24.1; 4.18.5. González notes that for Irenaeus Baptism and the Eucharist are means to which the Spirit unites the Church to Christ. See *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 1, 171.

<sup>377</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.8.1.

<sup>378</sup> Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 64.

<sup>379</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.6.1; 5.9.3; 5.14. 2; Cf. Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 64-5.

<sup>380</sup> Bassett noted that grace is displayed greatly in Irenaeus’s notion of perfection because it is only by the gift of the Spirit that one can achieve perfection or likeness to God. *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 64; Cf. *Ad Haer* 5.1.3. *Ad Haer* 5.6.1; 5.9.3; 5.14. 2.

perfect and spiritual.<sup>381</sup> Even now the adopted sons and daughters of the Most High cry out “Abba Father” through the Holy Spirit:

If therefore, at the present time, having the earnest, we do cry, “Abba, Father,” what shall it be when, on rising again, we behold Him face to face; when all the members shall burst out into a continuous hymn of triumph, glorifying Him who raised them from the dead, and gave the gift of eternal life? It [the complete grace of the Spirit] will render us like unto Him, and accomplish the will of the Father; for it shall make man after the image and likeness of God.<sup>382</sup>

Irenaeus is emphatic that this relationship takes place in the flesh: the Church become spiritual not by abandoning the flesh, but by being in the Spirit, having the Spirit dwelling among them.<sup>383</sup> To Irenaeus, the human life is picture of gradual spiritual growth brought forth by the Holy Spirit.<sup>384</sup> The Spirit of Christ purifies and raises humanity to the life of God,<sup>385</sup> fashions them to perfection, and restores the image and likeness of God in them.<sup>386</sup> Hence for Irenaeus a perfect Christian is a human being who is made up of soul, body, and then, completed by the Holy Spirit:

But where the Spirit of the Father is, there is a living man; [there is] the rational blood preserved by God for the avenging [of those that shed it]; [there is] the flesh possessed by the Spirit, forgetful indeed of what belongs to it, and adopting the quality of the Spirit, being made conformable to the Word of God...“As we have borne the image of him who is of the earth, we shall also bear the image of Him

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<sup>381</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.1; 5.8.1; 5.10.2.

<sup>382</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.8.1. Perfection develops and matures throughout life and culminates after death when a Christian takes up incorruptibility in final resurrection and union with God. See Bounds, “Irenaeus and the Doctrine of Christian Perfection,” 176. See also John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, edited by David Mac Lennan (Kent: The World Publishing Company, 1969), 13.

<sup>383</sup> Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 75; and Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 217. Irenaeus noted that what the Church has now is only a deposit, the seal of what is to truly happen when they are resurrected to see God face to face and receive the full grace of the Spirit. See *Ad Haer* 5.6.1; 5.8.1; 5.9.3.

<sup>384</sup> Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 213-4; Cf. *Ad Haer* 4.37.5.

<sup>385</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.2.

<sup>386</sup> *Ad Haer* 3.17.3. See also Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1, 311; Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 174.

who is from heaven.” What, therefore, is the earthly? That which was fashioned. And what is the heavenly? The Spirit.<sup>387</sup>

Henri de Lubac, a renowned Catholic theologian, considers Irenaeus to be one of the earliest theologians to develop a *trichotomous* anthropology.<sup>388</sup> Wesleyan scholars Bounds, Flew, and Bassett, also follow Irenaeus’s thought on what makes a human being ontologically perfect.<sup>389</sup>

As the Spirit of the believer, the Holy Spirit also trains the people of God after the Word and helps them to abstain from the deeds of the flesh and to live in obedience to God’s precepts.<sup>390</sup> Irenaeus wrote: “When we were destitute of the celestial Spirit, we walked in former times in the oldness of the flesh, not obeying God; so now let us, receiving the Spirit, walk in newness of life, obeying God.”<sup>391</sup> Irenaeus comprehended that the power to fulfill the law is in the freedom God gave the believers through Christ in the Holy Spirit.<sup>392</sup> Christian perfection, for Irenaeus, is made possible only through the recapitulation of Christ and the union of the Holy Spirit with a believer, but it is

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<sup>387</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.3.

<sup>388</sup> De Lubac cited in *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 99-100.

<sup>389</sup> See Bounds, “Irenaeus and the Doctrine of Christian Perfection,” 170-1; R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology*, 126-7; Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 65. See also Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 173-81. At first, one may think that Irenaeus’s view of Christian perfection is distinct from Wesley’s because the former is inclining towards *theosis* or deification. The *locus classicus* for this interpretation of Irenaeus is in *Against Heresies* Preface 5: “[Jesus Christ has] become what we are, that He might bring us to be even what He is Himself.” But following Blackwell’s suggestion that “*christosis*” or Christ-likeness and not *theosis* is more appropriate term for Christian perfection in Irenaeus, one could see the overwhelming similarity of Irenaeus’s thought and Wesley’s. See Blackwell, *Christosis*, i, 30-60, 233-4.

<sup>390</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.38.3-4; 3.41.2; Briggman, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 175; Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum*, 181. The Holy Spirit works in the Church so that they may always choose what is good and pleasing in the sight of God helping them to live an ethical life. See Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 172, and Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 220-1.

<sup>391</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.9.3.

<sup>392</sup> *Proof* 95. Irenaeus supposed that the weak flesh is absorbed by the Holy Spirit, and the human is thus purified. See *Ad Haer* 4.38.2; 5.6.1; 5.8.1; 5.10.3.

experienced only through the exercise of faith and obedience to God.<sup>393</sup> From the immaturity of the old humanity Irenaeus held that God ultimately calls humanity to the perfection and maturity of the new humanity in Jesus Christ.<sup>394</sup> Irenaeus believed that Christian perfection is a progress or an ascent—towards Christlikeness—that the people of God go through with the help of the Holy Spirit.<sup>395</sup>

For the Church to be strengthened and for their knowledge of God to grow, the Holy Spirit bequeaths them with various spiritual gifts. Irenaeus pointed out that every gift speaks of how great God is; through these gifts of the Spirit and the Word of God, the Father who is invisible and indescribable becomes known to the Church.<sup>396</sup> As the Spirit helps the Church to grow and increase their knowledge of God, the adopted sons and daughters of God are progressively transformed by the Spirit into the image and likeness of Jesus Christ.<sup>397</sup> The Holy Spirit fashions the heart of the Church after the heart of Jesus Christ and helps them to honor and obey God just as Jesus did. The image and likeness of God in Christians manifests itself supremely in the perfect love of God and neighbor, in the fruit of the Spirit, and in a life free from intentional sin.<sup>398</sup> The person whose life is

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<sup>393</sup> Bounds, “Irenaeus and the Doctrine of Christian Perfection,” 171; Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 68-70.

<sup>394</sup> See *Ad Haer* 4.38.4; 5.6.1; 5.9.3; 5.14.2; *Proof* 12. See also Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement 1*, 47; Reeves, *The Glory of God*, 18; and Steenberg, *Irenaeus on Creation*, 195-212.

<sup>395</sup> Irenaeus considers this the educative work of the Holy Spirit. See *Ad Haer* 4.38.3; 5.8.1. See also Sophie Cartwright, “The Image of God in Irenaeus, Marcellus, and Eustathius,” in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, 174-6.

<sup>396</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.20.6; Nothingham, “The Holy Spirit in the Latin Fathers with Special Reference to Their Use of 1 Corinthians 12 and This Chapter in Modern Scholarship,” 10.

<sup>397</sup> *Ad Haer* 5. 6. 1. Irenaeus added: “In like manner we do also hear many brethren in the Church, who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men, and declare the mysteries of God...”

<sup>398</sup> Bounds, “Irenaeus and the Doctrine of Christian Perfection,” 176; Bassett, *Holiness Teachings—New Testament Times to Wesley*, 70; Smail, *Reflected Glory*, 85. Irenaeus noted that as the Church follow the



permeated by the Holy Spirit through and through has that habitual disposition to desire and act in accordance with what pleases God, being renewed towards perfection as the Father in heaven is perfect. The Church chooses and acts not according to the desires of the flesh but in accordance to the desires of the Spirit: “Those, then, are the perfect who have had the Spirit of God remaining in them, and have preserved their souls and bodies blameless, holding fast the faith of God, that is, that faith which is [directed] towards God, and maintaining righteous dealings with respect to their neighbors.”<sup>399</sup> Hence, perfection for Irenaeus includes discipline that results in a growth in the likeness of Jesus Christ. This is then the only reason why the Church is perfect and why they may claim that they are after the image and likeness of God: the Holy Spirit dwells among them, completes them, and transforms them after the likeness and perfection of Jesus Christ from even now in their earthly existence to the time when the full grace of the Spirit will be bestowed to them in the resurrection.<sup>400</sup>

In Irenaeus’s theology, it is not only the doctrine of Jesus Christ that is correlated with the doctrine of recapitulation, but also the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Christ redeems—or in Irenaeus’s term, recapitulates—humanity by the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. The person and work of the Holy Spirit in the whole scheme of recapitulation is very distinct. In the incarnation, the Spirit is the one who sanctified the womb of Mary and the one who gave life to the incarnate Word of God. Also, the Spirit is the one who

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Spirit, the fruit of the Spirit also increases in their lives. See *Ad Haer* 5.11.1; Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation*, 172.

<sup>399</sup> *Ad Haer* 5.6.1; 5.8.2. Wesley noted that the image and likeness of God stamped by the Holy Spirit in a believer’s heart is the great gift of God, and the salvation of the human soul. See *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 30. See also Leo George Cox, *John Wesley’s Concept of Perfection* (Kansas: Beacon Hill Press, 1964), 180-2.

<sup>400</sup> *Ad Haer* 4.38.3; 5.1.3; 5.6.1; 5.8.1, 2.

sustained Jesus Christ in His growth and who sanctified Him at every stage of life. As the Son of God became the Son of Man, the Spirit of God also became accustomed to dwell with humanity as well. In the messianic mission, the Spirit is the anointing of Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit empowered Jesus Christ to defeat the devil in the wilderness and to obey the Father even unto death on the cross. Furthermore, the Spirit is the one who vivified Jesus Christ and enabled Him to rise victorious from the dead. The grave is not able to contain Jesus because of His Spirit who is the Holy Spirit. Now in the ecclesiastical age, the Holy Spirit is the Pentecostal Spirit whose locus is the Church. The Spirit of God is the *paraclete* of the believers in order that they may truly follow the example of Christ in obedience and ministry. Moreover, it is through the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of adoption, through whom the Church cries, “Abba Father,” even as she is being restored from here to eternity into the perfect image of God, the image of Jesus Christ.

## Chapter Seven

### Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations

#### Summary and Findings

Irenaeus's contribution to the development of Christian doctrines, particularly Christology and Pneumatology, is unparalleled by his predecessors and contemporaries. Despite the disparagements thrown by modern scholars (Harnack, Loofs, and Smith, etc.) at him and his works, his passion for orthodoxy remains worth admiring and his theology remains worth reconsidering. Irenaeus's manner of writing may be antiquarian, but his treatises won against the Gnostics, who eventually blotted themselves out of history. Moreover, just as an old treasure chest, his works have great riches to offer to the theological discussions today. Irenaeus's simplicity and piety in handling and discussing the Word of God is a breath of fresh air. However, there are also complications that come with choosing Irenaeus as the vantage point for one's research. For one, his works indeed lack organization and smooth flow. Although his thoughts and ideas are solid and consistent, they seem scattered and too repetitive at times. That there are only two complete extant writings of Irenaeus worked for the researcher's advantage because then it was easier to identify passages that pertain to his understanding of Jesus Christ and the Spirit. Another criticism of Irenaeus is his chiliastic tendency. This study shows that Irenaeus did not hold the traditional chiliasm of views such as that of Papias of Hierapolis. He is not a chiliast in a strict definition. The only reason why a sort of chiliasm could be found in his writings is because of his adherence to the theological tradition of the early church in Asia Minor.

The doctrine of recapitulation, which is considered the crown jewel of Irenaeus's theology, is the summing up of all things in heaven and earth under the rule and authority of the Son of God. Recapitulation has always been seen as only the work of the incarnate Word. However, this study shows that Irenaeus also understood that the Holy Spirit is as involved as the Son in the process of recapitulation; the Spirit is also the rightful agent of recapitulation.

The thesis employed both historical and descriptive methods. The historical design, specifically life history, was necessary to analyze Irenaeus's life and the influences that shaped him. The descriptive design, particularly inter-textual analysis and interpretation were employed to examine Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation and how the Bible, theology, philosophy, and rhetoric shaped his thought. Once the doctrine of recapitulation was clearly understood, the researcher, then, delved into the analysis and interpretation of the Holy Spirit's person and work in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.

Chapter Four answers the questions pertaining to Irenaeus's life. It presents a short intellectual biography and discusses the people who have influenced him. Based on the few known facts about his life, the researcher recreated Irenaeus's life by tracing the places where he lived, and the people who shaped him. In Smyrna, he was a young listener of Polycarp. Later on, as Irenaeus desired to better his rhetorical skills, he went to Rome and studied under Justin Martyr. With his pedigree, a combination of biblical and rhetorical astuteness, Irenaeus became a renowned apologist of his day, and it was not a surprise that he quickly rose to a position of influence and power in the early church. When the bishop of Lyons by the name of Pothinus died during Marcus Aurelius's

persecution, Irenaeus took over the bishopric. It was at this season of his life that he wrote *Against Heresies* and *The Proof*.

Chapter Five answers the questions regarding the doctrine of recapitulation. Irenaeus's nuance of *anakephaleosis* or recapitulation finds its biblical foundation in the Pauline epistles, Johannine gospel, and the Creation narrative in Genesis. Recapitulation in Irenaeus is highly christological. On the one hand, from the stance of Logos Christology, the second person of the Trinity who is the eternal Word of God became human in the person of Jesus Christ to recapitulate all things. The Word and the Holy Spirit are to Irenaeus the two hands of God who have created the heavens and the earth, and who have been reaching to humanity so that they will be restored unto God. On the other hand, from the stance of Spirit-Christology, Jesus Christ is the new Adam who commenced afresh the long line of human beings, so that salvation could be attained, and so that the image and likeness of God might be recovered. Also, the researcher examined how second century philosophy and rhetoric contributed to Irenaeus's development of recapitulation. Contrary to the belief that Irenaeus was not abreast with philosophy, this thesis proves that he had enough knowledge to be able to cite from philosophers and their works in his polemics. Nonetheless, with respect to the doctrine of recapitulation, philosophy did not bear as much influence as the Bible and theology. For instance, Irenaeus understood *Logos* not from the vantage point of Greek philosophy, but rather, from the vantage point of the biblical witness—John's teaching of *Logos* and the Hebraic understanding of *dabar* in Genesis. Also, he understood *anakephaliaosis* not from how its root word *kephale* which is used in Hellenic paradigm, but rather from how Paul used it in *Ephesians*. More than philosophy, it is Irenaeus's knowledge of rhetoric that could be

seen as influential to his development of recapitulation. *Anakephaliaosis* is a literary term that means to sum up the important points of one's argument. Irenaeus, a learned man in rhetoric, took this term and expanded it to a theological concept. Irenaeus employed a method of correlation where drew together biblical passages and theological traditions that he deemed authoritative to formulate the doctrine of recapitulation.

Chapter Six is the highlight of this study, where a thorough elaboration of Irenaeus's perception of the Holy Spirit in the doctrine of recapitulation is presented. It is here that the queries regarding the person and work of the Spirit in the doctrine of recapitulation are rejoined. The chapter is divided into the three parts, each dealing with an important aspect of recapitulation: the incarnation, the messianic mission, and the Church. Contrary to the comments of Loofs and Simonetti, Irenaeus actually demonstrated a distinction between the Son and the Spirit in the incarnation. It was Justin Martyr, in *First Apology* 33.6, who referred to the Spirit as both the power and the Word of God. Irenaeus avoided this error by clarifying that it is the Son who is the begotten and the Spirit who begets. The incarnation of the Son of God by the flesh of a virgin and by the Holy Spirit shows that Jesus Christ has been the anointed one even from birth. These thoughts make Irenaeus's Pneumatology more advanced than his predecessors and contemporaries.

On the messianic mission, Irenaeus identified Jesus Christ's baptism at the Jordan as the key event that showed the people that He is indeed the Messiah. As the Spirit came down upon Him in the form of a dove, His humanity was equipped with power in order to accomplish the messianic mission. Again, contrary to Justin Martyr who has emphasized the divinity of Jesus Christ and said that He did not need the Spirit, Irenaeus considered

that because of Jesus's humanity, He was dependent on the Spirit to empower Him. By the power of the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ triumphed over the devil, temptations, and sin. Christ fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah to preach good news to the poor, to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim freedom for the captives, and release from darkness for the prisoners. Even more, Irenaeus asserted that in the incarnate life of Jesus Christ where He was always with the Holy Spirit, the Spirit was being accustomed to dwell in fullness with humanity. Before Jesus Christ, the Spirit would only come upon prophets, kings, and priests in the season they were called to perform a task. However with Jesus Christ, the Spirit dwelled with Him, and moved alongside Him from birth even until His obedient death on the cross. The Holy Spirit was the one who had bestowed upon Jesus Christ the breath of life, but when this breath was taken from Him in the crucifixion, the Holy Spirit came to Christ in the tomb and vivified His physical body with life eternal. Thus, Jesus Christ commenced this new line of humanity, and He became the first born from among dead. The death of Adam was undone with the eternal life bestowed by the Holy Spirit upon Jesus Christ, and the resurrection is the glorious hope of all those who believe in Jesus's name.

Recapitulation does not end in the life of Jesus Christ; it continues in the life of the Church through the Holy Spirit. Before the ascension of Jesus, He promised another advocate who will remind His people about Him and His teachings. This was fulfilled in the day of Pentecost. Just as it was with Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit dwells with the Church and walks alongside every Christian. The baptism rite is very important for Irenaeus's Pneumatology because it is the moment of one's conversion. He believed it is when one receives the Spirit. More than a symbolic act, baptism is the event of one's

regeneration unto God through the Holy Spirit. The Spirit of adoption enables one to call God as *Abba* Father. The Spirit of God empowers Christians to continue the work of Jesus Christ: to preach the good news, to heal the sick, and to bring people out of darkness into the light. Another important sacrament for Irenaeus's understanding of the Holy Spirit is the Eucharist. According to Irenaeus, when the ordinary bread and wine are sanctified by the Holy Spirit through an *epiclesis*, the elements gain two realities, earthly and heavenly. The Eucharist evidences that the human flesh can indeed receive salvation and incorruptibility. Also, Irenaeus is one of the first theologians to develop a trichotomous anthropology. Irenaeus supposed that a perfect human being is one who is made up of body, soul, and the Spirit of God. This is the purport of Christian perfection in Irenaeus: the Holy Spirit dwells among Christians, and transforms them after the image and likeness of Jesus Christ. Perfecting happens now as the Spirit fills their hearts with love for God and love for neighbor, and it will be completed in the future as the full grace of the Spirit will be bestowed upon the Church in the resurrection of the dead.

### **Conclusions**

Conclusions reached after the research and study are as follows:

1. Irenaeus is a Greek bishop and apologist from the mid-second century who developed Christian theology through his writings against the Gnostics.
  - a. The two great influences of his life are Polycarp of Smyrna whom he met during his youth and Justin Martyr whom he met in Rome. Nonetheless, Ignatius is the less mentioned but vital influence on Irenaeus, especially on his development of the doctrine of recapitulation.



b. After studying rhetoric in Rome, Irenaeus became a missionary to Gaul, specifically in the cities of Vienne and Lyons, where he became the bishop.

c. The most celebrated among the doctrines of Irenaeus is recapitulation: Jesus Christ summing up all things in heaven and earth under his Lordship.

2. The doctrine of recapitulation was shaped by Irenaeus's knowledge of the Bible, theology, philosophy, and rhetoric.

a. The idea of recapitulation is hinged on Ephesians 1:9-10 wherein the apostle Paul speaks of all things, corporeal and incorporeal, coming under the headship of Christ. Irenaeus referred to John 1:14 to point out that Jesus Christ is the eternal Word who became human to redeem and restore creation to God. Genesis 1:26 is also crucial for the concept of recapitulation because it includes the undoing of Adam's disobedience and the defeat of the devil and power of sin so that the image and likeness of God can be restored to humanity.

a. 1. Irenaeus's interpretation of the biblical passages that became his foundation for developing the recapitulation doctrine have been affirmed and further developed by contemporary biblical scholars: Edwards, Taylor, and Lincoln on the Pauline epistles, Mayfield, Morris, and Brown on the prologue of the Gospel of John, and Holsinger-Friensen and Brueggemann on the creation narrative in Genesis.

b. Recapitulation has influences from both Logos Christology and Spirit Christology. From the stance of Logos Christology, Irenaeus emphasizes that Jesus Christ, the Word of God, is both the Creator and redeemer of humanity and all of creation. It is Jesus Christ who initiates all of creation into a renewed relationship with

God. From the stance of Spirit-Christology, Irenaeus emphasized that Jesus Christ is the Man anointed by the Holy Spirit who reversed the disobedience of Adam by His obedience. Irenaeus pointed out that Jesus Christ triumphed over the devil, sin, and death while He was in the form of a weak flesh. Jesus Christ attained the victory as a human being for all human beings through the power of the Holy Spirit.

c. Irenaeus's knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric—more importantly of rhetoric—also helped his understanding of recapitulation. Recapitulation in its Greek literary use means a “summing up” or “repetition” of important points in one's argument. Irenaeus took the word and relate it to the Son of God summing up of all creation into Himself, both in heaven and on earth, by entering the human life as the Second Adam. Jesus Christ became human and repeated what Adam had gone through—weakness, trials, and temptations—but this time, Christ emerged victoriously. He had undone Adam's disobedience by His obedience and Adam's death by His life.

3. Recapitulation has always been thought as only the work of the incarnate one, but through a judicious reading of His writings, it is found out that the Holy Spirit is also very much involved in the recapitulative work.

a. In the incarnation, Irenaeus considered that it is the Holy Spirit who overshadowed Mary and comingled with the flesh of her womb so that the Word could be made flesh. The Spirit of God is the giver of the breath of life to Christ's body. The Spirit sustained His growth, and sanctified Him at every stage of His human life. Redemption in Irenaeus began with the incarnation—recapitulation's beginning point—rather than with the cross and resurrection—and thus a point of difference among Irenaeus's soteriological view with the majority of evangelicals.

b. Irenaeus identified the Holy Spirit as the anointing of Christ who empowered Him to fulfill the messianic mission. Part of the mystery of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus is that even if the Spirit was identified as “anointing,” the Spirit was not referred to as a sort of element or driving force, but rather, the Spirit was referred to as a person. The Spirit was Christ’s ever-present companion and help as He declared the imminent Kingdom of God and performed signs and wonders. Even in death, Christ suffered the cross as the anointed representative of humanity. In the resurrection, His very anointing, the Spirit of God vivified Him to eternal life. Another proof that Irenaeus understood the Holy Spirit as a person is that he considered the time of Jesus Christ on earth as the period of the Holy Spirit to be accustomed to dwell with humanity. An element or driving force need not be accustomed; only a person needs to adjust to live with another person or other people. Hence, while it is true that the development of the terminology “person” referring to the Trinity could be attributed to the later time of Tertullian, it is nonetheless true that even as early as Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit is already perceived as a “being” of the Triune God and not merely an impersonal element.

c. Recapitulation continues in the Church today by the agency of the Holy Spirit. Through the Spirit, Christians are adopted into the family of God, and the victory which Christ has attained is extended to them. Just as the Holy Spirit helped and empowered Jesus Christ, the Spirit also gives power to Christians *to* be victors over the devil, sin, and death. As Christ attained the resurrection of the body through the vivifying Spirit, Christians will also experience resurrection from the dead in God’s appointed time. We learn from the relationship of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in the process of recapitulation that Christians are never alone in the struggles they face. The Holy Spirit is

their ever present comforter and advocate. Even more, it is the Holy Spirit who perfects and restores the image and likeness of God in every Christian. Not only does the Spirit of God complete the *trichotomous* design of humanity (body, soul, Spirit), the Spirit also perfects the love one has for God and for others.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the study, here are some things that can be done for further research in relation to the role of the Holy Spirit in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation.

1. There is a need to take Irenaeus and his works seriously, to carefully reconsider his thoughts about Christian doctrines. While it is true that he is often quoted as a representative of his era and often regarded as the most important theologian of his time, there are only few who have chosen him as the point of departure for studying a specific theological theme. Future researchers are encouraged to consider his anthropology, doctrine of atonement, doctrine of sin, doctrine of the Church, and so on.

2. Future researchers need to devote some attention to the biography of Irenaeus, especially in his earlier days. Recently, there have been a number of historical research studies on Christians of mid-second century Gaul. These have helped greatly in shedding light on the life of Irenaeus as a bishop. However, Irenaeus could be known better if there would be more studies on second century Asia Minor.

3. For future researchers who would like to conduct studies regarding the Holy Spirit, it would be good to consider the findings of this research. That is to know the Spirit in the context of the Spirit's relationship to Christ, and understand that the Holy Spirit is not merely an element of power, but rather, the Spirit is a person who empowers.

4. Now that this research has proven that the Holy Spirit is indeed also an agent of recapitulation, it would be good for future researchers to consider examining the Trinity in Irenaeus's doctrine of recapitulation. There is no study that has endeavored to do this yet. Understanding recapitulation from a Trinitarian perspective will definitely yield a more complete and richer knowledge on God's economy of salvation in Irenaeus.

5. The researcher observed that in Irenaeus's thought, the participation and contribution of women (such as Mary, Blandina, etc.) in the economy of God are greatly valued. Irenaeus would make a good dialogue partner in research studies concerning women of the early Church and even about the role of women in the Church today.

6. Finally, the researcher encourages future researchers to look at the possibility of doing comparative studies between Irenaeus and other theological traditions. For instance, they may pursue a study of Irenaeus and the Wesleyan understanding of Pentecost, or a study of Irenaeus and the Evangelical understanding of atonement. This is so their theological traditions might be further enriched and nourished by the piety and simplicity of early church theology.

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**Dissertations:**

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